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XI

GEORG MORGENSTIERNE:  
INDO-IRANIAN FRONTIER LANGUAGES

OSLO 1929

H. ASCHEHOUG & CO. (W. NYGAARD)

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INDO-IRANIAN FRONTIER  
LANGUAGES — *Vol. I*

BY  
GEORG MORGENSTIERNE

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VOL. I.  
PARACHI AND ORMURI



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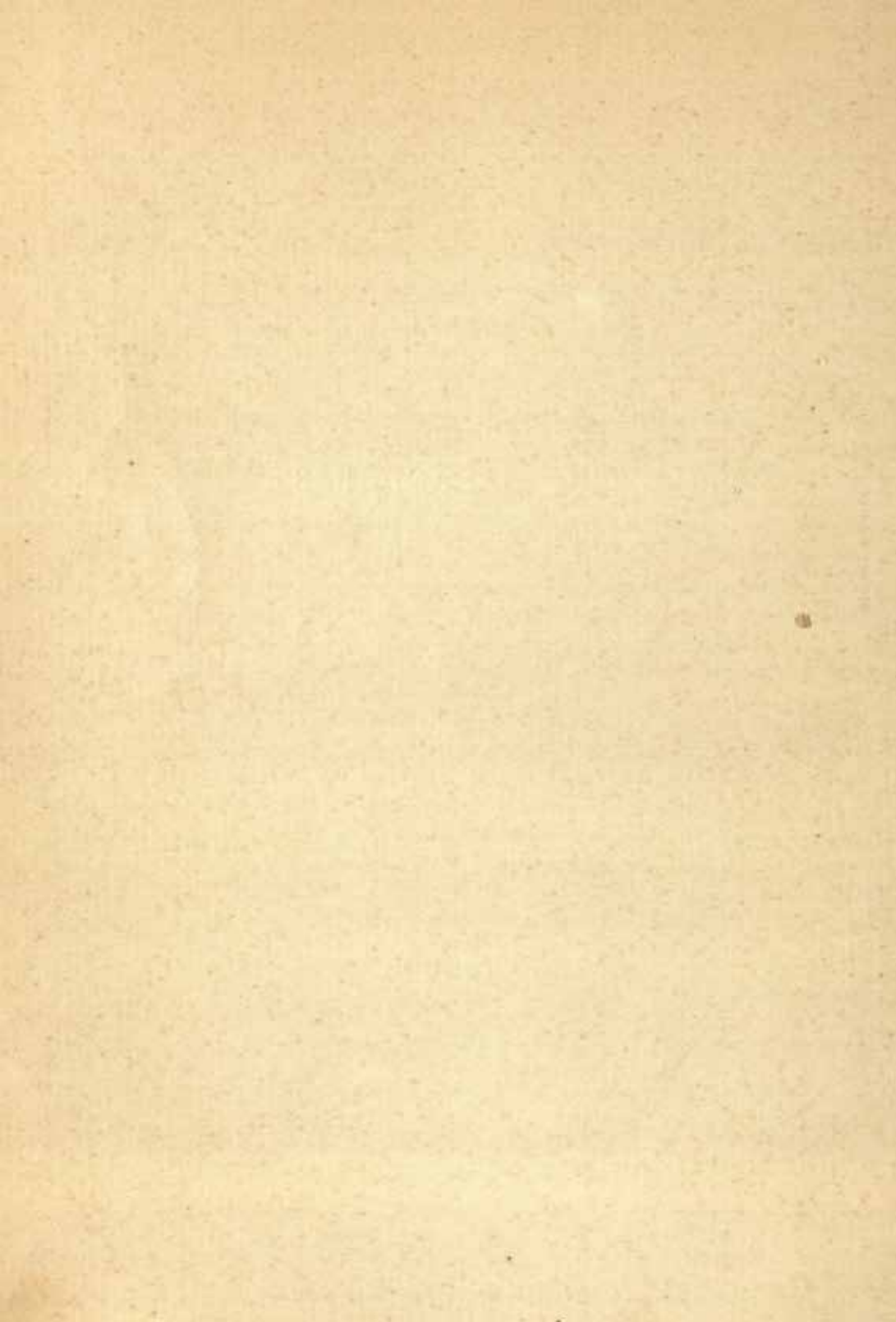
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TO  
PROFESSOR F. C. ANDREAS  
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کټر پیپر کشت جسمت چه غم چو جان جوانست



## PREFACE

*The collection of material for this account of two Iranian languages, and the subsequent preparation of a descriptive and, to some extent, comparative account of them, were rendered possible by the generous assistance of the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.*

*My sincere thanks are due to Sir George Grierson, whose description of the Kaniguram dialect of Ormuri has been of the greatest help to me, and to whom I am indebted for valuable advice and information on numerous occasions; to Professor Sten Konow, who has gone through part of the manuscript of the Parachi section; to Dr. E. W. Selmer, who has kindly assisted me in the interpretation of the phonograph records; and to Mr. A. G. Jayne, who has revised the English, except in the vocabularies.*

*Owing to my impending departure on another linguistic expedition to the Hindu Kush it has been necessary to print the Parachi section before the completion of the Ormuri part; and the Ormuri vocabulary had to be sent to press before the introduction and the grammatical sketch of that language were finished. In consequence of this several discrepancies may, I fear, be found in the text. The proof-reading, too, had to be disposed of in less time than I could have wished.*







# PARACHI







## INTRODUCTION.

1. Parachi is first mentioned by Babur in his Memoirs<sup>1</sup>: "Many other of the villages and districts (of Kābul) are occupied by Pashāis, Parāchis, Tājiks, Bereki and Afghans." "There are eleven or twelve different languages spoken in Kābul: Arabic, Persian, Tūrki, Moghuli, Hindi, Afghani, Pashāi, Parāchi, Geberi, Bereki and Lamghāni."

Later in the 16th century the Turkish admiral Sidi Ali mentions the Farāsi tribe as living in the vicinity of Parwan, which is close to Shutul<sup>2</sup>.

Elphinstone<sup>3</sup> tells us that "the Puraunchehs, another class of Hindkees, seem to have been considered as a separate people in Bauber's time: they are now only remarkable for being great carriers, and conductors of caravans."

And according to Masson<sup>4</sup>: "the Perāncheh is spoken by a few families of the same name, resident in or near Panjshīr". Cf. p. 221: "The Perānchehs, besides the few families at Panjshīr who preserve their ancient dialect, are found over a large tract of country, and it is well known that their conversion to Islām is of comparatively recent date. At the city of Kābal some of the more eminent merchants are Perānchehs. They occupy a considerable village in Kāmeḥ; they also inhabit Makkad on the Indus, and again are

<sup>1</sup> Transl. Leyden and Erskine, ed. King, I, 224 f.

<sup>2</sup> Marquardt, Eranshahr, 287.

<sup>3</sup> An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, new ed., I, 413.

<sup>4</sup> Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan etc., I, 219.



found at Atak, and the towns between it and the Jélam river. In all situations they are a commercial people."

Till recently this was all that was known about Parachi, and, in a note on Babur's Memoirs (l. c.), Sir George Grierson explained the name as "Prāchī": "Eastern", denoting a language of Eastern India, brought to Kabul "through the Purbyas (of Oudh) who were and are great travellers."<sup>1</sup>

2. When staying in Kabul in 1924, on a linguistic mission from the Norwegian "Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture", I made, however, constant inquiries about Parachi, relying on the authority of Babur and Masson, who described it as a local dialect.

Towards the end of July a Pashai, whom I had brought to Kabul from his native village of Kohnadeh (Sāthā) near Gulbahar, told me that a friend of his, living in the valley of Shutul, spoke a curious language called *Parāčī*. He could also repeat a few sentences in this language: *na'yūn 'xureman*, *'au tēreman* "I eat bread and drink water"; *kān'jāi* "from where art thou"; *'ušti 'pareman* "rise and let us go", etc. Another Pashai, hailing from Tagau, confirmed this information by the statement that in the dialect of Pachaghan in Nijrau, about which he had already roused my curiosity, "bread" was called *na'yūn*.

This information made it clear that Parachi was an unknown Iranian language, and *tēr* "to drink" reminded me of Orm. *tr*. When I sent the Kohnadeh Pashai home, I promised him a good bakbshish, if he would bring his Parachi friend to Kabul. He did not, however, appear, and I had to send another messenger to Shutul. This man duly returned with a grey-beard, who professed to speak Parachi. But it at once appeared that his language was the north-western dialect of Pashai, which I had recently had occasion to study. He, of course, had imagined that Pashai and Parachi

<sup>1</sup> Grierson also explains Babur's "Geberi" as Gabri, the dialect of the Parsees of Yezd and Kirman. But it seems more probable that Geberi, too, denotes an ancient local language of Kabulistan, cf. Gawar Bati.

would have the same market value with a "majnūn" Firengi, and I shall never forget the expression of his face, when I started reading out to him the parable of the Prodigal Son in his own dialect.

Fortunately, the malik of Shutul, together with the other maliks of Kohistan, had just that day come to Kabul to discuss conscription with the government. I wrote down, in Persian letters, the Parachi sentences which I had heard, together with a Persian translation, and sent my messenger to the malik, asking him if any such language were spoken in Shutul. The malik confirmed this, and mentioned the name of some speakers of Parachi.

The messenger started again, and after some nine days returned with a genuine Parachi shepherd. When I asked him to count, the very first numerals, *žū*, *dī*, *šī* etc., proved that Parachi was an Iranian language, occupying a rather independent position.

3. The name of the shepherd was Mahmād Ghānī (abbreviated: M), and his home was Rūidarra above Shutul, at the foot of the Arzū Pass. He said that he was about fifty years old (being one year old "at the time of the great earthquake"). He was very dull, and exceedingly trying to work with; but in the course of the week which he agreed to stay with me, I managed to get an idea of the main features of his mother-tongue. When the Parable had been translated into Parachi, he felt very proud and insisted upon my writing it down in Persian letters, that he might show the mulla of his village that he, Mahmād Ghānī, had produced this piece of Parachi literature.

In September I got into touch with two Parachi recruits, staying in the cantonment of Sherpur. They were Ghulām Maheuddīn (G) and Tabakkal Shāh (T), both probably about thirty years old. The latter came from Rūidarra, and was the poet laureate of the Parachis. The home of the other was Deh-i Kalān in Shutul (or Chutul, which he asserted to be the correct form). He was comparatively fair-haired. He seemed to be really interested in my linguistic work, and was intelligent and always cheerful and reliable.

He tried with some success to apply his knowledge of Persian



writing to his mother-tongue (at my suggestion he introduced some differentiated letters from the Pashto alphabet). Of an evening in his tent he wrote down the songs which his poet friend recited to him. The next day, when they came to see me, one of them recited the poem, and I got the manuscript, by the help of which I could afterwards to some extent check my own phonetical transcription. They said that there existed in Shutul one Parachi book, containing legends about Ali; but it was impossible for me to get hold of it.

I worked with G and T for about one hour daily for over a month.

All the three persons mentioned above spoke very nearly the same dialect.<sup>1</sup> But in Kabul I also, for a short time, got hold of a soldier from Ghujulān in Darra-i Ghush (*Dārriḡuš*) in Nijrau. He would not disclose his name; but he is indicated by the letter D. He said that his dialect was similar to that used in Pachaghān, and this was confirmed by Pashais from the neighbouring village of Ishpī.

In Peshawar, at the beginning of November, I had occasion to meet Mahmaddīn from Pachaghān (P), and to write down a short vocabulary of his dialect.

The Nijrau and Pachaghān dialect has a pure *ā* instead of Shutuli *ā* (v. 16), *ō* instead of *ö*, and, in some cases, postvocalic *c* instead of *č*. The vocabulary differs considerably from that of Shutul, and contains a still greater number of Pashai loan-words.

An account of the linguistic position and chief characteristics of Parachi is given in my "Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan", pp. 18 ff., and I have provided a short vocabulary for the Addenda in Vol. I of the LSI.

<sup>1</sup> M's *ā*'s were less rounded than G's and T's, and he generally used the 1st pl. of verbs, instead of the 1st sg. In lw.'s he usually had *-ā* for Prs. *-a*. T had a stronger tendency than G to broaden stressed *u* into *ō* or even *ā*; and he did not employ the oblique case of the pronouns as a subject with past tenses of transitive verbs. The vocabulary of all three varied slightly.

4. In 1926 Panjshir was visited by the Russian scholar Professor M. S. Andreev, who has published a preliminary report on his journey (in Russian)<sup>1</sup>. He collected some materials about Parachi (op. cit. p. VI), but has not yet published any account of the language.

According to him (p. 3, note) Parachi is spoken in the village of Kuroba (Koraba of the survey maps, in Panjshir, about five miles above Gulbahar), in Nijrau and in three of the eight villages of the Shutul valley, viz. De-i Kalon (100 houses), Mo'ra (20—30 houses) and Andosot (40 houses). The other villages in Shutul speak Persian. According to the traditions of the Shutulis their ancestor Shutul migrated from Nijrau together with Kuroba and Solang (: Sālang). Solang went to the valley above Parwan, which bears his name; but his descendants speak Persian. The dialect of Kuroba, Shutul and Nijrau is said to be the same (их язык общий). They call themselves Tajiks; those who have preserved their own language occasionally also Parachis.

5. My informants differed considerably regarding the number of persons speaking Parachi. According to M they were in all 100 persons; G said that there were 2—300 houses in Shutul, 100 of which were inhabited by Parachis, while the poet T held that his tribe occupied 400 houses in Shutul and 600 in Nijrau. Finally, D told me that there were 100 Parachi houses in Nijrau.

Both M and G agreed that the Parachis came from Nijrau a few generations ago (or: "6—700 years ago"! G), and that the two branches of the tribe still intermarried and were one people (*yak kaum*). According to G, when they saw the uninhabited valley of Shutul they exclaimed: *ēhū, tul* "go and look (*buru, sāl ku*)". He said that a couple of generations ago Parachi was spoken in Panjshir, in the villages of Ferāj, Zamōnkōr and Dōstomkhēl.

It may also be noted that there is a village called Parachi in the Paghman district, some fifteen miles west of Kabul.

<sup>1</sup> On the Ethnology of Afghanistan. The Valley of the Panjshir (The Society for Studies of Tajikistan and Iranian Peoples beyond its Borders). Tashkent 1927.



6. It seems doubtful whether these Iranian Parachi-speaking peasants and hill-men are connected with the commercial communities mentioned by Elphinstone and Masson. Regarding this latter group, cf. Pashto *parā(n)ča* "a mercer, draper, cloth-merchant", Waziri *parāča*, *parōča* "a Hindu convert to Muhammedanism, n. of a caste", Panjabi *parāīcā* "a caste of Muhammedans engaged ordinarily in peddling". At any rate the hill-Parachis did not know about any such connexion.

It may be that the name is the same (cf. Skr. *parācī-* f. "averted, outside of, distant", applied in the sense of "western" to the nearest Iranian neighbours of the Pashais and other Indian tribes?), and that it originally denoted more than one pre-Pathan Iranian community of Kabulistan. And, very probably, the language formerly extended over a greater territory than at present. It is also, however, quite possible that we have to do with two different words.

7. In the absence of any historical information regarding the origin of the Parachis, we must depend on linguistic evidence only, if we want to determine the position of their language within the Iranian family.

As indicated in my Report (pp. 28 ff.), Par. agrees in several respects with the W. Ir. dialects, and not with the eastern ones. One important point is that Par. and W. Ir. have initial voiced stops (*b*, *d*, *g*) and the palatal affricate *j*, unlike the eastern dialects which have fricatives (*β* (*v*), *δ*, *γ*, *ž*). This seems to be a very ancient distinction between S. (W. and S. E.) Ir. and N. E. Ir., and I do not think there is sufficient reason for assuming a general secondary transition of initial voiced fricatives to voiced stops in S. Ir.<sup>1</sup> Like W. Ir. Par. treats initial and intervocalic *ʒr* in the same way.

With the N. W. Ir. dialects Par. (but also Wkh.) shares the development of *dw* > *b* (Tedesco 12). The loss of intervocalic *-d-*, *-t-* is also characteristic of Par. and most of the modern N. W. dialects. We do not find this change in the N. W. Turfan texts; but the

<sup>1</sup> The *ž*- of N. W. Ir. dialects is probably due to a secondary development of *j*-parallel to that which must have taken place in the case of intervocalic *č* > *j* > *ž*.

common tendency may be ancient. The change of  $\vartheta r > \dot{s}$  is found both in Par. and in the N.W.Ir. dialect of Sängsari; but there is not necessarily a direct connexion between the development in the two dialects.

Moreover, we find points of resemblance to the N.W. dialects in the formation of words and in the vocabulary. Cf. e. g. the numerals Par. *žūwās* "11", *d(u)wās* "12"; N.W. Turfan *ēvandas* (Zaza *žüendā's*), *duvādēs* (Ted. 24) β); Par. (*h*)ō "that": N.W. Turfan *hau* (Ted. 22)); Par. *nhān*-, *nhašt* "to sit down": Sāmn. *-nin*:- *-ništ*; *ēn*- "to bring": Kurd., Zaza *ān*:-; *dah*- "to give" N.W. Turf. *dah* (Ted. 25) β); Par. *pēš*, *pešti* "behind, afterwards": Sāmn. *pāšti*.

It is natural that Par. does not share any phonetical innovations with S.W.Ir. (Prs.). The numeral *šus* "30" shows the same formation as Prs. *sih*; but similar forms are found in E.Ir., too (Ted. 24) β). Regarding *ān*: "I": S. Turf. *'an* v. 113. The past participles in *-i* (203) resemble the S. Turf. and Prs. in *-id* (N.W. Turf. *-ād*, Ted. 26)); but a similar type is found in Bal. (borr. from Prs.) and in Minj.<sup>1</sup>

8. The points of resemblance between Par. and Orm. have been mentioned in my Report (p. 26 f.). As regards the phonology the most characteristic point is the change of  $w > \gamma(w)$ <sup>2</sup>. The development of  $\vartheta r$  into Par.  $\dot{s}$ , Orm.  $\dot{s}r$  is not exactly parallel in the two languages, and the loss of intervocalic *-t-*, *-š-*, and the development of  $dw > b$ -,  $nt$ ,  $nd > n$  is found in other dialects, too.

A number of words are more or less peculiar to these two dialects (cf. Report p. 27):

<sup>1</sup> If the Minj. forms in *-iy-*, eg. *xādiy* = Prs. *xandīd*, Par. *khanī* "laughed" is borr. from Prs., the borrowing must have taken place early.

<sup>2</sup> Traces of this development are found in other dialects, too. Cf. Wkh. (lw.s?) *yuš* "male" (\**wyšan*-?), *γēr* "wool" (Av. *varəna-*), Prs. (dial.) *γēša* "forest" (Prs. *bēša*, Phl. *wešak*), Tsakhur (Caucasus) *γarg* "lamb" (< Ir.? Cf. Prs. *barra*, Kurd. *wark*, Shgh. *wary* etc.) It is not, however, possible to determine the geographical distribution of this transition outside Par. and Orm. Possibly Greek *YNΔΟΦΕΡΡΟΥ*, Kharoshthi *Gudapharnasa* on the coins of Gondophares point to a pronunciation with fricative  $\gamma(u)$ .



Par. <i>an'darf</i> "to sew":	Orm. <i>undərwə</i> .
» <i>ga'p-âr</i> "fireplace":	» <i>gap</i> "stone".
» <i>'mindut</i> "apricot":	» <i>matat</i> .
» <i>mât</i> "killed":	» <i>mât</i> "withered".
» <i>nî-: naṛ'γō</i> "to go out":	» <i>nîs-: naṛōk</i> .
» <i>nēr-: nōṭ</i> "to take out":	» <i>naṛ<sup>a</sup>r-: naṛ<sup>a</sup>lak</i> .
» <i>pha'rât</i> "to sell":	» <i>prawak</i> .
» <i>rū</i> "iron":	» <i>rō</i> (but Prs. <i>rōi</i> etc. "copper").
» <i>ter-: thōr</i> "to drink":	» <i>tr-: tatak</i> .
» <i>zə'mâ</i> "winter":	» <i>'zemāk</i> .
» <i>zut</i> "very":	» <i>(d)zut</i> "very much" (?).

Some of these words have the appearance of being loan-words; but other cases of lexical agreement between Par. and Orm. will be found in the list of E.Ir. words in Par. given below.

On the other hand Par. and Orm. differ on several important points of phonology and morphology (e. g. preservation of *-k-* in Orm.).

9. The Par. development of *rt, rd > r* reminds us of Psht., and *str > š* is found in several E.Ir. dialects. Apart from these, possibly late, changes, the Par. phonetic development does not present any special E. Ir. features. Some of the enclitic pronouns resemble the forms found in the Pamir dialects (v. 116); but it is in the vocabulary that Par. shows the greatest similarity to its E. Ir. neighbours, as will appear from the following list (cf. Rep. p. 31):

*ā'yun-: ā'γust* "to dress": Psht. *āγustəl* etc.

*'āmar* "apple": Psht. *maṇa* etc.

*ār'zun* "millet": Mj. *yūrzan*, but Prs. *arzan*.

*'stēč* "star": Shgh. *š'tēj < \*stārčī*.

*a'star* "to smear": Mj. *āster*.

*ušt* "to rise": Mj. *wušK*.

*'šten, 'šte'nūk* "kid": Ishk. *štunuk* etc.

*'štāwō* "cold": Shgh. *še'tā* etc. "frozen".

*'ūzeh-: ū'zā* "to remain, be left behind": Yd. *ūzaiyah*, Orm. *ōzūk* "left behind" etc.

- bhām* "smell": Sak. *bvāma-ta* "intelligence".  
*bhīn* "tree": Shgh. *vēγzn* etc. "birch"?  
*bānapa'i* "pillow": Mj. *vēznī* etc.?  
*berkh-* "to fear": Psht. *wēra*, *yēra* (Waz. *wyāra*) "fear"?  
*bāš* "rope": Psht. *wāš*, Orm. *bēš* etc.  
*bištō* "long": Psht. *ūžd* etc.  
*čā* "how many": Psht. *cō*.  
*dūč-* "to milk": Shgh. *ḍūj-*, Mj. *lūž-* etc.  
*dhōr* "saw": Mj. *ləšky*.  
*derz-* "to take on one's back": Psht. *lēžəl* "to load", Orm. *daž-* etc.  
*dusaya* "kid, two years old": Psht. *dōšaral*.  
*dōš* "hair": Wkh. *ḍūrs* "goat's hair" etc.  
*gī'nō* "hair": Psht. *γūna* etc.  
*gir* "stone": Shgh. *žir* etc.  
*γuh-*: *γušt* "to throw": Psht. *wištəl* etc.  
*γan* "oak": Psht. *wana* "tree" etc.  
*γanukō* "short": Sak. *vanda-*, but also Bal. *gicand*.  
*γa'nir* "field": Wkh. *wūndr*.  
*γarw-* "to be boiling": Mj. *wurv-*, Sar. *wārav-* etc.  
*γu'γōk* "child": Psht. *wuγ* "small", *wōγkai* "boy".  
*γūzd* "fat": Psht. *wāzda*.  
*hī* "bridge": Shgh. *yēd* etc.  
*harw-* "to hear": Psht. *arwēdəl*.  
*jaγ-* "to say": Psht. *žarəl* "to cry".  
*kō* "roof": Wkh. *kūt* etc.  
*khūf-* "to cough": Yd. *kofah* etc.  
*ka'mā* "throat": Psht. dial. *kūmai* "Adam's apple".  
*mē'hī* "month": Psht. *-mai*, Orm. *māi*.  
*mux* "face": Psht. *max*, Orm. *mux*.  
*na'γōn* "bread": Psht. *naγan*, Orm. *txan* etc.  
*nōrk* "nail": Sangl. *narzak* etc.  
*pē* "milk": Psht. *pai* etc.  
*p(h)i* "spade": Shgh. *fe*, Wkh. *pāy* etc.  
*pen* "with, by help of": Psht. *bāndē* "on" etc.?



- pa'nân* "road": Shgh. *pānd* etc.  
*pa'rič-* "to shake a sieve": Shgh. *parwiz-*.  
*pa'râsur*, *pa'râsur* "last year": Wkh. *pard*, or Psht. *parôs*.  
*ruč* "flea": Mj. *fērîga*, Orm. *š'ak* etc.  
*rha'γâm* "spring": Psht. *warγūmai* "male kid"?  
*rhînē* "fire": Zeb. *rōšnî*, Orm. *rūn*.  
*rhâz-* "to fly": Shgh. *rewâz-* etc.  
*sūy* "word, affair": Sar. *saug* "proverb, tale"?  
*sa'hōk* "hare": Psht. *sōe*, Orm. *sikak*.  
*su'nî-*: *su'nâ* "to wash": Shgh. *ze'nē-*: *ze'nād* etc.  
*šî* "horn": Sar. "shaw" etc.  
*šî'čak* "female": Zeb. *šeč* etc.  
*tōy* "male mountain goat": Wkh. *tuγ* "goat".  
*thî-* "to burn": Wkh. *θau-*, *θi-iūw-* etc.  
*tar-* "in, to, from": Ishk. *tar* "into" etc.  
*xēr* "hay": Oss. *xor* "fodder".  
*xēra* "mill": Mj. *xîrgá* etc.  
*xâya* "summer": Psht. *wōrai* etc.  
*zâγ* "son": Psht. *zōe*, Soghd. *zāk*.  
*zâm* "son-in-law": Psht. *zūm*.  
*žōx* "firewood": Wkh. *yax* "twig".

With Minj., its nearest neighbour towards the north-east, Par. shares the treatment of the secondary group of consonants \**rt*, cf. Par. *zītō*, Minj. *zīt* "yellow" < Av. *zairita-*. The present stem *kan-* from the root *kar-* "to do", which is alien to N.W. Ir., is found in Par. and Minj., but also in other E. Ir. dialects. Further, the re-partition of the stems in Par. *žē-*: *āya* "to come" (\**āyāya-*: *āgata-*) is found in Minj., too, and not only in N.W. Ir., as stated by Ted. (p. 231).

10. This survey shows that Par. occupies a rather central position among the Ir. languages. The points of agreement with E. Ir., which we found especially in the vocabulary, may be due to a protracted contact with these dialects. But the agreements with the W. (especially N.W.) Ir. dialects, probably date from a very early time,

when an unbroken series of dialects (in Hazarajat, Herat etc.) connected Parachi with Western Iran.

If, as I think probable, both Par. and Orm. are the remains and descendants of the original Ir. languages of Afghanistan<sup>1</sup>, the points of resemblance between the two languages can easily be explained. The profound divergences in some respects indicate that the connexion between the two was severed at an early date, probably on account of an Indian expansion towards the West, which partly embedded the Par. tribe in Nijrau and Tagau, and perhaps created a Parachi diaspora of pedlars (cf. 6).

11. The very strong Ind. influence to which Par. has been subject shows also that this dialect has been spoken for a long time in, or near, its present home.

A great number of Ind. loan-words of Hind. and Lhd. origin have reached Par., probably to a great extent through the medium of Prs. and Psht. Cf. Voc. s.v.v. *bham'bur*, *čur'i*, *də'rāk*, *'ghana*, *ga'r'i* (*ga'r'i*), *gaṭ*, *haḍḍ*, *'jumkī*, *jōr*, *jo'wārī*, *ka'čārī*, *kačera-phōr*, *kāl*, *kanča'nī*, *kuṭ*, *luṇ'gī*, *langō'ta*, *'luṇḍu*, *lūr*, *lata'i*, *'maila*, *mai'nā*, *'maṭṭa*, *na'ti*, *'phuṇḍō*, *pher*, *pai'lān*, *'paisa*, *peṭ*, *puṭ*, *rupa'i*, *sīr*<sup>2</sup>, *tēl*, *tōl*, *tōk*, *wēh*.

The Engl. words in Par. have also come through Ind. (e. g. *kār'nail*, *'ardalī*, *pal'tūn*, *'wāskaf*).

Ind., but borrowed from sources not easy to define in each case, are such words as *'āyeš*, *bučh*, *bumbw'rū*, *čhar*, *čhaṭ'tō*, *čī'nō*, *dha'ram*, *dhēw*, *da'lēw*, *ghāṇḍ*, *'hanu*, *jāl*, *ka'čō*, *'khandi*, *'kaṭṭō*, *lam*, *'lāwər*, *'māneš*, *pen'dī*, *peṇḍar*, *pa'rōn*, *patt*, *ra'hō*, *se'ya*, *šēl*, *šī'nā*, *šunḍ*, *'tekku*, *wil*, *wāš*. Prob. of Ind. origin are also: *ba'lūr*, *ḍumb*, *'ḍōnas*, *'khānas*, *\*kuṭur(ika)*, *'lāṇḍā*, *le'rē*, *luṭa'kī*, *'paddō*, *pal*.

Words such as *'kânō* and *'wāyār* (cf. Rep. p. 25), which have their nearest parallels in the Kafir languages, render it possible that some of the words mentioned above may be of Kafir origin. And it is very probable that many of them have been borrowed

<sup>1</sup> The question whether Orm. was introduced from the West will be discussed in the Orm. section below.



from Pash., even if they do not at present exist in, or have not been traced in that language. We know that e. g. *lūwōn* and *phōr* have been borrowed from an earlier stage of Pash. and the same is probably the case with *dha'mān* etc. (v. Voc.).

But the number of words certainly borrowed from Pash. and still found in that language is quite large. Cf. the voc. s.v.v. *ā'i*, *uē*, *aṇḍi'wāl*, *īra*, *bhār*, *bālō*, *būru*, *čūr*, *ča'tak*, *dādā*, *dhar-*, *dhār*, *dhārī*, *dhāw-*, *dāk*, *dāk*, *dīwu'rūk*, *ḍak*, *ḍal*, *gan'dā*, *ga'rāṭ*, *hā*, *heṇ'gas*, *hu'pēr*, *juṭ*, *khuj*, *kheṇ*, *khur*, *khu'rī*, *kun*, *kō'pān*, *kōr*, *ka'sāyan* (Pash. < ?), *kausa'yā* (Pash. < Prs.), *kaṭ*, *ka'wār*, *kiza'rē*, *lejj*, *ma'či*, *māma*, *maṇ'dō*, *muṇḍa'rān*, *maruk* (?), *māwul*, *muž*, *pōč* (?), *pač'a'gī*, *pa'pō*, *par-*, *par*, *sī*, *sāt*, *šāp*, *šor*, *ta'pō*, *ta'rānī*, *tag*, *tōngōk*, *w(i)'yār*.

12. But the Pash. influence upon Par. is by no means restricted to the vocabulary. Like most Pash. dialects Par. changes *y* into *ž* and the distribution of this development (cf. Gawar-Bati *y* > *ž*, Traieguma Waigeli *y* > *z*.) shows that it originates from Pash.

The treatment of intervocalic *-t-* and *-č-* is identical in the two languages (v. 50, 55) (*t* is elided, but *č* retained). The development of *-p-*, however, differs (Par. *-w-*, Pash. *-p-*), while the fate of *-k-* in Pash. is uncertain, and the two languages have probably developed on independent lines as regards intervocalic stops.<sup>1</sup>

But the most important result of Ind. (prob. Pash. or pre-Pash.) influence on the phonetical system of Par., is the introduction (or preservation) of aspirates which will be discussed below (73). Even if we admit that the aspirates may in some cases have been inherited directly from a pre-Ir. stage, the preservation and extended use of them is undoubtedly due to a strong Ind. influence.

13. If we turn to the morphology of Par., we find that this language has borr. from Pash. the pl. suffix *ḍal* and the case suf-

<sup>1</sup> Pash. is the only Ind. language in which intervocalic *t* is preserved in some cases, owing to an early vowel contraction. E.g. Pash. L. *vst* "20" < \**visati* (but e.g. *trāivya* "60" < \**trāyōvisāti*), *hanata* "you shall beat" < \**hanāthana* (Turner, JRAS, 1927, 237); but e.g. Waig. *wiši*, *ē* (< *-athana*). The contraction of an unstressed vowel in similar position is common to most Ir. dialects, and it is possible that Pash. may have been influenced by the Ir. system of accentuation.

fixes *kun* and *wanō* (v. 82, 97, 103). Probably forms such as Par. *bāwōhā* "father and son" etc. (v. 83) are of Pash. origin (cf. Pash. L. *bāwyā*).

In some cases we find strikingly similar forms. in Par. and Pash. Cf. Par. *ān* "I": Pash. *ā* (v. 113); the enclitic pronouns (v. 116); Par. and Pash. *S a, ā* "he, it is" (v. 194); Par. and Pash. *bīn* "he was" (v. 182); poss. Par. 1 pl. *-man*: E. Pash. 1 pl. konj. *-man* (v. 193). In each of these cases, viewed separately, the similarity might be due to a parallel but independent development; but the number of these morphological points of resemblance peculiar to Par. and Pash. renders it probable that they are not all of them accidental. No borrowing of forms need have taken place; but forms which resembled those of the neighbouring language may have had a better chance of being retained. Considering the numerical superiority of the Pashais and the great number of Pash. loan-words in Par., we may safely assume that the source has been Pash.<sup>1</sup>

At any rate, Par. *sī* "it exists" and the suffix of the present in *-tōn* (v. 176, 198) have been borrowed from Pash. In particular the latter instance, the borrowing of a purely inflexional element, shows how deeply Pash. has influenced Par. This is certainly not due to the existence of a Pash. substratum in Par., seeing that Par. is the language which has lost ground; but it indicates a former social or cultural superiority on the part of Pash. and a close connexion between the two languages during an extended period.

14. The influence of Prs. dominates the Par. vocabulary completely. Among the words which I collected, the words of Prs. origin by far outnumbered the genuine Par. ones. A certain number of Prs. words, however, occurred only in the poems, and were probably not much used in the ordinary language.

But Par. seems to be approaching a state where the Prs. influence becomes altogether overwhelming. Most, if not all, of the men are bilingual, and any word wanting in Par. may be supplied from Prs.

<sup>1</sup> Regarding a few possible Par. loan-words in Pash. v. Rep. p. 26 (*par-* is probably borr. into Par. from Pash.).



It is frequently impossible to decide whether we should consider a word to be naturalized as a loan-word in Par., or not. In many cases a Prs. word is used even where a Par. word with the same meaning exists. E.g. *âdam* "man" is used along with *mâneš*, and sometimes *sar-i'xud* "his own head" is said instead of *xu'sör*, or *xâna* "house" instead of *γus*. This shows that Par. has reached a state when the resistance to the introduction of Prs. elements is very weak. In some cases, however, the Prs. words have been "translated" into Par., v. Voc. s.v.v. *âwə-i didai'ka*, *khörə'bu*, *khörə'gū*.

The syntactical system, the "innere Sprachform" of Par. has a strong Prs. stamp, and most idioms are formed after Prs. patterns, as will be apparent from the Prs. translations of Par. sentences given in the Texts and in the Vocabulary.

Through the influence of Prs. the Ar. *qāf* has been introduced into Par., although *k* is frequently heard in unguarded speech, and even the *ain* occurs occasionally. The pronunciation of *â* in Shutul (G and T; M, who was some 25 years older, had a less rounded pronunciation), compared with *ā* in Nijrau, is certainly due to Prs. In Shutul the Parachis are surrounded by a Prs. population, and the men probably often speak nearly as much Prs. as Par., and easily adapt their pronunciation to that of Prs.

The morphological system of Par. is nearly intact. But the use of the *izāfat*, which was probably introduced in loan-words such as *band-e 'dest* "wrist" (also *band-e' döst*, *band-e dösti'ka*), has been fully established. It is possible that the pl. in *-ân* is of Prs. origin, the genuine pl. being found in *phör*, pl. *phar* etc. (v. 83). T's tendency to employ the nom. (e.g. *ân* "I" instead of *mun*) with past tenses of transitive verbs is certainly a Persianism.

15. A language like Par. — this applies also to Orm., some dialects of Pash. etc. — is therefore not a comparatively self-sufficient and complete unity like the great languages of civilization. Nor does it occupy the independent position of e.g. the Kafir languages, which till recently had a separate civilization of their own, and

were, in the main, able to express the ideas known to them by means of indigenous, or completely assimilated, linguistic elements.

It is, of course, impossible to consider Par. as a dialect of Prs. in the ordinary, genealogical sense, since it has retained a morphological system and, to a considerable extent, a vocabulary which differs very much from Prs. But it might, in a certain sense of the word, be called a "cultural" dialect of Prs.

GRAMMAR.  
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Phonetical System.  
Vowels.

16. *a* (*a*)<sup>1</sup> is rather advanced, especially in *nāms* "19", where it is near, or above the cardinal point. The diphthong (*ai*) is *ä<sub>I</sub>* or *ä<sub>I</sub>*; but in (*au*) the *a* is retracted and slightly rounded: *av*, *ao*. When stressed, the *a* is frequently lengthened:

*guza'rom* 'kvʁa "I had passed", *tar* "at", *na* "not", 'kanta "are doing", čha'ʁi: "fell", *davr* "circle", *lango'ṭä<sub>I</sub>* "his turban", *a<sub>I</sub>*, *ä<sub>I</sub>* "oh".

It is doubtful whether *ä(:)* in *žü'ä(:)s* "11" G, T, D is a separate phoneme (*žwö:s* M).

Note *ha'vi:*, *he'vi:*, *he'vi:* "this".

*a:(ā)* is in the Shutul dialect a back *a* (close to the cardinal point 5). It is slightly rounded, especially in the pronunciation of G, T, less so with M. In Nijrau it is an entirely unrounded *a* (about 4½—4¾). Before a nasal it is more decidedly rounded in Shutul, approaching Norwegian *ā*: 'a:γe:m "I came", *ha:l* "condition", *a:n* "I", *gu'ma:n* "doubt", *na:m* "name". Before or after *ɫ*, *i* the sounds *a:* and *a:* seem to be interchangeable: *bɪ'ɫa:*, *bɪ'ɫa:* "brother", *nɪ'ha:l*, *nɪ'haa:l* "shoot".

<sup>1</sup> In this section the vowel symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet are used, the symbols employed by me elsewhere being added in brackets.

This tentative sketch does not pretend to give any complete and final account of Par. phonetics.



The different 'a' sounds are nearly identical with those of Afgh. Prs.

- e (e) is generally rather wide, approaching ε: *ja'ren*, *ja'ren* "to say", *pen* "with", *pa'ε s* "15", *'mende* "this" (acc.), *'merem* "I die", *e'de*: "this" (obl.). Occasionally it is lengthened: *'me'rem*.
- e: (ē) is higher (cardinal point 2):

- 'a:γe:m* "I came", *pe:š* "before", *'me:rem* "I kill". As an unstressed final it is frequently shortened: *'mende*; *mende(·)* "this".
- e, ɪ (e, i) is a very high and narrow e, it becomes i before the semivowel ɹ: *čɪ'ra:γ* "lamp", *e, ɪ* "the izāfat", *čɪ* "what", *bɪ'ɪa:* "brother". In *šar'mūnda* "ashamed" the ɪ has been rounded after m.
- i: (ī) is a narrow i, in some cases diphthongized: *na'ri*: "he could", *si:r* "satisfied", *di*: "two", *'ghɪ:etō*: "has seized", *'ni:etō*: "is going out".

- u (u, ʊ) is a low u of a very varying character. Especially before r, l it approaches the mixed sounds. When stressed it is frequently lowered into o:(u), ʊ:, or, in front of nasals, even into ɔ: (ā):

*gu'ma:n* "doubt", *mux* "face", *γus*, *γos* "house", *zuv* "heart", *ku:r*, *ko:(u)r* "did", *dhuv*, *dhō:r* "saw", *buv*, *bu:r* "carried", *'bulbul* "nightingale", *hvs*, *huss* "all", *v'šta*: "rose", *γušt*, *γušt* "20", *ruč*, *ru:č* "day", *'γa:phune*; *'γa:phō:ne*: "wind", *mun*, *mo*, *mə*, *mā*: "me", *'maɾdum*, *maɾ'do:m* "people".

The o, ʊ of *ho'vi*; *hō'vi*: probably belongs to the u-phoneme.

The rules determining the exact character of these variations are not known to me.

- u:(ū) is a separate phoneme, although it occurs also through lengthening of u (*bu:r* "carried", *'šu(:)kur* "thank God"). It is narrow and in some cases advanced:

*γu'lu*: "much", *maz'du:r* "servant", *xu:r* "ate", *žū*: "1", *ča:rbū*: "fat". Between two palatal sounds we find ū corresponding to Prs. u: in *čūča* "kid".

- o is probably not a separate phoneme, but is to be regarded as a variant of the u phoneme: o, ɔ:, u, vo: "and".

o: is found in a few words: *laŋgo:ʔa* "turban", *ʔspo*: "louse".



ö: (õ) is a mid, mixed, rounded vowel (rather high and retracted). It is higher before nasals, lower before *r*. It sometimes approaches *u*, *u:*, in Nijrau it is more retracted than in Shutul (about ö:): *öör* "4", *pö:ně* "5", *hö:t* "7", *dös* "10", *sör* "head", *tö:* "thee", *ba:lö:* "boy", *kantö:n* "doing".

ə is found as the result of the reduction of full vowels:

*fə'lami:*, *fə'lami:* "somebody", *də'ri:n*, *du'ri:n* "far". Reduced vowels also in *n<sup>a</sup>hašt*, *n<sup>(ə)</sup>hašt* "sat down", *d<sup>ə</sup>hēv*, *dhēv* "to desire". But also *a:və*, *a:vo* "water".

The diphthongs are *ai* (*ai*), *a:r*, *a:e* (*âi*), *av* (*au*), *a:v*, *a:o* (*âu*).

Nasalized vowels occur frequently, generally as doublets of vowel + nasal: *a*, *a<sup>n</sup>* = *an*, *a:*, *a:<sup>n</sup>* = *a:n*, *a:n*. Before *s* we regularly find a nasalized vowel in *paēs* "15", *žū:ä:s* etc. "11".

Par. possesses long and short vowels, but not a regular system of opposition between long and short vowels of the same quality. Moreover the quantity is not always fixed.

### Semivowels.

17. The palatal semivowel occurs chiefly in loan words:

*ja:l* (*yâl*) "mane", *xi ja:l* "fancy". The labial semivowel is found in intervocalic position interchangeable with the bilabial fricative: *ba:ya*, *ba:va* = *ba:va* "thy father".

18.

### Consonants.

	Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Alveolar	Alveolo-Palatal	Retroflex	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive .	<i>p</i> , <i>b</i>		<i>t</i> , <i>d</i>			<i>t̪</i> , <i>d̪</i>	<i>k</i> , <i>g</i>	<i>q</i>	'
Affricate	<i>ph</i> , <i>bh</i>		<i>th</i> , <i>dh</i>		<i>č</i> , <i>ž</i> <i>čh</i>	<i>th̪</i>	<i>kh</i> , <i>gh</i>		
Nasal . .	<i>m</i> <i>mh</i>		<i>n</i> <i>nh</i> <i>l</i> <i>lh</i>			<i>ɳ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>		
Lateral .									
Rolled .				<i>r</i> <i>rh</i>		<i>r̪</i>			
Fricative	<i>v</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i> , <i>z</i>		<i>š</i> , <i>ž</i>		<i>x</i> , <i>ɣ</i>		<i>h</i>

19. Plosives and Affricates. *t*, *d* are probably post-alveolar. It is doubtful whether they are really retroflex.

*q* occurs in loan-words, but is interchangeable with *k* (v. 14). ' is heard, but not always, before initial vowels: 'ö:sp "horse", 'a:l'šö: "has seized"; stronger in Ar. loan-words with 'ain: 'el'm "knowledge".

The *h* of *bh* etc. is probably unvoiced, and occasionally a short vocalic element is heard between the plosive and the *h*. But generally *bh* etc. give the impression of forming one phoneme. The aspiration of *ch* easily becomes absorbed into the second element of the aspirate. Cf. the conditions in N. Bal., where the aspiration of *ch* is frequently omitted, and in Welsh Gypsy (Sampson, p. 51).

20. Nasals and Rolled Sounds. Dental *n* occurs before a palatal: pö:nč "5".

The *r* in *zur* "heart" etc. resembles Psht. *r*. The *r* in *r t*, *rd* is less energetically articulated, and is interchangeable with *r*.

21. Fricatives. *š*, *ž* do not give the impression of being very markedly palatal sounds. There is no difference between *š* < \**š*, \*(s)tr etc., and *š* < \**š*: 'yušt 'yušt-om yušt (< \*wisati angustā-mai wistā) "I have thrown twenty fingers". Formerly the *š* was rounded (v. 30). *x* is slightly palatalized before *i*: *xi*: "6". *h* is unvoiced.

### The Syllable.

22. Double consonants exist: 'žu m-me:hi: "one month", 'he k-ker "this work", 'na p-pa'ri: "does not go", 'šu l-lak "three lakhs", ha'tö:s (or ha'tö:s) "17", yus(s) "house", hus(s) "all", yus'si: (yu'si:) "from the house".

A prothetic, overshort vowel occurs before initial *sp*, *st*. Apparently part of the *s* only belongs to the first syllable, and the acoustic impression is: 'spö: (ə'spö:) "dog", 'ste:č "star" etc. Similarly wa'spe: "buttermilk" etc., which for the sake of convenience will be written (wa'spē).

### Stress.

23. Word stress is not very marked, and varies a good deal according to sentence stress. Cf. 44.



### Rules of Sandhi.

24.  $a + a, a + o > a:$ ;  $e(:) + e(:), i > i:$ ;  $a + e(:), i > ai$ ;  $a + a: > a: a:$ ;  $a + ao > a:o$ ;  $a + e: > a:r:$ ,  $a:i:$ . E.g.:  $edhe:ka:na + a > edhe:ka:na$  (*edhēkānā*) "it is theirs",  $lavča + o > lavča$  (*lavčā*) "lip and",  $mende: + e: > mendi:$  (*mendī*) "him he",  $kašte(:) + i [ēi:nō:] > kašti:$  "a small girl",  $lavča + i [xi:rō:] > lavčai$  "a sweet lip",  $γusr'ka + a: > γusr'ka:ia$  "the house's is",  $zurr'ka + ao > zurr'ka:o$  (*zurikāu*) "thy heart's",  $ča: + e: > ča:r:$ ,  $ča:r$  "why art thou".

Voiced consonants frequently become unvoiced in final position and before unvoiced consonants:  $bi:z^h$ ,  $bi:z$  "grain",  $se:γ$  /  $se:x$  "shade",  $sa'baγ$  (Prs. *sabab*) "reason",  $we'se:γ$  "to send":  $we'se:štō:n$  "sending",  $rhi:z$  "to lie down":  $rhi:štō:n$ . But also:  $Paγ'ma:n$  /  $Pax'ma:n$ .

And vice versa:  $a:z'ma:n$  /  $a:s'ma:n$  "sky",  $dō:z ru:č$  /  $dō:s ru:č$  "10 days",  $γuž lak$  /  $γušt lak$  "20 lakhs".

Other types of assimilation occur in:  $me:m bō:st$  /  $me:n b^o$  "girded the loins",  $bham'bi:$  ( $< *bham'pi:$ ) "a wooden spade".

A final *-r* often disappears:  $sō:(r)$  "on",  $aga(r)$  "if",  $bō:(r)$  "door" etc. But note the inserted *r* in hiatus:  $γuswa'nō:r$   $a:γa$  "he came towards the house",  $pha:ri:r$   $a:γa$  "he came from that side" (Phon.).

A final *-n* is often weakened or elided, with or without nasalization of the preceding vowel (v. 16):  $a:$ ,  $a:n$ ,  $a:n$  "I",  $kanta(:)$ ,  $kanta$ ,  $kanta^n$ ,  $kantan$  "are doing". Generally  $kantō:$  (not  $kantō:$ ) =  $kantō:n$  "is doing" (v. 198). Also  $če:$  =  $če:$ ,  $čēn$  "they went" etc.

Regarding the doubling of an initial consonant after a stressed, short monosyllabic word (*tu k-ka:* "who art thou") v. 22.

### Historical Phonology.

#### Vowels.

##### Ir. $a^1$ .

25. Stressed Ir.  $a >$  Par.  $ō$  (D, P  $ó$ ,  $ō$ ):  $ōsp$  "horse",  $ōšt$  "8",  $phōk$  "cooked" ( $*paxwa-$ ),  $bōr$  "door",  $bōst$  "bound",  $dōs$  "10",  $jō$

<sup>1</sup> In this and the following sections the treatment of the sounds of ancient Irw's is included.

"beat", *kō* "roof" (\**kata*-), *khör* "donkey", *nörk* "nail" (\**naxra*-), *sō* "100", *pōnē* "5", *sör* "head", *ku'rō* "done". (\**krtāka*[*hya*]), *ā'γō* "has come" (\**āgātaka*-) etc.

In Prs. lw.s we find *a*: *sar* "head", *sad* "100", *nar* "male" etc. Consequently *tōn* "body", *rōng* "colour" are prob. genuine, or ancient lw.s, cf. *phör* "grain, fruit" > Pash. L *phāl*.

26. Unstressed *a* remains (cf. the treatment of unstressed *i*, *u*, *r*, 30, 32, 34): *ā'γa* "he came" (\**āgata*-), *ēmsar* "this year" (Prs. *imsāl*), *a'wē* "remembering" (\**abyāta*-), *da'nān* "tooth", *γa'sō* "calf" (\**wasākahya*), *ma'hōk* "moon", *na'wā* "grandson", *na'mō* "felt", *sa'γōn* "cow's dung", *rha'γām* "spring" (\**fragāma*-), *da'hem* "I give", *ja'nem* "I beat", *tar* "from, to" (unstressed, but *tōrpī* "calf from one to two years old"), *pha'kō* "has cooked" (\**paxwakāhya*), *xā'ra* "summer" (\**h(u)wāhrtaka*-?), *zāma* D, P "son-in-law" (\**zāmaka*-), *šusara* "calf, three years old" (\**šrisardaka*-), *γurēa* "hungry" (< \**wurs* + *čak* < \**wrsu*-), *zīta* P "yellow" (\**zāritaka*-). In *zītō* G etc. "yellow" and other cases the *ō* has been introduced through analogy.

*γān* "oak", *γarp* "snow", *γāzd* "fat", *γax* "voice", have *a* (reg. *ā* v. 16) in stressed position. This is not due to a differentiating force of *γ* < \**γw* < \**w*, cf. *γōra* "desire, longing" (\**wāraka*-). But, if we compare the Psht. fem. *wana*, *wāwra*, *wāzda* it seems probable that the *a* has been preserved through the influence of a final *-ā*. *γax* can be derived from f. or pl. \**waxšā* (Av. *vaxša* n.).

In the same manner we can explain *se'γa* "sand" (lw., cf. Skr. *sikatā*-), *tam* "cloud" (Skr. L. *tamā* "night") *ma'γas* "fly" (\**makasā*-?), *phar* pl. of *phör* "fruit" (anc. lw. from Pash.), *-tan* pl., *-tōn* sg. "suff. of the present stem" *hastam* "I was": *hōst* "he was". Prob. \**spay* G "dog" is originally the f. of \**spō* (\**spakā*, \**spakah*). It is uncertain, whether a similar difference of gender can be traced in the suffixes *-ōk*, *-ak*, e.g. *nē'rōk* "male": *šī'čak* "female".<sup>1</sup>

In *γanukō* (accentuation uncertain) "short", *ga'num* M, G, P (*ga'nem* D) "wheat", *janō* G, T, *janicē* M "living" we find *a* before

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Shgh. *a(-a)* > *i*, but *a(-ā)* > *ā*: *dis* "10", *wān* "tree", NSgh. 84.



original *nt*; but I do not know if this is the reason of the retention of *a*. Possibly the stress has shifted. Reg. *'barem* "I carry" etc. cf. 193.

27. Before a nasal unstressed *a* results in *u*: *mun* "me", *-um* "my, by me", *kun* "to" (< Pash. L *kan*), *'wārun* "flour" (\**ārtana*-), *'ārzan* M, *ār'zun* G "millet", *čū'mōr* "go" (imper. 2 pl.). But *a* before \**ā* in *ma'nān* "my". Note also *xu* "self, own" (\**hwatah*) with *u* in the neighbourhood of \**w*. The inserted vowel is *u* in *su'nī* "to wash" (\**snaya*-).

Regarding "umlaut" v. 39—41. I cannot explain the *ī* of *xī* "6" (Av. *xšvas*).

*a* was lengthened at an early date in *bāš* "rope" (\**basšra*-), *māt* "killed" (\**marxta*-), *pha'rāt* "to sell" (\**parawaxta*-). Reg. elision of *a* v. 43.

28. We do not know the exact character of the original Ir. sound for which the traditional symbol *a* is used, and we cannot determine how it resulted in Par. *ō* (> *ō̄*), coalescing with ancient *awa* at a time when *au* had already passed through the stage *ō*, and moved further towards *ū* (v. 36, 38). The fact that unstressed Ir. "*a*" remains as *a* does not prove anything about the original character of the sound. But the preservation of Ir. "*a*" before "*ā*" seems to show that the original "*ā*" phonemes were unrounded sounds.

A similar change of *a* into *o*, *u* seems to have taken place in Minj. etc. Cf. Minj. *yosp* "horse", *pānc* "5", *āškā* "8", *lod* "tooth", Ishk. *āf* (Zeb. *ōt*) "8", *pūnz* "5", *sur* (Zeb. *sōr*) "head", *xur* (Zeb. *xūr*) "donkey".

#### Ir. *ā*.

29. Ir. *ā* > Par. *ā* (Nijrau *ā*, v. 3, 16): *'āya* "came", *'āwuy* "brought", *'āwə* "water", *dā* "gave", *dwās* "12", *γā* "wind", *da'nān* "tooth", *hām* "raw", *zām* M, G "son-in-law" etc.

The prefix *ā*- has been shortened in *a'star* "to smear", *a'yun* M "to dress" (Psht. *āyund*-, Mj. *āyud*-, v. EVP. s.v. *āyustəl*). The stressed *ā* has been generalized in *ā'yun* G, cf. *'āya* "came": *ā'yō* "has

come". Reg. *žē* "to come" v. 43. *ma'hōk* "moon" can have original *a*. Note *zemā* G, D, P, *zə'mā* M "winter".

*Ir. i.*

30. *Ir. i* > *Par. e i* [*e, i*]: *'emsar* "this year" (semi-lw.?, *Prs. imsal*), *zemā* G, D, P "winter" (*zə'mā* M), *se'ya* "sand" (lw.), *'tekku* "pungent" (lw.), *nī'sōr* "the shady side of a hill" (lw.?), *pīšt* "mulberry-flour" (prob. lw., v. below). Among these words *zemā* is the only certainly genuine *Par. one*.

In the neighbourhood of *š* and *γ* (< \**γw* < \**w*) *i* becomes *u*: *γušt* "20"<sup>1</sup>, "thrown", *šu* "3", *šus* "30", *dušt* "wall" (\**dišti*), *šurur* "hedgehog", *lušt* "licked", *el'spō* "louse" (< \**spu* < \**spišā*?); *γus* "house", *γun-* "to find", *γuh-* "to throw", *γur'z-ēw-* "to pour out" (\**wi-hyz-*). Also *āšug* "lover" < *Prs. āšiq*. Reg. *šī'čak* v. 31, reg. *šī'dōs* v. 110.

Unstressed *i* > *a* (v. 26): *nar'γō* "went out" (\**nižgātaka-*), *ra'hō* "rice" (lw. < \*(*w*)*rihi-*?), *čhat'fō* "white" (< *Lhd. cittā*, *Rambani chittā*), *nā'hašt*, *nhašt* "sat down". Poss. also in *na'γōn* "bread", *na'mō* "felt". Reg. elision of *i* v. 43.

Note *nī-* "to go out" (< \**niš-ay-*), *čhī* "went" (\**čīd* < *čiyuta-*?).

*Ir. i.*

31. *Ir. i* remains in *biz* "seed", *jir* "bowstring", *'xirō* "sweet" (*Prs. širīn*), *nhīn-* "to sit down" (\**nihīdna-*?), *mē'hī* "month" (\**māhika-*?), *du'rī* "large spoon".

Unstressed *i* was shortened in *šī'čak* "female" (< \**stri-*) and poss. in *ānt* "brought", *ūnt* "brought down" (cf. *Si. ān-: āndō* "to bring"). It is, however, more probable that \**ānaya-* was thought to be a causative, and that \**ānita-* was formed instead of *ānita-*.

Note *phyō* "wet" (\**pī'haγ* < \**pītaka-*).

<sup>1</sup> Prob. < \**wisati*, not \**wiō*. *i* does not become *u* in the neighbourhood of *š* in *šī'čak*, and it is not probable that the combined influence of *γ* and *š* would have this effect.

Ir. *u*.

32. Ir. *u* generally remains: *ā'yun-* "to dress", *duṭ* "daughter", *yuṣṭ* "finger", *huṣk* "dry", *mux* "face", *puṣ* "son", *rust* "high", *sur'khō* "red", *ga'nem* M, G, P (*ga'nem* D) "wheat", *šu'γur* "hedghog" (?), *bu* "goat".

Unstressed *u* > *a* in *bana-ba'yal* "armpit" (Prs. *bun* "bottom, root")? Cf. *ka'nem* (34). Before a labial *u* in *xu'wân* "shepherd" (\**fšupāna*). An early lengthening of *u* took place in *sīt* "sour" (< \**sūt* < \**suxta*), *rhîn-t* "wept" (\**rūhn* < \**rudna*?). *rūt* "swept" (\**rufta*-) may possibly be a lw.; *tū* "thou" has been lengthened secondarily. Cf. *ūr* < *ur* < *r*.

Reg. elision of *u* v. 43.

Ir. *ū*.

33. Ir. *ū* > *ī*, as in several Ir. dialects: *bī* "was", *phī* "blowing", *bīf* "owl", *dhī* "smoke", *nī* "now, to-day", *tī* "mulberry", *šī* "horn" (Av. *srū*), *kīza'rē* "milking-pail" (Prs. *kūza*), *sī'čīn* M "needle", *čī'nō* "small" (Ind. \**cūn* < Skr. *cūrṇa*). Cf. 32, 34.

But unstressed *ū* is shortened in *sə'čīn* G, *su'čīn* "needle", *du'rīn* M, G, T, *də'rīn* M "far" (\**dūrainā*).

\**stūn* "pillar", *gū(i)* M, *gō* G, D "excrements", *kū* "where" are prob. borr. from Prs.

Ir. *γ*.

34. Ir. *γ* generally > *ur* (*ur*): *γurγ* "wolf", *γurča* "hungry", *kurγ* "hen", *durf* "awl" (\**dyfša*?), *mur'čē* "sparrow", *gu'rē* "to seize" (\**grbāya*); *āwur* "brought", *buγ* "carried", *kuγ* "did", *zuγ* "heart", *ur-* "to slay" (Skr. *γd*?), *nhāmur* "forgotten" (\**rhāmur* < \**frāmγšta*), *γurōk* "child" (Psht. *wur* "small"), *mur* "died", *āsur* "this year" (\**syd*?), *uγ* "bear" (?), *sāmur* "autumn" (\**sāma-rtu*?).

With recent lengthening of *u* before a group of consonants: *kūča'nōk* "knife" (\**kurč-* < \**kṛtya-* or \**kṛtča*); after \**w*: *xūr* "ate" (\**hurta*); but *kūr* "cap" (Av. *kərēti*?).



Before *š* (even when it disappeared at a later date) the *u* was moved towards *ö*: *döš* "hair" (Wkh. *dürs* "goat's hair"), *γöš* "cut hair" (Prs. *gurs*, Av. *frā vərəsa-* "deprived of hair"), *thör*, "drank" (*\*třšta-*), *dhör*, *dhur* (*dhvr*) "saw" (*\*dřšta*), *pörk* "sheep's dung" (*\*přška-?*).

Stressed *kur* > *kō(u)r*, *bur* > *būr* (v. 16).

Before groups of consonants where the *r* was lost at an early date (the loss of *r* in *kūča'nōk* is recent) we find *i* < *ū*: *ghīt* "seized" (*\*gūht* < *\*grfta-*, Av. *garəpta-*), *bīštō* "long" (*\*břzat-aka-*), *bhīn* "tree" (*\*břzn(y)a-*). But *phīš* "to sow" (*\*přšya-*, Prs. *pāšīdan?*).

Unstressed *r* > *a(r)*: *ma'rō* "soft" (*\*mřdu-?*), *ka'nem* "I do" (*\*křn-* or *\*kun-*). Cf. 26, 30, 32.

Reg. the *i*-umlaut in *ter-* "to drink", *deřz-* "to take on the back" v. 39.

### Ir. ai.

35. Ir. *ai* > Par. *ī*: *γī* "willow" (Av. *vaēti-*), *īx* "ice", *hī* "bridge", *mīz* "urine", *līs-* "to lick", *parīč-* "to shake a sieve" (*\*pari-waiča-*), *su'čīn* etc. "needle", *du'rīn* "far".

*žū* "1" (*\*yau* < *\*aiw* < *\*aiwah*), but *īx* (*\*aix<sup>a</sup>* < *\*aixā* pl.?), cf. EVP. s.v. *yau* (Afr. *yau*, f. *i'wa*, Bang. *yō<sup>u</sup>*, f. *ēwa* < *\*aiwah*, *aiwā*). *ma'nōk* "ram" (*\*maišna-?*) with absorption of *i* into the *š*?

The derivation of the particle *te* (v. 161) from unstressed *\*tē* < *\*tai* is uncertain.

### Ir. au.

36. Ir. *au* > Par. *ū*: *gū* "cow", *gū* "ear", *dūč-* "to milk", *rūya'sōk* "fox", *rū* "iron", *rūč* "day", *khū* "raised, high" (Av. *kaofa-?*), *žūγ* "yoke" (Ishk. *yōγ*), *\*stūr buz D* "goat" (Av. *staora-* etc.), *'rūčōn* "smoke-hole" (but *'ričūn D*, Prs. *rōzan* "window"), *rū(y)-* "sweep" (Prs. *rōb-*).

Before *n*: *gī'nō* "single hair", *'rhīnē* "light" (*\*rauχšnya-*).

*kōpān* "camel's hump" is borrr., cf. Pash. L *'kōpē*, Mj. *kūpōn*. Prs. *ō* is generally rendered by Par. *ō*.

*Ir. āyā etc.*

37. Ir. *aya* > Par. *i*: *pī* G "milk" (Av. *payah-*), *tōrpī* "calf, from one to two years old", *šī* "3", *su'nī-* "to wash", *kī* "who" (\**kahya*, or lw.?), *p(h)ī* "spade" (Wkh. *pāy* etc.).

But unstressed: *ēnem* "I bring" (\**ānayami*.) v. 193. Reg. the derivation of *ē*, *hē*, v. 124.

I generally heard *pē* G etc. "milk". If this is really a distinct form (cf. *wa'spē* "buttermilk"), it must be derived from pl. \**payāh* (cf. Psht., Shgh. *paī*). Cf. *sēγ* "shade" (\**sāyakā-*), *ēx* "egg" (\**āwy-axa-*), *xē* "open" (\**wišāya-*), *mēn* "waist" (\**mad(i)yāna-*), *gurē* "seize" (\**grbāya*), *žē* "come" (*āyāya*). But, before *m*, *gu'rīm* "I seize", *žim* "I come". Cf. 40.

*Ir. āwā.*

38. Ir. *āwā* > Par. *ō*: *nō* "9", *nō* "new", *tō* "thee", *žō* "barley", *ō* "that", *čōr* "4" (Av. *čaθwārō*), *m'sōr* "shady side of a hill" (\**nisyāwara-*, or, probably, lw.). Before a nasal *awa* > *ū*: *ūn-* "to lead down" (Av. *awa-nay-*). Unstressed in *ūzā* "remained" (\**awa-zāta-*). But *pū* "on that side" (\**pati-awa-?*).

Note *pha'rāt-* "to sell" (\**parwāht* < \**parawaxta*. v. 27, or \**parāht* < \**parāwaxta*), and, possibly, *phāri* "from that side" (\**pati-awaθra* + *i*). But cf. *čōr* above.

*i-Umlaut.*

39. *āi* results in *ē*: *ēn-* "to bring" (\**ā-naya-*), *mēr-* "to kill" (\**māraya-*), *dēr-* "to have", *pēc* "to cook", *rhēz-* "to build, prepare" (\**fra-rāzaya-*), *nhēn-* "to make to sit down" (analogical form.?), *dēs* "sickle" (\**dāθri-*, Mj. *l<sup>9</sup>ūč*), *nēšt* "nose" (\**nāsti-*), *stēc* "star" (\**stārči-*), *mēhi* "month" (\**māhika-?*), *šēl* "rice" (Ind. lw. < *sālī*), *ā'γēs* D. P "sky" (Ind. lw. < *ākāśya*).

The treatment of *āi* is more uncertain, partly on account of the occasional lengthening of *e* into *ē* (v. 16): *kēr* M, G, T, *kīr* D "work"

(Av. *kairya*-), *xēr* "hay" (\**hwarya*-), *mēr* "husband" (Anc. Prs. *martiya*-, or *mṛtiya*-), *nērōk* "male" (Av. *nairya*-), *menth* "to smear" (\**man-thaya*-), *bēž* "to bind" (\**badya*-?). But also: *rhīz* "to lie down" (\**fra-razya*-), *γa'nīr* "field" (Av. \**ava'antarya*-), *γī'rān* "ruined" (\**a-waryāna*-), *zītō* "yellow" (Av. *zairita*-). Before *n*: *jīnē* "wife" (\**janīci*-); *mēn* "waist" (prob. < \**madiyāna*-), *hēn* "they are" (direct < Av. *hēnti*-). Unstressed *pen* "with" (\**upāntai*, Psht. *bānde* "upon"). *i*: *mer* "to die", *ter* "to drink" (\**tṛya*-), *gir* "stone" (Av. *gairi*-). But *phīš* "to sow" (\**pršya*-, Prs. *pāšīdan*), *kūr* "cap" (Av. *kārati*-). Cf. 34. *u*: *hīn* "blood" (Av. *vohuni*-)? *au*: *žī* "rivulet" (Anc. Prs. *yauviyā*-, Prs. *jōi*). No umlaut of *au* before *aya*: *dūē* "to milk".

40. We find no umlaut in *ānt* "brought" (\**ā-nita*-), *ūnt* "led down" (\**awa-nita*-), *paē* "before" (\**patiša*-). In these words the *i* must have been elided before the *i*-umlaut took place, cf. *γunt* "found" (\**windita*-), v. 43. But why *zītō* "yellow" (\**zaritaka*-)?

*yā* > *ē*: *a'wē* "remembering" (\**abyāta*-); *ya* > *e*: *a'ze* "yesterday" (\**ā-zyah*-), *merem* "I die" (\**mṛyami*) etc. Cf. 37.

#### *u-Umlaut.*

41. *u*-umlaut occurs only in *mū'cō* "ant" (\**marwičaka*-? Prs. *mōrēa*, Av. *maoiri*-, *maurvi*-).

#### *Final Vowels.*

42. Generally all final vowels, except in monosyllabic words, have been lost, even when originally protected by a consonant.

But *āwō*, *āwo*, gen. *āwēi'ka* "water" (Av. *āpō*, Psht. *ōbōh*). This is probably due to the *w*: \**dādo* > *dā* "gave", but \**āβō* > *ā-wō*. Cf. also gen. pl. *-āna* (\**ānām*), v. 91, and the pl. in *-a* after numerals: *pōnē ruča* "5 days" (\**āh*-), v. 82. These forms may be due to sandhi. In most cases \**ā(h)* was lost, but at a later date than \**ah* (v. 26, 52).

\**aya*, \**ahya*, \**ahi* were lost, cf. *ēn* "bring", *γa'sō* "calf" (v. 189, 45 g, 193). \**āya* > *-ē*: *gurē* (v. 189). \**ayahi* > *-ē*: *mērē* "thou killest" (v. 193); \**ati* > *-a*: *bara* "he carries" (v. 193)? Cf. also 116.



*Elision of Vowels.*

43. Unstressed, initial short vowels have been elided before the transition of *w* > *γ*: *γa'nīr* "field" (\**awa-antarya*-), *γī'rān* "ruined" (\**a-waryāna*-?). Cf. also: *γār* "coal" (Skr. *aṅgāra*-), *γušt* "finger" (Av. *angušta*-), *mā* "we" (Av. *ahmā*), *wa'spē* "buttermilk" (\**apas-payāh*), and, at an earlier date, in the postposition *pen* "with" (\**upāntai*); poss. also in *tar* "in" (Av. *antarə*). In *žē* "to come" (\**āyāya*-?) an initial *ā*- appears to have been lost (cf. 29).

An initial consonant, too, has been elided in: *bān* "tongue" (\**huzbāna*-, Prs. *zubān*), *hīn* "blood" (Av. *vohunī*-, Prs. *xūn* etc.), *xē* "open" (\**wišāya*-).

Medial, unstressed short vowels were elided (before the sonorization of intervocalic *t*, v. 55): *γušt* "20", *γunt* "found", *ānt* "led", *ūnt* "led down", *zītō* "yellow", *bīstō* "long", *pač* "before" (\**patiša*-), but *pa'rāsur* "last year" (\**parut*?). Cf. also *bhāy* "ashes" (\**bahākā*), *bhām* "smell" (\**budāma*-; note the orthography *buhām* in Prs. script), *nams* "19", *kaštē* "girl" (\**kaništā*-) etc. Cf. 45.

The vowel has been retained in cases where the elision would result in a difficult group of consonants: *na'mō* "felt", *na'γōn* "bread", *na'mā* "salt". But cf. *bān* "tongue" (\**huzbāna*-, Prs. *zubān*), *hīn* "blood" (Av. *vohunī*-, Prs. *xūn* etc.), *xē* "open" (\**wišāya*-). Apparently the groups \**zb*- etc. existed for a brief time. The preservation of the vowel in *sa'hōk* "hare" and other words in *-ōk* may be due to the fact that this suffix has been added secondarily.

*Stress.*

44. In the preceding paragraphs mention has frequently been made of the effects of stress upon the Par. vowels. Generally speaking the same *syllables* appear to have carried the stress in the ancient Ir. dialect from which Par. is derived, as in present-day Par. But the *system* of accentuation was quite different from the modern Par. one, which has changed owing to the very elisions of vowels brought about by the ancient stress-system.

45. The following reconstruction of the pre-Par. system of accentuation is necessarily tentative, partly owing to the insufficiency of the material. But it will be seen that, in the main, it conforms to the one proposed by Messrs. Meillet and Gauthiot for ancient Ir. (v. MSL. XX, 1. sqq.).<sup>1</sup>

a) A long penultima was stressed: *rha'γām* "spring" (\**fragāma*-), *γār* "coal" (\**angāra*-), *γušt* "finger" (\**angūšta*-), *du'rīn* "far" (\**dūraīna*-), *'gurē*, *gu'rē* "seize" (\**grbāya*-), *nhašt* "sat down" (\**nihásta*-), *bhāγ* "ashes" (\**bahākā*-), *a'wē* "remembering" (\**abyāta*-), *pha'rāt* "to sell" (\**parāwāxta*-), *ūzā* "remained" (\**awazāta*-), *γa'nīr* "field" (\**awantārya*-) etc.

b) Possibly an antepenultima which was long by nature, carried the stress, even if the penultimate syllable was long by position: *'nhāmur* "forgotten" (\**frāmryšta*-). This rule may explain G *ā'γun* "to dress" (from imper. 2 sg. \**águnda*), but M *ā'γun* (\**āgindami* etc.).

c. Apparently a short penultima was stressed before a long final syllable (: consisting of two morae): *ga'num* "wheat" (\**gantūmah*-), *ma'γas* "fly" (\**makāsā*-), *wa'spē* "buttermilk" (\**apaspáyāh*-), *se'γa* "sand" (\**sikātā*-, lw.). But *jīnē* "woman" (\**jāniči*- early < *janiči*-?). There is no certain example to show if this was also the case when the antepenultima was long by nature. Cf. the similar rule in Greek.

d) Except in this case, a long antepenultima was stressed before a short penultima: *γunt* "found" (\**windita*-<sup>2</sup>), *'āγa* "came" (\**ágata*-), *'āwur* "brought" (\**ábyta*-), *ānt* "brought" (\**ánita*- < \**ānita*-, v. 31), *'zāmā* D, P "son in law" (\**zāmaka*-), *γušt* "20" (\**wisati*-), *žū'ās* "11" (\**aiwāndasa*-), *dwās* "12" (\**ducādasa*-), *pa'rāsūr* "last year" (\**parutāsṛda*-), *gu'rīm* "I seize" (\**grbāyami*-), *žim* "I come" (\**āyāyami*-), *ā'γunem* M "I dress" (\**āgindami*-).

e) A short antepenultima carried the stress in trisyllabic words: *pač* "before" (\**pātiša*-), *jīnē* "woman" (\**janiči*-), *čhī* "went" (\**čiyuta*-).

<sup>1</sup> Note that \**rt* etc. were treated as short syllables.

<sup>2</sup> The Par. forms are derived from cases with short final vowel.



f. When the last three syllables were short, the fourth one from the end carried the stress:<sup>1</sup> *ēnem* "I bring" (\**ānayami*), *mērem* "I kill" (\**mārayami*), *rhēzem* "I build" (\**frarāzayami*), *zītō*, *zīta* "yellow" (\**zāritaka*-), *bīštō* "long" (\**bṛzataka*-), *paēs* "15" (\**pāñcā-dasa*), *nams* "19" (\**nāwadasa*), *γurēa* "hungry" (\**wṛsučaka*-). In *šusara* "calf, three years old" (\**šrisardaka*-), *šusara* "calf, two years old" the numerals may have attracted the stress.

The place of the accent in the different persons of the aorist is, to a great extent, due to analogy (v. 193).

g) The stressed suffix *-ō* is probably derived from an oblique form *-ākahya*. Possibly the group *h̥y*, although it did not make the penultima long by position, prevented the stress from falling on the fourth syllable from the end. E.g. *γa'sō* "calf" (\**wasākahya*), *na'mō* "felt" (\**nimatākahya*), *na'γōn* "bread" (\**nikānahya*?).

Secondarily this *-ō* was transferred to other words also: *kuṛa* "had done" (\**kṛtaka*-), but *ku'rō* (*kuṛō*) "has done"; *zīta* "yellow" (\**zāritaka*-), but *zītō* with secondary *-ō* (or < \**zī'tō* < \**zaritākahya*?).

Note *wīra'nō* "bedding" < \**wihranō* < \**βirštanáy* < \**βistranáyē* < \**abistaranākahya*? *kaštē* "girl" can possibly be derived from \**kāništāki*- (?).

46. If we assume that the fourth syllable from the end (type g) was stressed only when long, we could explain *ēnem* (\**ānayami*) and *gu'rīm* (\**gṛbāyami*) without resorting to a stem \**gṛbāya*-. In that case *γa'sō* (\**wasākahya*) would be quite regular. *paēs* (\**pāñcadasa*), would be regular; but *nams* (\**nawadasa*) would have to be explained in the same way as *šusara* (45, f).

But this assumption would fail to account for *ēn* "bring" (\**ānaya*), but *gurē* "seize" (with shifting of stress < *gu'rē* < *gṛbāya*); \**gṛbaya* would result in \**gur*. Nor can *žīm* "I come" be derived from \**āyayami*, or *zīta* "yellow" from \**zaritaka*- etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tedesco, ZII, II, 281, n. 4: \**bārayami*, but also \**bārayanti*.



## Semivowels.

## Ir. y.

47. Initial *y* > *ž*: *žō* "barley", *žūγ* "yoke", *žī* "rivulet", *žōx* "firewood" (Wkh. *yax* "twig"), *žā* "other" (\**yutāka*-). Cf. also *žim* "I come" (\**āyāya*-), *žū* "1" (\**yau* < \**aiw-ah*, v. 35). The izāfat *e* is certainly bor. from Prs., and not derived from \**ya*- in unstressed position.

Reg. *āyā*- v. 37, *-yā*- v. 40, *dy* v. 57, *ršy* v. 64, *sy* v. 68.

## Ir. w.

48. Initial *w* > \**γw* > *γ* (*wi* > \**γwi* > *γu*, v. 30): *γī* "willow", *γā* "wind", *γaf* "to weave", *γan* "oak", *γa'rō* "sheep", *γarp* "snow", *γarw* "to boil" (Mj. *wurv*-), *γa'sō* "calf", *γix* "root", *γāzd* "fat" (Psht. *wāzda*), *γurγ* "wolf", *γurča* "hungry", *γu'rōk* "child" (Psht. *wur* "small"), *γōš* "cut hair" (Prs. *gurs*), *γus* "house" (Av. *vis*-), *γun* "to find", *γušt* "20", *γušt* "thrown" (\**wista*-).

With early loss of *a*: *γa'nīr* "field" (\**awantarya*-), *γīrān* "desolate, ruined" (\**awaryāna*-?). In *rūγa'sōk* "fox" (\**raupasa*-) intervocalic *p* > *w* has been treated as initial *w*, poss. through an association with *γa'sō* "calf".

*wā* "you" must be derived from a sandhi form with fricative, cf. Soghd. *βn*, *βy* "encl. pron. 2 pl." with generalization of the post-consonantic *β* (Gauthiot, p. 121), and Zeb. pronominal suff. 2 pl. *-ev*.

In *hīn* "blood", *xē* "open" an initial *w* has been lost on account of the elision of the vowel (v. 43).

Initial *w* in lw.s: *wē* "roof-beam" (Waig. *wāš* etc.)

Regarding *āwā* v. 38.

*ēw* > *ē*: *ēā* "how many" (Av. *ēvant*-); *jw* > *j*: *janō* G, *janwē* M (*janw* < \**jwan*-?) "living" (Av. *jvant*-); *rw* in *harw*: *hōt* "to hear", *šw* in *ēōr* "4". *dw* > *b*: *bōr* "door", *bite* "again" (\**dwi*-?). But *dī* "2" (\**dwayah*?) with *d* from *du* "2" (\**dūwā*?) But cf. 110.

Intervocalic *-dw* > *r*? (v. 57, 194).

## Consonants.

## Initial Plosives and Affricates.

49. Initial plosives and affricates remain unchanged before vowels: *kan-* "to do", *kurγ* "hen", *gū* "cow", *gir* "stone"; *čōr* "4", *čar-* "to graze", *jan-* "to kill", *jinč* "wife", *jir* "bowstring" (Ind. lw.?); *tū* "thou", *tōn* "body", *dah-* "to give", *dōs* "10"; *pā* "foot", *pōnč* "5", *bar-* "to carry", *bāš* "rope" etc.

*st-*, *sp-*, *št-*: *stēč* "star", *spō* "dog", *šten* "kid". Reg. *gr-*, *br-*, *dr-* v. 66.

Reg. the aspiration of initial plosives v. 73.

## Non-initial Plosives and Affricates.

50. *č* remains after vowels, nasals and *r*.<sup>1</sup> The same is the case in Wkh., Bal. and Zaza. Ishk. has *c* as in initial position. It is only natural that the affricate *-č-* (*tš*) should have a greater power of resistance than e.g. *-t-*: *dūč* "to milk", *rāč* "day", *pēč* "to cook", *pa'rič-* "to shake a sieve", *ši'čak* "female" (\**stričī-*), *pōnč* "5", *stēč* "star" (\**stārčī-*), *mūčō* "ant". Reg. *paēs* "15" (\**pančadasa*) v. 62, *pač* "before" v. 55. The derivation of *we'sēč-* "to order, despatch" from \**abi-sāčaya-* is improbable.

*sč* > *š*: *pēš* "behind" (Av. *pasča*)? But. cf. *ēčēw-* (Voc.). *nč* remains: *pōnč* "5".

There is no certain instance of intervocalic *j*.

51. Intervoc. *k*, *g* > *γ*: *sa'γōn* "cow's dung", *se'γa* "sand", *ma'γas* "fly", *šu'γur* "hedgehog", *\*zāγ* "son"; *žūγ* "yoke", *rha'γām* "spring" (\**fragāma-*), *ā'γun-* "to dress", *'āγa* "came". After *r*: *γurγ* "wolf", *kurγ* "hen". *γ* is lost before *rč* in *mur'čē* "sparrow".

*γγ* > *γ* in *γār* "coal", *γušt* "finger". In this position *γγ-* could not remain (\**ang-* > \**γγ-* > \**γ-* > *γ-*); but after a vowel we find *rōγγ* "colour" (Prs. *rang*). *γγ* also in *wenger-* "to bleat", *wey'gēw-* "to eat", *wey'gā* "axe"; but the etymologies of these words are unknown. *ke'γāla* "bride" is prob. borr. from Prs. *kanyāla* "betrothal". No instance of *γk* is known.

<sup>1</sup> D has *c* in *tec* "eye", *pōc* "wool".



52. In the suffix *-aka-* the *k* was elided early, as in Psht., Orm., Mj.: *gī'nō* "hair", *γa'sō* "calf", *phyō* "wet" (*\*pītaka-*), *xirō* "sweet", *spō* "dog", *zāma* D "son-in-law", *zita* "yellow" etc. (v. 45, f, g). *spay* "dog" may be derived from *spakā* f. (v. 26), the final *-ā* being retained longer than the m. *-ah(ya)* (v. 42) and thus preserving the γ. Similarly *zā* "other" (*\*yutāka-*, Phl. *yutāk*), *na'mā* "salt", *ze'mā* "winter", *bhāγ* "ashes" (*\*bahākāh*), *sēγ* "shadow" (*\*sāyakā*). *zāγān* (*zāγan?*) "sons" I only heard in the pl., and it is uncertain whether a sg. *\*zāγ* exists. *mēhī* "month" < *\*māhika-*.

As is the case in other Ir. languages also, a form of *-aka-* with preserved *k* has survived. It is difficult to determine the phonetical conditions which have rendered possible the preservation of the *k*; but it is certainly to some extent due to the morphological importance of the suffix. In Par. we find e. g. *ma'hōk* "moon", *sa'hōk* "hare", *nē'rōk* "male", *ši'čak* "female" (v. 26), *γafak* "spider" etc. Most of the words in *-ak*, however, are borr. from Prs.: *jaba'lak* "lightning", *baftak* "calf of the leg", *bu'w'lak* "ankle". *-āk* in *jō'lāk* "spider" etc.

Reg. the gen. suffix *-ika* v. 89 ff.

53. After *š* (and *s?*) *k* remains: *huškō* "dry". There is no certain instance of *zg*. *maγz* "kernel, marrow", is prob. a lw., and the derivation of *uzg-* "to descend" from *\*awa-zgad-* is uncertain. *naγ'γō* "went out" < *\*nižgata?*

54. Intervocalic *p*, *b* > *w*: *āwə* "water", *na'wā* "grandson", *xa'wān* "night", *xu'wān* "shepherd", *tāw* "plait" (Prs.?), *a'ūz-* "to flee" (*\*apa-waz-*); *āwur* "brought" (but pres. *ār-* infl. by Prs.?). Reg. *rūγa'sōk* v. 48.

The change of *-p-*, *-b-* into *\*-β-*, *-w-* took place before the loss of an unstressed initial vowel in *wa'spē* "milk" (*\*apaspayāh*), *wāγar-* "to dance" (*\*upa-ā-kar?*), *wārun* "flour" (*\*upa-ārtana-*, or prothetic *w-?*), *wa'čhan* "bad" (*\*apa-*); *wīra'nō* "bedding" (*\*abistarana-*), *we'seγ-* "to despatch" (*\*abi-sāčaya?*). But *pen* "with" (*\*upantai*) with early loss of *u-?* (v. 43).

*p* is treated as an initial in the compounds *pa'pā* "standing" (*\*pati-*



*pāda*), *a'pā*, *wa'pā* "standing" (\**ā*-, *upa-pāda*-), *a'pešt* "back", *a'pače* "forward". *kō'pān* "camel's hump" is *borr.*, just as *šāp* "curse", *ta'pō* "warm".

There is no certain instance of *mp*, *mb*. *dum(b)* "tail" may be *borr.* from *Prs.*, *la'mō* "hanging" from *Ind.* No instance of *-rp* is found; *rb* becomes *rw* in *γarw* "to be boiling" (Shgh. *würv*-) and is dissimilated in *gu'rē* "to seize" (\**gurwē* < *grbāya*-).

*-sp* in *ōsp* "horse".

55. Intervocalic *t*, *d* are elided: *ā'γa* "came", *a'wē* "remembering" (\**abyāta*-), *γī* "willow", *γā* "wind", *hī* "bridge", *kō* "roof", *mā* "mother", *na'mō* "felt", *tī* "mulberry", *jō* "struck", *dā* "gave", *bī* "was", *su'nā* "washed"; *dwās* "12", *nams* "19", *rū* "iron", *pā* "foot".

*-t*, *-d* have passed through the stages \**-ḍ*-, *-h*-, preserved in *dhī* "smoke" (\**dūh* < \**dūta*-), *phyō* "wet" (\**pīta*-), *khān* "who" (\**katāma*-?), *chī* "went" (\**ēiyuta*-), *γuh* "to throw" (\**wīda*-), *dah* "to give" (\**dada*-), *ruh* "to weep" (\**ruda*-), *bhām* "smell" (written *buhām* < \**budāma*-).

It seems possible that this *h* was lost before an early elided vowel (*dā* < \**dāta*-, *kō* < \**kata*- etc.), but was preserved before a remaining vowel (*phyō* < \**pīha*γ, *dahem*, *dhī* < *dūh*<sup>a</sup> < \**dūtā*- (?) etc.). It is not, however, easy to make all the examples fit in with this theory. *mā* would have to be derived from \**māta*, *chī* from \**ēiyutā* etc. Cf. 73.

An early elision of a short vowel has preserved the *t* in *γušt* "20", *zītō* "yellow" (\**zaritaka*-), *bīštō* "long" (\**brzataka*-), *ānt* "led", *ūnt* "led down" (\**ā*-, *awa-nīta*-), *γunt* "found" (\**wīndita*-), *pač* "before" (\**patiša*-).

56. *rt*, *rd* > *r*: *ā'wur* "brought", *bur* "carried", *γurōk* "child" (Psht. *warūkai* etc.), *kur* "made", *mur* "died", *mēr* "husband", *pa'rāsūr* (dissim. or incorrect notation *pa'rāsūr* M), *wārun* "flour", *xūr* "ate", *xāra* "summer" (\**hwāhytaka*-), *sāmūr* "autumn" (\**sāma-rtu*-?); *sār* "year", *ma'rōk* "soft" (*mṛdu*-?), *tār* "to split", *ur* "to slay" (Skr. *ṛd*-?).

*nt*, *nd* are assimilated into *n*: *da'nān* "tooth", *ga'num* "wheat", *ja'nō* "alive", *pa'nān* "road", *ʿanukō* "short" (Sak. *vanda*-), *hēn* "they are"; *ā'yun* "to dress", *yun* "to find", *khan* "to laugh". Before *s* this *n* is reduced to a nasalization of the preceding vowel: *žūwāš* "11" (\**aiwandasa*). *an'darf*-, *aṇ'dōf*- "to sew" is a later compound; reg. *ānt* "brought" etc. v. above. Reg. *nth* v. 59, *tar* "in" < *antar* (?), v. 43.

57. *dn* > *n*: *nhīn*- "to sit down", *rhīn-t* "wept" (\**rudna*-?). *-ly* > *č*: *kūča'nōk* "knife" (\**kptya*-)? *-dy* > *ž*: *bež*- "to bind" (\**badya*-?). *mēn* "waist" prob. < \**madiyāna*-, not < \**mandya*- < \**madya*-.

Reg. *dw*- > *b*- v. 48. *-dw* > \**ḍw*- > \**rʷ*- > *-r*- v. 194 (*ba'rōr* "you carry" < \**barādīwam*?). Heterosyllabic *ḍ* and *w* would not, like *dw*-, result in *b*; and it seems possible that *ḍ* in this position was not elided, or did become *h*, but was replaced by *r*, when *ḍ* disappeared from the phonetical system of Par.

*st* in *bōst* "bound", *zd* in *γāzd* "fat" (Psht. *wāzda*).

### Fricatives.

58. Initially before vowels Ir. surd fricatives are represented by Par. affricates: *khan*- "to laugh" (Prs. *xand*-), *khōr* "donkey" (Av. *xara*-), *khūf*- "to cough", (Ishk. *xofuk* etc.), *phī* "spade" (Shgh. *fe*, Mj. *fə'ya*, Wkh. *pāy*).

In intervocalic position we find fricatives: *ix* "ice" (Av. *aēxa*-), *γix* "root" (Prs. *bēx*), *mux* "face" (Psht. *max*), *ēx* "egg" (\**āvyaxa*-?), *γaf*- "to weave" (Prs. *bāf*-), *bif* "owl" (prob. a lw.); after a labial vowel with differentiation: *khū* "high, raised" (Av. *kaofa*-?). But *mā'khān* "our" (Anc. Prs. *amāxam* etc.).

*-ḍw*- is reduced in *čōr* "4" (Av. *čaḍwārō*); but the more energetic sound *-xw*- results in an aspirate through differentiation: *phōk* "cooked" (\**pa'wkh* < \**pauw* < \**paxwa*-). Cf. *-fy* in *thī*- "to burn" (Cf. Wkh. *ḍi*- < \**tafya*-).

*ts* resulted in Ir. \**ʒs* > *s*, cf. Par. *γa'sō* "calf", *masō* "fish". *fš*, *xš* > *x*: *xu'wān* "shepherd", *xāi* "husband" (Mj. *š'ūy*-, Av. *fšuyant*-?); *xirō* "sweet" (Prs. *širīn*), *xa'wān* "night", *xār* (\**xšārta*-).



*xī* "6", *γax* "word" (Av. *vaxša-*). But *rfš* > *rf*: *durf* "awl" (Prs. *dirafš*)?

Before a nasal the fricative loses its specific articulation, and becomes *h*, or is elided: *xōm* "sleep" (Av. *xāfna-*), *rhīnē* "light" (Av. *raoxšna-*), *lhanō* "mooth" (*\*laxšnaka-*).

Similarly before occlusives: *dut* "daughter", *šitō* "sour" (Sede etc. *sutē* "vinegar", Skr. *śukta-*), *pha'rāt-* "to sell" (*parawaxta-*), *mât* "killet" (*\*marxta-*, Av. *marək-*), *hōt* "7", *hōt* "heard" (*\*harw- + ta-*), *rūt* "swept" (*\*rufta-*, or *borr.*), *ghīt* "seized" (*\*grfta-*). *xt* or *ft* in *šut* "thrown". But initially *pe't* "paternal uncle", cf. Av. *ptar-*?

59. *θr* is treated in the same manner initially and in intervocalic position, as is the case also in Prs.,Orm. etc.: *šī* "3", *šus* "30"; poss. *šenge'rī* "hail" (cf. Bal. *trōngal*); *puš* "son", *dēš* "sickle", *čašōruč* "three days ago". But *āṛ* "fire" (*\*ārθr* < *āθr*?). Cf. Reichelt ZII. IV, 247). *str* (*sθr*) > *š*: *šičak* "female", *bāš* "rope".

Initial *fr* > *rh*: *rha'γām* "spring", *rhāz-* "to fly" (Av. *frā-vaz-*), *rhīz-* "to lie down" (*\*fra-vazyā-*); but I heard *ruč* "flea" (*\*fruči-*). Postvocalic *fr* was transposed, and *f* differentiated into *p*: *γarp* "snow" (Av. *vafra-*), cf. *xr*, *xw*.

No certain instance is found of initial *xr*, *xu'rōs* "cock" being a Prs. lw. Poss. *khe'rēw-* "to pick up" < *\*xrāpayā-* (cf. Lat. *carpo*?)? Postvocalic *xr* > *rk(h)*: *surkhō* G, *surkō* P "red", *tarkō* "bitter" (Phl. *taxr*), *nōrk* "nail" (Sangl. *narzak* etc.); poss. *berkh-* "to fear" (*\*dwi-xra-?*?).

After a nasal we find *th* in *menth-* "to smear".

Obviously in Par., as in other Ir. languages, unvoiced occlusives originally were opened when implosive, i.e. before consonants. In no case, however, has the combination of fricative + cons. subsisted in Par. Either the group was completely or partially assimilated (*θr* and initial *fr-*), or it was saved through transposition and differentiation (*xr* and *fr-*).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ir. *θr* was a most unstable group, which has developed further at an early date even in dialects, such as Anc. Prs. and Shgh., which generally preserve *θ*. In various ways this group has been changed through assimilation (into *s*, *š*, *c*, *dr*, *r*, *l*), differentiation (into *tr*, *dr*), or metathesis (*rt*).



60. It may be asked whether the initial aspirates in Par. are derived directly from Indo-Ir. aspirates, or have passed through the fricative stage (with the same regression from fricatives into occlusives which is known from Bal. and Kurd.). The theory of regression is not disproved by the fact that Par. has developed an initial *x* from *xš*, *fš*, *hw*. This change might be later than that of *x* > *kh* etc. But I think it probable that a regression would have meant a complete rejection for the time being of unvoiced fricatives in all positions, just as in S.Bal. (*kar* "donkey", *nākun* "nail", *sutka* "burnt").<sup>1</sup>

It is quite possible that in Ir. the transition of initial aspirates into fricatives was later than that of the intervocalic ones. Cf. the development in N.Bal., and in an Ind. language, Khowar, where we find e. g. *kh*, but *x*. And Par. which has probably always been contiguous with Ind. languages, may well have preserved the initial aspirates.

61. At the time when the *-k* was aspirated in *mā'kh-ân* "our" < *\*ahmākam* (through the influence of the preceding *h*), aspirates must already have existed in the language; but intervocalic *-kh* had already become *-x*, and *-k* had not yet been voiced. It is not probable that in this remote period aspirates would have been introduced into the language through lw.s without belonging to its original system, or that the influence of such lw.s would have been strong enough to account for the transition of *\*ahmākam* into *\*a(h)mākham*, and not *\*amāxam*.

If *menth* "to smear" is a genuine Par. word, and there is no likely Ind. word from which it might have been borr., it is not prob. that the *ð* (a very unstable sound in Ir.) would have been

<sup>1</sup> N. Bal. *khar* "donkey", *nāxun* "nail", *suxtha* "burnt" are not historically parallel with Par. *khōr*, *mux*, *'sītō*. N. Bal. *khārē* "knife", *sīrun* "hedgehog" (Par. *kūcānōk*, *šul'ur*) show that the fricatives first became occlusives as in S. Bal. (*xt* > *\*kt*, cf. *ft* > S. Bal. *pt*, N. Bal. *pth*). Only in the course of the development of N. Bal. all unvoiced occlusives were aspirated (except after *s*, *š*), and, in favourable positions, opened.

changed into *th* after *n*; but the word must be derived direct from \**manthaya*. Cf., however, *pa'nân* "road". It is possible that *nth* was treated in a different way after an unstressed syllable. From the phonetical point of view the preservation of *nth*, but assimilation of *nt*, *nd* (v. 56) would not be surprising.

As far as I can see, it is not possible from the material available to come to any definite conclusion regarding the question of original aspirates in pre-Par.

### Nasals.

62. *n*, *m* generally remain: *na* "not", *nō* "new", *nhîn* "to sit down", *ên* "to bring", *gī'nō* "a single hair", *mun* "me", *ma'sō* "fish", *nām* "name" etc.

*n* is lost before *s*, generally with nasalization of the preceding vowel: *zū'ās* "11" (\**aiwandasa*), *paēs* "15" (\**pañs* < \**pañcadasa*, cf. Pash. S 1 pl. -*aṣ*, -*añs*, -*anz* < -*amasi*), but *kaštē* "girl" (\**kaništāki*?). *m* remains on account of its labial articulation: *nams* "19" (v. below).

Reg. *nē*, *ŋk*, *mp*, *nt* etc. v. 50, 51, 54, 56. *nē* has dental *n* (*č* = *tš*). Reg. *fn*, *xšn* v. 58, *rn*, *rzn* v. 63, 65, *sn*, *šm* v. 68, 69.

Apparently *m* > *n* in *khân*, *khāin* "which" (Av. *katāma*?), poss. under the influence of *khīn* "who" (\**kahya-nā*?).

Just as in the neighbouring languages *n* is often inserted after an initial nasal: *mindut* "apricot" (Orm. *matat*), *mende* "this" (\**ma* + *ede*), *manša'hūr* "famous" (Prs. *mašhūr*), *nams* "19" (\**naws* < \**nawadasa*).

A final *n* frequently disappears, with or without nasalization of the preceding vowel, v. 24.

### Rolled and Lateral Sounds.

#### Ir. *r*.

63. Initial and intervocalic *r* is preserved: *rūē* "day", *rhīnē* "light", *ruh* "to weep", *bōr* "door", *bar* "to carry". Reg. the occasional loss of final *r* v. 24.



Reg. *rk*, *rp*, *rt* etc. v. 51, 54, 56. In the group *rč* the *č* was preserved as a surd, which unvoiced the *r*: *\*stčč* "star", *mūčč* "ant" (v. 50), but *murčč* "sparrow" (*\*murčč* < *\*mryga-č*). Similarly *rx**t*, *rft* > *xt*, *ft* > *t* (v. 58).

*rm* has not been traced. The treatment of *rn* is uncertain: *šur* "porcupine" (Av. *sukurəna*), but *pön* "leaf, feather". *kan* "to do" is a special case (cf. Prs. *kun*-, but *parr* etc.), *durr* "to cut grain" is uncertain (from Av. *dərənā*-, or borrh. from Prs. *durūdan*?), *āmar* "apple" (Shgh. *mūn* etc.) belongs to a group of widely spread wandering words (v. EVP. s.v. *maṇa*).

64. *rz* in *γur'z-ēw* "to pour out" (*\*wi-hrz-*), *derz* "to take on the back" (Av. *darəz*), *ār'zun* "millet" (Prs. *arzan*) is prob. genuine. The cerebralization of the *r* in this case is prob. recent, cf. *Hu'marz* (written with *r*) "n. of a place", and *rd* / *rd* in lw.s. (v. 20).

*bīštō* < *\*būšt* < *\*buršt* < *\*brzat* with the same treatment of *rs*, *rš* as in *dōš* "hair" (Wkh. *dürs* "goat's hair"), *γōš* "cut hair" (Av. *varəsa*), *pa'sō* "axe" (Skr. *paraśu*- or *parśu*-); *gāš* "a kind of millet" (*\*gārša*), *kāš* P "eyebrow" (Av. *karša* "furrow, line"), *ka'sēw* "to sigh, yawn", *tašō* "a kind of axe" (Shgh. *taršak* etc.?), *phīš* "to strew, sow" (*\*pršya*-, cf. Prs. *pāš* "to scatter, sprinkle"). The assimilation of *rš*, *rs*, but not of *rz* is due to the circumstance that *r* became unvoiced before *s*, *š*. An unvoiced *r* is a less energetic and resistant sound than the voiced *r*.<sup>1</sup>

65. *s*, *š* are lost between *r* and a following consonant: *γur'ča* "hungry" (*\*ursu-čaka*-?), *pōrk* "sheep's dung" (Prs. *pušk* < *\*pršaka*-, cf. GIPh. I, 2, 89) *thān* "thirsty" (Av. *taršna*-.). Similarly *bhīn* "tree" (if < *\*būhn* < *\*brzna*-, cf. Shgh. *vəγzn* "birch"), *bāna-pa'i* "pillow" (*\*barzn*-, Mj. *vēznī*, Khov. lw. *wraznī* etc.).

In *ršt* (*rst*), too, the *š* (*s*) is lost, with aspiration of the initial consonant: *dhōr* "saw" (Av. *dərəšta*), *thōr* "hole" (cf. *tār* "to split", Skr. *trd*-), *thōr* "drank" (Orm. *tatak* < *\*tršta-ka*-), *nhāmur* "forgetting" (*\*frāmṛšta*-). *puṭ* "back" may be borrh. from Ind.; in *hu'pāt* "dug", *nōṭ* "took out" (from *hu'pēr*-, *nēr*-) *t* does not represent *ršt*, but is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Shgh. *rt* > *d* (through *\*t* > *ḍ*), but *rδ* > *rδ*.



derived from a secondary group  $r + t$  (v. Voc. s.v.v.). *ut* "bear" is etymologically uncertain.

The transition of  $r\dot{s}t > *h_r$  is difficult to explain. The theoretical intermediate stage would be  $*\dot{s}rt$ ; but this seems an impossible group. Note, however, that in Psht.  $r\dot{s}t$  in some cases results in  $\dot{s}$ , and must have passed through the stage  $\dot{s}tr$  (or  $*\dot{s}rt$ ?) with a similar transposition.

Also the different development of  $r\dot{s}(a)k > rk$  and  $rz(a)t > r\dot{s}t > \dot{s}t$  is curious.

66. Reg. *xr*, *\dot{s}r*, *fr*, *s\dot{s}r* v. 59. No certain examples of *gr*, *dr*, *br* have been traced: *bi'yā* "brother" can scarcely be regularly developed from Av. *brātar*- (cf. Afgh. Prs. *biyādar*); *air* "cloud"  $< *abrya-?$  *rhuš* "half rupee" ( $*\gamma ruš$ ) is borr. from Prs.-Turk.

*sr*  $> \dot{s}$ : *\dot{s}i* "horn" (Av. *srū*); *xuš* "mother-in-law" is prob. a Prs. lw.

#### Ir. *l*.

67. *l* is found in *līs*- "to lick", *lhanō* "mooth, slippery" (Prs. *lašn* etc.), *γēl*- "to roll" (Oss. *velun?*). *lauč* "lip" is prob. borr. from Prs., just as *lapč*.

In Ind. lws *l* is generally rendered by *l*. But *phōr* "grain, fruit" (Pash. L *phāl*) from an earlier form with *l*? Cf. also *wi'yār* "night" (Pash. L *vyāl*). But *bā'lō* "child": Pash. *bārā*, *bārū*.

#### Sibilants.

##### Ir. *s*.

68. *s* is preserved in most positions: *sōr* "head", *sa'hōk* "hare", *dōs* "10", *γus* "house", *ma'sō* "fish", *'āγust* "dressed", *bōst* "bound", *a'star*- "to smear", *ōsp* "horse". Initially before occlusives  $*stēč$  "star",  $*spō$  "dog" etc.; *su* "daughter-in-law" ( $*snušā-?$ ), but *su'nī*- "to wash" (Av. *snaya*-, or *us-snaya*-). Intervoc. *sn*  $> *hn$   $> h-n$  (cf. the treatment of *šn* 69, *rzn*, *ršn* etc. 65): *γā-phōnē* "wind" (Av. *pasnu*- "dust").

Reg. *s\dot{s}r*, *rs*, *sr* v. 59, 64, 66.

*s* was palatalized in the neighbourhood of *i*: *nhašt* "sat down" (\**nihasta-*), *nēšt* "nose" (\**nāsti-*), *γušt* "20" (\**wisati*), *γušt* "thrown" (\**wista-*), *šw'γur* "porcupine" (\**sikurna-*), *geš* "bad" (\**gasya-?*). *ni'sōr* "the shady side of a hill" is prob. a lw. (not < \**nisyāwara-*), cf. Voc. s.v.; *sāmur* "autumn", poss. < \**syāma-rtu-*, but already Av. *sāma-*. *s*, not *š* renders Pash. *š* in *sī* "exists" < Pash. *šī*. Prob. Par. *š* was formerly more rounded, while Pash. *š* was more palatal than it is at present.

Ir. *š*.

69. No certain instance of Ir. *š* has been traced in Par. (v. Voc. s.v. *xiš*). Intervoc. *š* is lost: *gū* "ear", \**spō* "louse", *nī-*, "to go out" (Av. *niš-ay-*), *xī* "6", *thā-* "to cut, shave" (Av. *taš-*), *su* "daughter-in-law" (\**snušā-?*). In. Ind. and Prs. lw.s: *'āγēš* "sky" (\**ākāsyā-*) etc.

Reg. *xš*, *fš*, *xšn*, *ršn* v. 58, 65. If. *xē* "open" is derived from \**wiśāya-*, \**wš-* prob. became \**fš-* > *x-*. *šn* in *ma'nōk* "ram" (\**maišna-?*). *šk* in *huškō* "dry", *št* in *ōšt* "8", *γušt* "finger", *dušt* "wall" (\**dišti-*). With *ušt-* "to rise" cf. Kafir *ušt-*, acc. to Turner < \**ust*<sup>o</sup> \**utst*<sup>o</sup>.

Reg. *rš*, *ršt* v. 64.

Ir. *z*.

70. Initial and intervocalic *z* is retained; *zām* "son-in-law", *ze'mā* "winter", *zāγ* "son", *zā* "thing" (Av. *zāta-*), *za'nōk* "chin", *zur* "heart"; *a'üz-* "to flee" (\**apa-waz-*), *rhāz-* "to fly" (*fra-waz-*), *biz* "seed, corn" (genuine? cf. Skr. *bīja-*), *mīz* "urine", *'ūzeh-* "to remain" (\**auwa-zahya-*), *a'ze* "yesterday" (*ā-zyah-?*).

*gas-* "to bite" (Prs. *gazīdan*), *līs-* "to lick" with *s* instead of *z* from the present *gastōn*, *listōn*. *z* was dissimilated into *d* in *dōšt* "hand" (v. EVP. s.v. *lās*) and lost in *bān* "tongue" (\**zbān*, \**huzbāna-*, Prs. *zubān*).

Reg. *zg* v. 53, *rz* v. 64, *rzn* v. 65. Reg. *ān* "I" < Av. *azəm*(?), v. 113.

Ir. *ž*.

71. Ir. *ž* is found only in *naγ'γō* "went out" < \**nižgataka-*.

## h.

72. *h* is preserved initially: *hī* "bridge", *harw-* "to hear", *hušk* "dry", *hōt* "7", *hu, hō* "that" (Anc. Prs. *hauw*), but cf. *bān* "tongue" (\**huzbāna*). Prothetic *h-* in *hōšt* "8", *hām* "raw", *hēm* "I am", *hē* "this" (\**ayam*?).

Intervocalic *h*: *ma'hōk* "moon", *mēhī* "month", *sa'hōk* "hare", *nhīn-* "to sit down", *bhāy* "ashes". But *γur'zēw-* "to pour out" (\**wihrz-*), *xāra* "summer" (\**hucāhytaka-*), *xī* "sister" (\**hwahī-*?). Inserted *h* in: *gēh-* "coire". *hm* > *m*: *mā* "we", (*h*)*ēm* "I am". *hw* (*xw*) > *x*: *xu* "self", *xar-* "to eat", *xōm* "sleep", *xēr* "hay", *xān-* "to recite" (*lw*?), etc.

## Aspiration.

73. In Par., aspiration is found in three classes of words: a) In *lw.s* from Ind: *bhār* "burden", *dhār* "hill", *khurī* "heel", *phōr* "fruit" etc. But in some cases Ind. aspirates are — if my ear has not deceived me — rendered by Par. unaspirated sounds. b) In words containing Ir. surd fricatives in special positions: *khan-* "to laugh", *surkhō* "red", *rhāz-* "to fly" etc. (v. 58, 59). c) In words in which a *h* (of diverse origin) has been brought into contact with the initial consonant through metathesis or vowel-elision. This is the case in some Prs. *lw.s* also: *khar* "anger" (*qahr*), *mhē'mān* "guest" (*mihmān*) etc.

In genuine Par. words (with metathesis): *thanō* "smooth" (\**lahn* < \**laxšna-*), *rhīnē* "light" (\**rūhn* < \**rauxšna-*), *thān* "thirst" (\**tāhn* < \**taršna-*), *γā-phōnē* "wind" (\**pahn* < Av. *pasnu-*), *bhīn* "tree" (\**būhn* < \**bzrna-*), *dhōr* "saw" (\**duhr* < \**dyšta-*), *thōr* "drank" (\**tršta-*), *thōr* "hole" (*trsta-*), *ghīt* "seized" (\**gūht* < \**grfta-*), *pha'rāt-* "to sell" (\**parāwacta-*), *phōk* "cooked" (\**pa<sup>w</sup>kh* < \**pacwa-*), *rhīn-t* "wept" (\**rūhn* < \**rudna-*), *khā-* "to scratch" (\**kāš-*?), *thā-* "to shave" (\**tāš-*), *phīš-* "to scatter" (\**pršya-*?), *khū* "lifted, raised" (\**kaufa-*), *thī-* "to be burning" (\**tafya-*, cf. Wkh. *ṣi-* etc.), *chī* "went" (\**ēih* < *ēiyuta-*), *dhī* "smoke" (\**dūh* < *dūta-*), *phyō* "wet" (\**pīhay* < \**pītaka-*), *dhaitōn* < *dahitōn* "giving" (\**dada-*). With vowel-elision:



*bhāy* "ashes" (\**bahākā*), *nhašt* "sat down" (\**ni-hasta*-), *bhām* "smell" (\**budāma*-), *khān* "which" (\**kahān* < \**katāma*-?).

Initial fricatives cannot be aspirated: *γur<sup>h</sup>zēw-* "to pour out" (\**wih<sup>h</sup>z-*). But we should expect aspiration in *ruč* "louse" (\**fruč-*), *dut* "daughter" (\**duxtā*), *māt* "killed" (\**marxta*-), *bāna-pa'i* (if < (\**barz-na*-), *dā* "gave" (\**dāh* < *dāta*-), cf. 55. In some words of unknown etymology we find an unexplained aspiration: *lhāš* "finished", *kha'mōr* "threshing", *thār-* "to regard" etc.

#### 74. List of Phonetical Correspondences (Par. and Ir.).

Par. <i>a</i> < Ir. <i>a</i> (26), <i>ā</i> (29), <i>i</i> , <i>u</i> , <i>r</i> (30, 32, 34), <i>ai</i> (35), <i>-aka</i> (51).	Par. <i>x</i> < Ir. <i>-x</i> (58), <i>xš</i> , <i>fš</i> (58), <i>š-</i> (69), <i>huc</i> (72).
» <i>ā</i> < Ir. <i>a</i> (16).	» <i>γ</i> < Ir. <i>w</i> (48), <i>-p</i> (?) (48), <i>-k</i> , <i>-g</i> , ( <i>a</i> ) <i>gg</i> (51).
» <i>ā</i> < » <i>ā</i> (29), <i>a</i> (27), <i>awa</i> (38).	» <i>č</i> < Ir. <i>č</i> (50), <i>čw</i> (48), <i>rč</i> (63), <i>rty</i> (57), <i>t + š</i> (55).
» <i>e</i> < » <i>i</i> (30), <i>a<sup>i</sup></i> (39), <i>i<sup>i</sup></i> (34), <i>ya</i> (40), <i>ai</i> (35), <i>aya</i> (37).	» <i>čh</i> < Ir. <i>č + h</i> (73).
» <i>ē</i> < Ir. <i>āya</i> , <i>ayā</i> (37), <i>yā</i> (40), <i>ā<sup>i</sup></i> , <i>a<sup>i</sup></i> (39).	» <i>ǰ</i> < » <i>ǰ</i> (49), <i>ǰw</i> (48).
» <i>ə</i> < Ir. <i>i</i> , <i>ū</i> (30, 33).	» <i>t</i> < » <i>r + t</i> (65).
» <i>i</i> < » <i>i</i> (30), <i>ī</i> (31).	» <i>t</i> < » <i>t</i> (49), <i>-t</i> (55), ( <i>r</i> ) <i>xt</i> , ( <i>r</i> ) <i>ft</i> (58).
» <i>ī</i> < » <i>ī</i> (31), <i>ū</i> (33), <i>u</i> (32), <i>ai</i> (35), <i>aya</i> (37), <i>a<sup>i</sup>(n)</i> (39), <i>au(n)</i> (36), <i>r</i> (34), <i>iyu</i> (30).	» <i>th</i> < Ir. <i>t + h</i> (73), <i>th</i> (61).
» <i>ō</i> < Ir. <i>r</i> , <i>u</i> (16, 34).	» <i>d</i> < » <i>d</i> (49), <i>dw</i> (48).
» <i>ō</i> < » <i>a</i> (25), <i>awa</i> (38), <i>r</i> (34), <i>-aka</i> (51).	» <i>dh</i> < » <i>d + h</i> (73).
» <i>u</i> < Ir. <i>u</i> (32), <i>i</i> (30), <i>r</i> (34), <i>a(n)</i> 27.	» <i>p</i> < » <i>p</i> (49), <i>-p</i> (54), <i>f</i> (59).
» <i>ū</i> < Ir. <i>au</i> (36), <i>awa(n)</i> (38), <i>u</i> (32).	» <i>ph</i> < » <i>f</i> (58), <i>p + h</i> (73).
» <i>k</i> < Ir. <i>k</i> (49), <i>-xw</i> (58).	» <i>b</i> < » <i>b</i> (49), <i>dw</i> (48).
» <i>kh</i> < » <i>x</i> (58), <i>k + h</i> (73).	» <i>bh</i> < » <i>b + h</i> (73).
» <i>g</i> < » <i>g</i> (49).	» <i>f</i> < » <i>-f</i> (58).
» <i>gh</i> < » <i>g + h</i> (73).	» <i>n</i> < » <i>n</i> (62), <i>nt</i> , <i>nd</i> (56), <i>dn</i> (57), <i>xšn</i> (58), <i>rn</i> (63), <i>rzn</i> , <i>ršn</i> (65), <i>sn</i> (68), <i>šn</i> (69).
	» <i>nh</i> < Ir. <i>n + h</i> (73).

Par. <i>m</i> < Ir. <i>m</i> (62), <i>mb</i> ? (54), <i>fn</i> (58).	Par. <i>nth</i> < Ir. <i>nθ</i> ( <i>nth</i> ) (61).
» <i>r</i> < Ir. <i>r</i> (63), <i>rn</i> (63), <i>rb</i> (54), <i>-dw-</i> (57).	» <i>m̄b</i> < » <i>mb</i> (54).
» <i>rh</i> < Ir. <i>fr-</i> (59), * <i>γr</i> , * <i>gr</i> (66), <i>r + h</i> (73).	» <i>ms</i> < » <i>-wandas-</i> (62).
» <i>l</i> < Ir. <i>l</i> (67).	» <i>rk</i> < » <i>-xr-</i> (59), <i>ršk</i> (65).
» <i>r̄</i> < » <i>rt</i> , <i>rd</i> (56), <i>ršt</i> (65).	» <i>rk̄h</i> < » <i>-xr-</i> (59).
» <i>w</i> < » <i>-p-</i> , <i>-b-</i> (54), <i>w-</i> (48).	» <i>rγ</i> < » <i>rk</i> , <i>rg</i> (51).
» <i>s</i> < » <i>s</i> (58, 68), <i>sn</i> , <i>sy</i> (68), <i>z (+ t)</i> (70).	» <i>rč</i> < » <i>rγ + č</i> (63), <i>rš + č</i> (65).
» <i>š</i> < Ir. <i>θr</i> , <i>sθr</i> (59), <i>rs</i> , <i>rš</i> (64), <i>sr</i> (66), <i>s<sup>i</sup></i> (68), <i>sč?</i> (50).	» <i>rp</i> < Ir. <i>-fr-</i> (59).
» <i>z</i> < Ir. <i>z</i> (70).	» <i>rf</i> < » <i>rfs̄</i> (58).
» <i>ž</i> < » <i>y-</i> (47), <i>-dy-</i> ? (57).	» <i>rw</i> < » <i>rw</i> (48), <i>rb</i> (54).
» <i>h</i> < » <i>h</i> (72), <i>-t-</i> , <i>-d-</i> (55), 0 (72).	» <i>rz</i> , <i>r̄z</i> < » <i>rz</i> (64).
» <i>b(i)y</i> < Ir. <i>br?</i> (66).	» <i>rγ</i> < » <i>žg</i> (71).
» <i>yg</i> < » <i>yg</i> (51).	» <i>st</i> < » <i>st</i> (57, 68).
» <i>nč</i> < » <i>nč</i> (50).	» <i>sp</i> < » <i>sp</i> (54).
» <i>nt</i> < » <i>n + t</i> (55).	» <i>šk</i> < » <i>šk</i> (53).
	» <i>št</i> < » <i>št</i> (69), <i>rz + t</i> (64), <i>st<sup>t</sup></i> (68), <i>-ništ-</i> (62).
	» <i>zg</i> < Ir. <i>zg</i> (53).
	» <i>zd</i> < » <i>zd</i> (57).

## MORPHOLOGY.

## Nouns.

## Stem-Formation.

75. Ancient stems in *-i-* can be traced in: *nēšt* "nose" (\**nāsti-*), *jīnč* "wife" (\**janiči-*), \**stēč* "star" (\**stārč-*), *gir* "stone" (Av. *gairi-*). Stems in *-ā-* and ancient plurals in *-āh*: *yan* "oak" (\**wanā-*), *ga'nūm* "wheat" (\**gantumāh*), *ix* "ice" (\**aixāh*), *bhāy* "ashes" (\**bahākāh*) v. 26, 45, 35, 53. Stems in *-n-*, derived from the acc. sg. are: *pa'nān* "road", *da'nān* "tooth", *xa'wān* "night". Stems in *-yā-* are: *mēr* "husband", *ker* "work" etc. Reg. *āwā* "water" (\**āpah*) v. 42. But, except in the case of a few stems in *-r-* (v. 82), the ancient stems are not distinguished in their inflexion. And in many words

the distinction between the ancient stems has been completely obliterated: *dhī* "smoke" (\**dūta-*), *γī* "willow" (\**waiti-*), *hī* "bridge" (\**haitu-*), *xī* "sister" (\**hwahī* < \**hwahar-*); *mā* "mother" (\**mātar-*), *zā* "thing" (\**zāta-*), *xā* "husband" (\**fšuyant-?*) etc.

76. Reg. stems in *-a* (\**-aka-*), *-aγ* (\**-akā-*), *-ō* (\**-akahya-*), *-ā* (\**-āka-*), *-āγ* (\**-ākā(h)-*), *-ī* (\**-ika-*) v. 52. *-ā* is not a living suffix.

Reg. the secondary suffix *-ak*, *-ōk* v. 52. *-ōk* has a definite diminutive power in *kašte'ōk* "little girl" (*kaštē*), *rafi'qōk* (*rafi'q* "comrade"), *bāri'kōk* "very slender" (*bārik*) etc. But not in *ma'hōk* "moon", *sa'hōk* "hare" etc., cf. *γa'sō* "calf" etc. A double suffix is found in *γa'nōkō*, *γanukō* "short" (cf. Psht. *-kai*, Mj. *-ga*, f. *-gāgā*).

*-ak*, *-a* are frequently of Prs. origin: *jaba'lak* "lightning", *jāla* "hail". *-ī* is found in lws.: *bāzī* "cheating" (Prs.), *dhārī* "beard" (Pash.). Prob. it is also of Prs. origin in words such as *kašō'i* "old age", *čaṭa'i* "silver", *γu'sti* "ring". But *mē'hi* "month" direct < \**māhika-?*

*-ē* occurs in a few words: *γā'phōnē* "wind", *kaštē* "girl", *le'rē* "boy", *mur'ē* "sparrow", *pe'tē* "paternal uncle", *rhīnē* "light" (Prs. *rōš(a)nāi* etc.). Poss. *kaštē* < \**kaništāki-?*

### Composition.

77. *Tatpurusha* compounds of various kinds are frequent: *xīγu'rōk* "sister's son", *pēš'pā* "heel", *naγōnpha'kō*, *naγōn'pēcak* "baker", *tōr'pī* "calf, one to two years old", *khōr'bu* "melon" (Prs. *xarbu*), *khōr'gū* "hare" (Prs. *xargōš*), *phyōbu* "water melon" (Prs. *tarbu*) are transl. from Prs. Many compounds are bor. from Prs.: *au'dida* "tear", *šādzam'būr* "honey-bee" etc. Some *bahuvrīhis* are found: *čaṭa'dhārī* "white-beard" (Prs. *rīšsafēd*), *dusara* "kid, two years old" etc.

Genitive groups frequently replace compounds: *āwə-i tečh'ika*, *āwə-i dīdai'ka* "tear" etc.

Some ancient compounds are no longer felt as such by the speakers of Par.: *was'pē* "buttermilk" (\**apas-payāh*), *sāmuγ* "autumn" (\**sāma-rtu-*). This is the case with most compounds containing ancient



prefixes: *rha'γām* "spring" (\**fragāma*-), *nhāmur* "forgetting" (\**frā-mršta*-), *γa'nir* "field" (\**aw'-antarya*-), *xē* "open" (\**wi-sāya*-), *pen* "with" (\**upānta*-), *wā'γār* "dance" (\**upa-ā-kāra*-?), *γi'rān* "ruined" (\**a-waryāna*-?), *xāru* "summer" (\**h(u)-wāhytaka*-) etc.

Cf. also verbal compounds such as *ā'γun-* "to dress" (\**ā-gund*-), *a'star-* "to smear" (\**ā-star*-), *žē-* "to come" (\**ā-yā*-?), *ēn-* "to bring" (\**ā-ni*-), *wā'γar-* "to dance" (\**upa-ā-kar*-), *nhin-* "to sit down" (\**nī-had*-), *nī-* "to go out" (*nīš-ay*-), *pha'rāt-* "to sell" (\**parā-waxta*-), *γu'zēw-* "to pour out" (\**wi-hrz-*) etc.

### The Article.

78. The numeral *žū* frequently takes the place of our indefinite article, *žū sēb* meaning "one apple", or "an apple". But also *sēb* "an apple". Similarly *hē sēb*, *ho'wī sēb* may in some cases be translated as "the apple", not "this, that apple".

79. The *yā-yi wahdat* or *yā-yi tankir* (the "*i* of unity or indefiniteness") is frequently used: *žāduga'rī* "a sorcerer", *fāteha'xānī γwlū ā'γō* T "many reciters of prayers have come", *žū pāla'wānī tar* "to one warrior", *jaṅgal tar*, *jaṅgalī tar*, *jaṅgal ta'rī za'hī* "he came to a jungle", *žū pāla'wān-e jaṅgī* "a hero of war", *čhil su'wārī* "some forty horsemen", *hawegada'rī*, *haweka'i* "so much", *felānī* "a certain". This *-i* is prob. borr. from Prs., where it is employed much in the same manner as in Par. (cf. Phillott, Higher Persian Grammar § 41).

*felānī* ('*pādšā*) T "a certain (king)" was said to denote nearness, but *felāna* remoteness. Cf. also *ho'wī za'ifa* G "that woman".

The *yā-yi šifat* or "*i* of qualification" (Phillott, § 42, b sqq.) is used, as in Prs., with a demonstrative pronoun before a relative sentence: *dāl ho'wī za'ifī, čē* "near the woman, who", *ha'wī māneš(i), čē* "this man, who", *ho'wī resā'lānī čē* "the (those) horsemen, who", *'ede az 'xātirī čē* "in the thought that". Without a demonstrative in *jaṅgal tarī, čē* "to the jungle, which". Reg. the use of *ma* denoting definiteness, v. 86.

What is the nature of the *i* in 'yarpi "snow"? Cf. 'yarpi-â 'âwə na 'chemtōn G "the snow is not melting" (but yar'pān-a 'âwə 'chemtōn); 'yarpi-â 'nītōn "the snow is going away"; 'yarpi-a . . . 'dhartōn "the snow is remaining". Possibly it is the *i* of indefiniteness: "some snow". Note also ma'nān 'xā-â mā 'gū tečpeṭa'kâi 'dūcētōn G "my husband is milking the cow blindfold"; but tāt 'xā mā 'gū tečpeṭa'kâ 'dūcēn na 'nartōn "thy husband cannot milk the cow blindfold". aw'lāt-e ma'nānī guda'ra "my family passes away" (?).

### Gender.

80. There is no trace of any distinction of gender. (Reg. "spō, 'spaγ "dog" v. 26, 53). The same is the case in NW. Pash. Note šī'čak 'ōsp "mare", mādaya'sō "female calf": nērōk 'ōsp, na'rāsp "stallion", nērōk γa'sō "male calf".

### 81.

#### Declension.

	Sg.		Loc.	γus tar
Nom. (Ag.)	γus "house"	A'ī	All.	γus wanō
Acc.	(ma) γus		Voc.	ai γus etc.
Gen.	γusi'ka	Alī'ân		Pl.
Abl.	γu'si		Nom.	γu'sân
Dat.	'γus kun		Gen.	γu'sân(a)
Instr.	'γus pen		Dat.	γu'sân kun etc.

### Number.

82. Pl. in -ân: pu'sân "sons" (puš), du'tân "daughters" (dut), xī'ân "sisters" (xī), hamsā'yân "neighbours" (ham'sāya), te'chân "eyes", rupai'ân "rupees", mā'lân "possessions", kaštē'ân "girls" (kaštē); bā'lân "boys" (bā'lō), pašā'wân "axes" (pa'sō), kačōi'kân "thorns" (ka'cō). Note pā'nân "feet" (pā), cf. dī'nân, žā'nân (cf. 148). biyārān "brothers" (bi'yā), but also bi'yāra M (mā γala'ba bi'yāra-iman "we are many brothers") (v. 75); nawayārān "grandchildren" (na'wā, nawa'γār), hīwar(γār)ân "husband's brothers" (hīwar). From



M I have noted also *'dutan* "daughters", *'zāyan* and *zā'yan* "sons". Note *phar* "fruits, grains" (*phōr*).

The nearly exclusive use of *-ân* as a pl. suffix separates Par. from other E Ir. languages. The existence of the gen. pl. in *-âna* (v. 42) and the employment of *-ân* with inanimate nouns render it, however, improbable that *-ân* should be borrowed from Prs. (Afgh. Prs. has *-â*). But Prs. influence may have strengthened the position of this suffix, and many words have probably been borrowed from Prs. in the plural. *biyārân* etc. have retained the *r* of the original theme. *pā'nân* may have got its *-n-* from stems in *-nt*: *xâ* "husband" (Av. nom. sg. *fšuyas*), pl. *\*xân-ân*(?) (Av. *fšuyantō*). Cf. the *šaonano šao* of Kushan coins. *phar* represents an ancient pl. in *-āh* (v. 26, cf. 193). Reg. *āwā* "water" v. 42.

A special form, reminding us of the ancient elliptic dual, occurs in *'bāwehâ* "father and son", *'māwehâ* "mother and daughter" (*'hušše 'māwehâ T* "all three, the mother and two daughters"). It is prob. borrowed from Pash., *bāwyā*, *āyāwyā*.

A periphrastic pl., borr. from Pash., occurs in *žū dal bālō hēn* "it is a party of boys" (v. 115).

83. Frequently the latter only of two nouns connected by *o* "and" takes the pl. suffix: *'dūst o rafī'qân* "friends and comrades", *'dōst o pā'nân* "hands and feet" (cf. N.Psht. *lās o xpē*).

Collective singulars occur: *'dūst o rafī'q pen* "with friends and comrades", *ma čōrpā'yân-iman . . . 'bartan. . . ma 'bu' o 'gū o 'ya'rō* "we take the cattle, . . . goats, cows and sheep". With the verb in pl.: *'ōsp-e ma'nân xa'rāb čhēn* "my horses fell ill", *'laškar . . . čhēn* "the soldiers (army) went"; but *Au'yan . . . 'āya* "the Afghans came", *'žā mardum a'peš rama* "the other people shall go back". On the other hand we find *'yar'pân* "snow" (cf. Psht. *wāwre*), *čā'yân* "(bales of) tea".

After numerals the ordinary pl. is rarely used: *'dī pu'sân* "two sons". But generally *'dī 'puš*, *'pōnč 'rūč* "five days", *ha'zār tufay'dār . . . 'āya* "a thousand riflemen came"; but *ha'zār su'wār 'āyēn* "a hundred horsemen came".



A partitive genitive may take the place of a pl.: *ha'zâr nafarî'ka* "a thousand persons", *'huss-e sêbî'ka* M "all the apples". In some cases a form in *-a* is found after numerals: *'paes 'ruča yâ 'yušt ruča* "15 or 20 days", *'huddî bi'yâra* "both brothers" (v. 42), *'čôr ma'čîa* "four kisses", *dî 'bâlâ* M "two boys". Prob. from *\*-âh*, cf. the Psht. pl. in *-a* after numerals.

After adjectives and indefinite pronouns denoting number we generally find the sg.: *'čâwar maz'dûr* "several servants", *'çala'ba 'sâl* "many years", *'mâ 'çalaba 'âdam-îman* "we are many men", *'çalaba 'ôsp-ên* "there are many horses". But: *ha'wî 'yu'lû 'ôspân* "these many horses". After *huss* "all" etc. the noun is put in the pl.: *hôs mânešân* D "all the men", *huss dô'sân* "all the hairs", *'huddî pu'sân* "both boys".

Occasionally the verb is put in the sg. after a pl. noun: *-â ču'râ 'bartôn* "the thieves are carrying", *čû'rân . . . bara* "the thieves may carry", *ha'wî âma'yâ edhê'kânâ* (or *edhê'kâna hên*) "these apples belong to these persons", *'juwâ'nân-e 'kârî-a* "they are good young men". (v. 195).

### Case.

84. For the sake of convenience I have called the postpositional forms "cases". In reality they often do not differ much in meaning from the constructions with prepositions (v. 222). The terms "accusative", "instrumental" etc. are to be taken as labels giving a very rough idea only of the use of the various forms.

### Nominative.

85. The agent case of nouns is identical with the nominative: *'kaštê-a 'jartôn* "the girl is saying", *'kaštê 'ja'rî* "the girl said". Reg. the use of the nom. of pronouns instead of the ag. v. 112.

### Accusative.

86. The indefinite object is not, as a rule, formally distinguished from the subject: *'dut-ê 'dêrô bôn* "he had a daughter", *še'kâr*

*kanem* "I shall go shooting", *jallâtân-ê dhêwî* "he called for (some) executioners".

A definite object usually takes the prefix *ma*, corresponding to Prs. *râ*: *ma 'dut-ê ghîr* "he took his daughter", *ma 'žû-e çûrâna 'ân ham' mâtô* "I have also killed one of the thieves" (German: den einen), *šî . . . šwtur dâ* "(she) gave him three camels"; but *ma šwturân-ê 'bhâr kor* "he loaded the camels", *ma 'žû 'ôsp-ê ham xw'dâika 'dâ-ê, 'žû 'ôsp-ê 'zîn kor* "one (das eine) horse he gave away in alms, one (ein) horse he saddled". Accordingly *ma 'chel ka'nîz-e 'žâ-an ham gu'rê* must mean: "take also thy other forty maids".

The distinction is not always observed. We find e.g. *ha'zâr 'nafar-ê 'mât* "he killed a thousand persons" and *ma 'šast 'nafar-ê mât*; *ma Zai'γūn . . . na 'ēnem, Zai'γūn . . . na 'ēnem* "I shall not bring Z."; *ma 'gū . . . 'dūcēn 'nartōn* "he can milk a (the) cow", *gū . . . 'dūcēn na 'nartōn* "he cannot milk a cow".

In some cases we should expect *ma*: *pa'nân-ê harêwî* "he lost his way", *jallâtân šam'sēr-an 'rust kor* "the executioners raised their swords", *te'chân-ê 'kânô ka'nôr* "blind his eyes". *ma* is not used after demonstrative pronouns: *hê ker-a ku'rô* "thou hast done this work".

87. The acc. is used in a local and temporal sense: *ma 'žû 'qâtir su'wâr 'nhôšt* "he mounted a mule", *γus* "in a house", *ma 'γus* "in the house, home, at home", *ma 'bôr na'γô* "he went out", *šâr* "in, to a town", *ho'wî xa'wân* "during that night". Note: *naz'dik-e ma 'γusika 'âya* "he came near to the house".

The "accusative", generally with *ma*, is used with the verb "to say" and frequently also with the verb "to give" (as Prs. *râ*): *ma 'puš-ê ja'rî* "he said to his son", *tô ma 'mun 'šâp dâ* "thou gavest me a curse". *mâ ma 'tô dâ M* "I gave thee" (but *'mun 'tô kun dâ G*). Without *ma*: *'šēr xu ja'rî Hai'dâr* "the lion said to H.", *ja'rî za'if* "he said to the woman".

*ma* is repeated in: *re'sâlân ma 'Qâsem u 'jînc-ê-an am ma huddi'nân-ê-an 'bôst* "the troopers bound both of them, Q. and also his wife".

The object of past tenses of transitive verbs is put in the acc: *ma bâlô 'dhôr-um* "I saw the boy" (cf. 201).



Reg. *ma* with the abl. v. 94.

88. *ma* is prob. identical with the Prs. dative prefix *mar* (< Av. imper. *mara* "remember, note"?).

### Genitive.

89. The gen. in *-ika* (*-ik'a* M, *-ikī* D) is frequently put before the governing noun: *naṣṣonpečakīkā* 'jīnē "the baker's wife", *dežika mayz* "walnut kernel", *tān bāwik'a* γus M "thy father's house", *naṣṣoni'kā thoī'ān* "burnt pieces of bread", *ōspekī sum* D "horse's hoof", *žūika 'nām-ē A'ir bīn* "the name of the one was A."

But the gen. is put after the noun in: *xī hoiwī ādami'ika* M "that man's sister", *'išq 'sōr tar-ē āṣa šekārī'ika* "a fancy to go out shooting came over him", *fe'γān uštā kaštī'ika* "a lament arose from the girl". This is generally the case with the predicative gen.: *ha'wī γus ha'wī ādami'ikā* "this house is this man's".

Very frequently the attributive gen. is combined with the *izāfat*, which is prob. borrr. from Prs.: *'jīnē-ē kačōārakī'ika* = *kačōārakī'ika* 'jīnē "the furze-gatherer's wife", *tōk-e naṣṣoni'ika* 'thōi "a piece of burnt bread", *'gū-e γarōi'ika* "sheep's dung", *pūst-e bhīnikē* D "bark of a tree", *'qāsed-e Zang pādšāi'ika* "a messenger from king Z.", *nez'dik-e šārī'ika* "near the town", *pe'stī Māmad Ha'nīfa Sāhebi'ika* *ōspi'ika* "behind the horse of M. H. S.". Note the position of the gen. suffix in *'mux tar-e Mīrzā bi'yā-e ghaṇḍi'ika-i* "on the face of his elder brother M."

In several cases the *izāfat* alone is used. This way of expression was probably originally confined to Prs. lw.s, such as *'kaf-e 'pā* "sole of the foot", *band-e 'dest* "wrist" etc. But we find also: *kaf-e 'dōst* "palm of the hand", *mu'rā-e 'puṭ* "spine", *'nūr-e 'dī te'chān-om* "the light of my two eyes", *'mun kun-e 'yār-au* "for me, thy friend", *'ōsp-e A'ir* "the horse A."

Note: *ha'wī γus tar udhe'kān-a* "this house belongs to him (*i xāna az hamū-s*)".

90. The gen. of proper names is generally formed with *-ān*: *ki'tāb Abdurrašī'dān-a* "the book is A.'s", *Alī'ān gīrī'bān* "A.'s collar",



'ōsp-e A'mīr Hāta'mān "A. H.'s horse", 'Māmad Hanī'fān pen "with M. H.". But 'sōr-e Alīkā "A.'s head", 'hukm-e Xu'dā "God's command", 'mux-e Xudā'ika, Xudā'yān "God's face". Note: Abdurra'sīd 'dōst tar-ē 'sēb sī "A. has an apple in his hand".

91. Gen. pl. is formed by adding -āna: hē āda'māna-in "they belong to these men", ē 'γus mā u biyārāna-m-a "this house belongs to me and my brothers", me'jān-e te'chāna-i "the wimpers of his eyes", 'puṭ-e 'huddle čūrāna "the back of the two thieves", 'huss-e γu'sāna "all the houses". In a few cases the gen. ends in -ān like the nom.: ma žū 'zā-e čūrān "another of the thieves", 'pušt-e pā'nān-e bāwika "before the feet of his father". This is prob. due to Prs. influence.

92. We find a genitivus generis in 'γušt 'sīr 'bizeka "twenty seers of grain"; but 'žū sīr 'surb "one seer of lead", 'žū phōr ganum "one grain of wheat", 'žū čak pī "one drop of milk", 'žū tār dōš "one single hair" etc.

Note the use of the gen. in: ha'zār rupai'kā 'čā "one thousand rupees' worth of tea", ma 'žū 'ōsp ham xudā'ika 'dā-ē "he also gave away one horse in charity", 'pušika 'zā na čhō bō "nothing had happened to his son", be'nā-e udhēkān mātō'ika "an inclination to kill him", kačō'ikān-ē bu'rō "he has carried away the thorns".

93. The gen. in -ika appears to be an original adjective (cf. Av. -ika-), with irregular treatment of the -k- (v. 52). The suffix -ān of proper names and pronouns is derived from the patronymic suffix -āna-. Reg. gen. pl. -āna (\*ānām) v. 42.

#### Ablative.

94. The ablative in -ī is used in a local and temporal sense: 'āwā čhī te'chī-m "water went from my eye (: I wept)", dukān'dār-e de'atī "from a shopkeeper of the village", čā'ī "out of the well", γu'sī "out of the house" (as an elative, but 'γus tar. "from the house"), šārī "out of the town", dhara'mī "from the ground", e'dā 'huddle kālā'jānī āle'sī "he seized (from) both his upper arms", dī 'pā-i 'ōspika'i-m-ē āle'sī "he seized (from) the two feet of my horse",

*nezdī'kī* "from the neighbourhood", *ha'wī wax'ti* "from this time on", *hē sa'rī žā 'sar kun* "from this year until the next". Note *be'nā-ē kun mēwa'ī* "he took a fancy to (from) fruit".

In many cases the abl. is combined with *ma*, or with a preposition: *ma yu'sī* = *yu'sī*, *darūn-e yu'sī* "from the interior of the house", *'sōr ō'spī* "down from the horse", *mēn gar'dī* "out of the dust", *mēn cāhī* = *cā'ī*, *az yurcā'gī* "from starvation", *dāl mātū* "from the presence of his mother".

95. It is doubtful whether the forms in *-ī* are ablatives or adjectives in: *'ān Čutu'li-em* "I am from Shutul", *Estālu'fī mardumān* "the men from I.". Pash. S employs the abl. in this case: *ā Sāthāst-im* "I am from Satha". The Pash. form is prob. originally an adj. in *-stha-*, meaning "living in, belonging to, coming from". It is perhaps possible that the Par. abl. in *-ī* is likewise derived from an adj. (*-ika-?*), and was originally employed in predicative sentences such as *'ān Čutu'li-em*.

We are scarcely entitled to compare the Oss. abl. in *-āi* (< gen. *-ahya*), as this suffix would be dropped in Par.

#### Dative.

96. The dat. in *kun* is used with verbs denoting "to give" and "to say" (cf. 87): *zā'yān-e xu'kâ kun-ē 'dâ* "he gave to his sons", *'bâw kun-ē ja'rī* "he said to his father". Cf. also *tū Māmad Ha'nīfa 'Sāheb kun 'āšug chē* "thou hast become the lover of M. H. S." etc.

*kun* also denotes locality or time: *'ta-i 'yus kun-a* "down to thy house", *sâṭ kun* "to the village", *'žū pa'nân 'puš-ē čhī*, *'žū pa'nân kun 'mācī čhī* "her son went by one road, the mother by another road", *ha'wī 'yax 'gū kun-ē 'āya* "this sound reached his ear", *'čhī šē'kâr (kun)* "he went out shooting", *'barr-e giri'ka kun guda'rēn* "they passed round the boulder", *'žā 'ruč kun* "another day", *'žā 'sar kun* "until the next year". Cf. also *'xatt kun-ē 'na 'čhī* "he did not go according to his letter", *mā'khâ 'zūrē wâ 'huddē bāwe'hâ kun 'na za'hâ* "our strength does not reach that of you two, father and son".



97. *kun* is borrr. from Pash. L *kan* "to" (\**karnē*, cf. Waig. -*ken* dat. suff). Reg. u v. 27.

### Instrumental.

98. The instrumental and sociative postposition is *pen* "with". Instrumental: *te'čhân pen* "with the eyes", *pa'sō pen* "with the axe". Sociative: *'dūst o ra'fīq pen* "together with friends and comrades", *ma žū 'pādšā pen* "with one king", *'mun pen* (or *kun*) *'ker-e ba'dī kan* "commit adultery with me", *Māmad Hanīfān pen* "with M.H." Note: *'mun pen 'paraman* "let us go with me" (sic!) = "let us two go together".

99. Phonetically *pen* may be derived from \**upāntai* (v. 43). But semasiologically the comparison with Psht. *bāndē*, Sak *bendī* "upon, above" (v. EVP. s.v.) is uncertain.

### Locative.

100. *tar* denotes locality in the widest sense. *'γus tar* may signify 1) "in the house", 2) "to the house", 3) "from the house".

1) *hē 'mulk tar*, *ha'wē wa'tan tar* "in this (that) country", *'γus tar 'nhašō-a* "he is sitting in the house" (cf. *'γus*, *ma 'γus* "in the house"), *'dōst tar-ē ('dōsta-ē) 'sēb sī* "he has an apple in his hand", *'mardum tar* "among the people", *ma'qō tar* "on the neck", *čōrpāi ta D* "(I lie down) on the bed", *'rūz-e dōsumī tar* "on the tenth day".

2) *'mulk-e dərīn tar* "to a far country", *γa'nīr tar* "to the field", *pa'ram 'jaŋg tar* "I shall go to the battle".

3) *yax'dān tar* "from the ice-cellar", *'hē ru'pā'i 'mā tar 'gure* "take this rupee from me", *'hē 'māneš tar-ē khu'jī* "he asked from this man", *'xi tar-ē 'ghānā-a* "he is bigger than his sister", *'hē ker ku'ro tar* "having done this work", *ha'wē kēr tar-em 'khāntōn* "I am laughing at this thing", *dārū tar . . . huss 'mur* "they all died from the medicine", *bāf tar-ē pa'jut* "concealed from his father".

*tar* is generally placed immediately after the noun or its adjective: *'suŋd tar-e haždārīka* "to the dragon's lips", *'dōst-e 'rāst*



*tar-e pādšāi'ka* "at the king's right hand", *tečh tar-e šeri'ka* "to the lion's eye"; but also *šāx-e šeri'ka tar* "to the lion's horn".

101. *tar* 3) is identical with Psht. *tar* "from" < Av. *tarō*. But, for semasiological reasons, it seems doubtful whether *tar* 1), 2) are identical with *tar* 3). Cf. *tar* "to, into" in various Pamir dialects e.g. Shgh. *tar čid* "into the house". Possibly *tar* 1), 2) are derived from Av. *antarə* "within", Prs. *dar*, cf. 43. Cf. the preposition *tar* "before, from" (222).

#### Allative.

102. The postposition *wa'nō* denotes the direction towards: *γus wanō* "towards the house" *dha'ram wanō* "earthwards", *dhār wanō* "ba taraf-i kōh", *za'if wanōi* "from the side of the woman (az taraf-i zan)", *bā'lān wa'rō* "towards the children".

*wanō* is of Pash. origin, cf. Pash. L *wāya-wāna* = *γus wanō*.

#### Vocative.

103. The voc. particle is *ai* or *ō*: *ai bāw* "O father", *xirō yār ai* "O my sweet friend", *(w)ō kaštē* "O girl", *ō bālō ai* "O boy". Cf. also: *yā pādšā* "O king", *Xu'dāyā* "O God".

#### Attraction of Case.

104. Attraction of case sometimes takes place: *ma šēr čē wā dhu'rō*, *ō ham tāb-e ma'nān-a* "quem leonem vidistis, is etiam mihi est subjectus"; *hāwī kaštika*, *čē dō'stān-ē bastō bēn*, *thārī čē* "cuius puellae manus ligatae erant, [ea] vidit"; *hō'wī kaštō zāif'ika*, *čē jā'dū ōst kantōn*, *ē'dān xōm-ē bur* "the old woman who practised sorcery, had a dream".

#### Adjectives.

105. A great number of adjectives have the suffix *-ō* or *-a* (v. 76). The Prs. suffix *nāk* is employed in forming adjectives from non-Prs. nouns also, e.g. *lejja'nāk* "ashamed".

Adjectives do not change for number; except when used as nouns: *danā'nān-au ma'hān-a* "thy teeth are dainty", *sē'bān-e kārī* "nice

apples", *te'chân-ê 'kânô ka'nôr* "blind his eyes"; but *kârî'ân kun na'zar kan* "look at her beauties". The gen. suffix is added to the adjective: *'ôsp-e čaťôk'a 'zîn M* "the white horse's saddle".

In most cases the izāfat-construction is used: *puš-e čînô* "a small boy", *γa'rô-e dum'bî* "a fat-tailed sheep", *pa'nân-e du'rîn* "a long way".

Without the izāfat: *čînô γus* "a small house", *ghāṇ γarōika dum* "the tail of a big sheep", *ho'wî 'kârî 'kaštê* "that good girl". Note *žū 'âdam (-e?) bi'ayl* "a stupid man". In some cases this way of expression indicates an intimate connexion between noun and adjective: *nê'rôk 'ôsp* "stallion", *'ghaṇḍ 'bâbâ* "grandfather". Probably there is a slight difference of meaning between *za'îf-e kať'ô* and *kať'ô za'îf* "an old woman". *kal 'puš* (cf. *'puš-e 'kal*) "the bald-headed son" is nearly a compound.

Note: *'bad-e gunâ'gâr* "a bad sinner", *kať'ô-ê za'îf* "an old woman (*pîr-i zan*)", *žū-e 'ghāṇṭ pāla'wân* = *žū pāla'wân-e 'ghāṇḍ* "a great hero".

#### Comparison.

106. Par. has no separate comparative or superlative: *bâ'lô 'kaštê tar 'ghāṇḍ-a* "the boy is bigger than the girl" *γus-e māk'hân tân 'γus tar 'ghāṇḍ-a*, "my house is bigger than thine". *'ê ku'čôk 'kull ku'čôkân tar 'ghāṇḍ-a* "this dog is the biggest of all", *'mên 'kull-e mâne'sân tar 'tû dâ'nâ o 'âqel tû-ê* "among all men thou art the wisest and most intelligent".

The Prs. comparative is borrr. in *'khôr o 'gû tar 'battar-a* "he is worse than a donkey or a cow".

#### Adverbs.

107. Reg. the pronominal adverbs v. 150 etc.

*γala'ba* and *γu'lû* mean "very": *γala'ba 'xûb ju'wân-a* "he is a very good young man", *xuš'waxt-e γu'lû* "very happy", *γu'lû nâ'jôr hên* "they are very ill", *γala'ba pāla'wân-e 'ghāṇḍ-a* "he is a very great warrior".

## Numerals.

## Cardinals.

108.

1. *žū*.
2. *dī* (*du*).
3. *ši* (*šu*).
4. *čor* M, G, T, *čor* D, P.
5. *pōnč*, *pōnč* D.
6. *xī* (*xu*).
7. *hōt*, *hōt* D.
8. *ōšt*, *ōšt* D.
9. *nō*, *nū*.
10. *dōs*, *dōs* D.
11. *ž(u)wōs* M, *žūwās*, *žūwās* G, T, *žūās* D, *žūuns* P.
12. *d(u)wās* M, G, T, *d(u)wās* D, P.
13. *ši'dōs*, *ši'dōs* D.
14. *ča'dōs*, *ča'dōs* D.
15. *paes* (Phon. *paes*).
16. *xu'dōs*, *xu'dōs* D.
17. *ha'tōs*, *hattos* P.
18. *a'stōs*, *aštos* P.

19. *nams*.
20. *γušt* (Phon. *γu<sup>o</sup>št*).
21. *γušt u žū*.
30. *šus* G, T, D, *γužd u dōs* M.
40. *čhel*, *čhel*.
50. *pin'jā*, *pin'jā* D.
60. *ši γuštak* D, *šast* G, T.
70. *ši'nīm γuštak* D.
80. *čor γuštak* D.
90. *čor nīm γuštak* D.
100. *sō* M, G, T, *pōnž γuštak* D.
200. *dī sat* T.
300. *ši sat*.
- 1 000. *ha'zār*.
- 3 300. *ši ha'zār u šu sa'dā* T.
- 100 000. *lak* (denoting an indefinite large number).
- 1 000 000. *dōs lak*.

Occasionally Prs. *čar* "4" is used in some fixed expressions. M used also the Prs. numerals 10—20, e.g. *dwāzda* "12", *pāzda* "15", *šāzda* "16", *habda* "17", *hažda* "18", *nužda* "19".

**109.** *nīm* "half". Note M *dī wo rhuž rupa'i* "2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> rupee". *žū* "1" (\**γau* < \**aiwah*, v. 35). Note *žū žū phōr āmar* "one apple each", *qūwa'tān-an žū bīn* "their strength was equal". Gen. *žūika dī* "2" (\**duwayah*?)<sup>1</sup>, *du* (*dūwā*?, v. 48): *dī rupa'i*, *dī ōsp*, *dī ha'zār rupa'i*, *dī ruč*, but also *du ruč*, *du lak*. Cf. *hudīnān* "both", 148.

<sup>1</sup> Or has Av. *duye* f. really existed (\**duvē* < \**duē* < \**ducei*)? Cf. Shgh. *ḍiō<sup>w</sup>n* etc. (*duye* + *ān*), which cannot be derived from \**duwaya*. (cf. *de'vē* "door").



šī "3" (\**ṣrayah*), šu (*ṣri-*, in compounds): 'šī rupa'ī, 'šī ruč, 'šī šu'tur, but also 'šu ruč, 'šu ha'zār rupa'ī.

čör "4" (\**čawār* < Av. *čawārō*). pōñč "5" (Av. *pañca*).

xī "6" (\**xš(w)aš-*), xu. The vowel has been influenced by šī, šu; dī, du. \**xš(w)aša* would result in \**xō*. Oroshori (Pamir) *xīw* (Zarubin, Mj., p. 137) is no parallel, as *a* regularly becomes *ī* in this dialect. 'xī ruč, 'xu ruč.

hōt "7", hōšt "8", nō "9", dōš "10" (Av. *hapta*, *ašta*, *nava*, *dasa*).

žūwās etc. "11", cf. Zaza žūendās. From *aiwāndasa* we should expect something like \**i(w)ōš*; but žū has been restored.

d(u)wās "12" (\**dwādasa*).

šī'dōš "13" (šī + dōš). Av. *ṣridasa*, \**ṣrayāzdasa* could not result in šī'dōš, even if the *d* had been preserved through the association with dōš. ča'dōš "14" (čör + dōš, with weakening of the unstressed vowel).

'paes "15" (\**pañ<sup>s</sup>* > *pañ<sup>s</sup>das* > Av. *pañcadasa*). I cannot explain the *e* except as a trace of the original palatal ñ. \**pañs* would naturally become \**pains*, when the palatal ñ disappeared from the system. Cf. 62.

xu'dōš "16", ha(t)tōš "17", a'stōš "18", cf. šī'dōš, ča'dōš. Anc. *háftadasa* would have resulted in \**hōt(a)s*.

nams "19" (\**naus* < *nāwadasa*, v. 62).

yušt "20" (\**wisati*, cf. 30). Most modern Ir. forms are derived from Av. *visaiti*, but E. Oss. *ssäj*, Psht. *šəl*. Cf. Pash. *wəst*.

šus "30" (Av. *ṣriṣas*).

sō "100" (Av. *satəm*).

'šī 'yuštak "60" etc. In Pash. S, too, we find a similar system: trēw "60", trēw nīm "70", čārcust "80" etc.

### Ordinals.

110. awa'li "first", diu'mī "second", šiu'mī "third", čöru'mī "fourth", pōñču'mī "fifth", dōsu'mī "tenth" etc. čörum'gī T "the fourth one".

Cf. *ašōruc* "the day before yesterday" (\**ā-šri-*), *čašōruc*, "three days ago" (\**čašru-*).

Note: *šuručina* "Monday (*dōšamba*)", *xuručina* "Thursday (*panč-šamba*)".

### Pronouns.

111.

#### Personal Pronouns.

1st Prs. Sg.  
 Nom. *ân* (*mā* M), *ân* D.  
 Ag. *mun* (*mā* M, *ân* T).  
 Acc. *ma 'mun*, *mo 'mun* D.  
 Gen. *ma'nân*, *ma'nân* D.  
 Dat. *'mun kun* etc.

2nd Prs. Sg.  
 Nom. *tū*, *tu* (*tōš*), (*wā* D).  
 Ag. *tō* (*tū* T), *tō* D.  
 Acc. *ma 'tō*.  
 Gen. *tân*, *tân* D.  
 Dat. *'tō kun* etc.

1st Prs. Pl.  
 Nom. *mā*, *mā* D.  
 Ag. *mā*.  
 Acc. *ma 'mā*.  
 Gen. *mā'khân*, *ma'kân* (*ma'khân*) D.  
 Dat. *'mā kun* etc.

2nd Prs. Pl.  
 Nom. *wā*, *wā* D.  
 Ag. *wā*, *wā* D.  
 Acc. *ma 'wā*.  
 Gen. *wā'khân*, *wa'kân* (*wa'khân*) D.  
 Dat. *'wā kun* etc.

Reg. 3rd Prs. v. 126.

#### 1st Prs. Sg.

112. Nom. *ân*. Prob. < \**ā* with -*n* from *mun*, cf. Turf. Phl. S. 'an. But the derivation of \**ā* (cf. Sümnānī, Lāzgird a, ā) < \**azam* is irregular. Pash. *ā* (Pash. S obl. *mū*) can scarcely be the source of the Par. word. M frequently used the pl. *mā*, prob. influenced by Afgh. Prs. 1sg. *mā* (but 1 pl. *mā*): *mā-em* "I am", *mā-m 'jartōn* "I am saying", *mā (ân) . . . -em pāntōn* "I understand". In some cases the verb, too, is in the pl.

Ag. *mun*, D *mōn* (*mun*?) < Av. *manā* (v. 27) M always *mā*, T generally the nom. *ân* (through the infl. of Prs. and Pash.).

Acc. *ma 'mun*, M also *ma 'man* (?), D *mo 'mun*, *'mōn*. T stressed *ma 'mân*, *'mōn* (v. 16). Without *ma*: *mun 'puṭ kan* T "hide me", *ma 'mā žū šēb da* M "give me an apple".

Gen. *ma'nân* < \**mana* which, being used as a general oblique base, was enlarged by *-āna-* (v. 90, 93). *ma'nā* 'γus-a D "it is my house", but *'mun o 'tā 'jaŋ-a* T "there is war between thee and me", *zur-e 'mā* T "my heart". Instr. and Loc. *'mu(n) pen*, *'mā pen* (ماين). *'mā tar* (ماتر) pl. or = *mā*, *mun*.

Dat. *'mun kun*, *'mu kun*, *'mā kun* T.

#### 1st Prs. Pl.

113. Nom. *mā* < Av. *ahmā*. *'mā ḍal* M = *'kull-ān* "we, all of us": *tū-ē ma mā ḍal pāntōn* "thou knowest us all". A kind of exclusive dual is *ān u tū*, *mā u tū*: *'mā o 'tū 'paraman* T "let us take a walk", *dāl 'mun o 'tō* "with me and thee", *mē 'mān u tō*.

Acc. *ma 'mā*, M once shortened *ma 'ma*.

Gen. *mā'khān*. *mākh-* (v. 61) + gen. *-ān*. If this *-ān* had been the pl. suff. we should have expected *-āna* (v. 91). *γu'sān mā'khān-en* "the houses are ours", but *γus-e mā(khān)* M.

Dat. *'mā kun*, M also *mā'kān*.

Loc. *'mā tar* "from us".

#### 114.

#### 2nd Prs. Sg.

Nom. *tū*, unstressed *tu*, D *tū* (Av. *tū*).

Ag. *tō*, D *tō* (Av. *tava*). T. generally employs the nom.

Acc. *ma 'tō*: *'ān-em ma 'tō 'pāntōn* "I know thee", *'mā ma 'tō 'sēb 'dā* M "I gave thee an apple".

Gen. *tān*. Cf. *ma'nān*.

#### 2nd Prs. Pl.

115. Nom. *wā*, D *wā*; M also *tō ḍal*. From Av. encl. *vā*, with peculiar treatment of *w* (cf. 48). Av. *xšma-* coalesced with *ahma-*, and a new pl. was formed, as in several other Ir. dialects. D, and in a few cases G, employs *wā* (*wā*) for the sg. also, like Prs. *šumā*.

Gen. *wā'khān*, D *wak(h)ān*. An analogical form, cf. *mā'khān*.



## 116. Pronominal Suffixes.

- 1st prs. sg. -um < \**a-mai* (Zeb. -am etc.).  
 2nd » » -au, -a < \**a-tū*. \**a-tai* would have resulted in \**-ē* (Zeb. -ē etc.).  
 3rd » » -ē < \**a-hai* (Zeb. -a, Shgh. -ē).  
 1st » pl. -an < \**a-nah* (Zeb. -en, Wkh., Sar. -an).  
 2nd » » -ōu, -ō < \**a-wah* (Zeb. -ev, -av).  
 3rd » » -an, -ē. -an prob. from the 3 pl. of verbs (Zeb. -en, Mj. -at).

## 1st Prs. Sg.

117. -um (-om), -əm, after vowels -m, M also -am.

Ag.: *xūr-um* "I ate", *xōm-um dhōr* "I dreamt", *dhōr-um* "I saw", *čē-um qasam xūrō* "that I have sworn", *ān . . . qasam-um xūrō* "I have sworn", *γunt-um, əm γunt D* "I found", *tū kun-əm kitāb dā M* "I gave thee a book".

Acc. *mēran-um te* "they will kill me", *lar'zēwtōn-um-a* "it makes me tremble".

Gen. *kadam-um* "my foot", *bi'yā-m* "my brother", *bāw-om* "my father", *kākika puš-um* "my uncle's son", *na'nuy-om* "my husband's sister", *bar tar-om* "to my breast", *ha'wāl-e zur'ika-m-em . . . buchetōn ān* "I am seeing the condition of my heart", *ma'nān nhāmuy-um chī* "I have forgotten", *dāl-um* "with me", *dōst tar-am M* "in my hand", *ōsp-am, ōsp-om* "my horse".

Dat. *derāk-um dā* "give me a grape", *kitāb-um da* "give me a book.

## 2nd Prs. Sg.

118. Generally -au (-aw) before vowels, -a before consonants. Ag. usually -a.

Ag. *xōm-a dhōr* "thou dreamdest", *xūr-au* "thou atest", *-a kur* "thou didst", *ma ōsp-e A'ir-a su'wār nhōst* "thou didst mount the horse A.", *sur'mā (-a-a) . . . ku'rō* "thou hast put collyrium", *la'mēwō-ī-a* "thou hast hung it up". The suffix is repeated in *ma*

ma'nân 'šâgird-a 'ham xu de'hô-au "thou hast also beaten my disciple".

Acc. 'aze-m 'dhôj-a "I saw thee yesterday", 'mêrem-ate, -a te 'mêrem "I shall kill thee".

Gen. 'bâw-a "thy father", ma 'bâw-aw-an na 'yunt "they did not find thy father", 'ta-i 'yus kun-a "below thy house", 'jînc-aw-a 'zîtôn "thy wife is coming", kâlân-au çâr'bî-a "thy clothes are greasy", ma kâlân-aw 'âr "bring thy clothes".

Dat. mâ baxšîš-a dahem M "I shall give thee bakhshish"; 'umr-e kama'i-um-a te da'hem "I shall give thee the life of my throat".

### 3rd Prs. Sg.

119. Ag. 'mâ kun-ê ki'tâb dâ "he gave me a book"; 'xûr-ê "he ate"; ma mhêta'rân-ê ja'rî "he said to the (his?) grooms"; ha'wî pâla'wân ma 'mun-ê de'hî "this warrior beat me".

Acc. pai'dâ-ê kan M "produce it", 'wâ kun-ê ja'rem "I shall tell it to you". The acc. is not often used. Reg. gu'rim-ê "I seize (it)" etc. v. 156.

Gen. bi'yây-ê "his brother", 'bâw kun-ê "to his father", bi'yây-e 'ghâñd-ê "his big brother", 'sôr tar-ê 'khâr çhên "they became angry with him".

Dat. 'kî xabar 'dâ-ê "who has informed him?"

### 1st Prs. Pl.

120. Ag. 'xûr-an "we ate", -an kuṛ "we did", -an 'šâr tar 'dhôr = 'šâr tar-an 'dhôr-an "we saw in the town", ma 'bâw-aw-an 'ânt-an "we brought thy father".

Acc. 'mêran-an te "they will kill us", 'khâin-(n)an te mêmâ ba'ra "somebody will take us as guests (كَأَنَّ بَيْنَ نَفْسَيْهِ)".

Gen. 'puš-an "our son", bi'yâ-n "our brother", hussî'nân-an, hosinân-ân D "all of us".

## 2nd Prs. Pl.

121. Ag. *xūr-ōu* "you ate". *-ō yōnt* "you found"; unstressed *u* in *mā kun-u kī'tāb dā* "you gave me a book".

Gen. *bi'yā-ō* "your brother", *bi'yārān-ō* "your brothers", *bi'yā-e 'ghānd-ōw-an* *dhōr* "they saw your elder brother", *'huss-ōu*, *'huss-u D* "all of you", *kullinān-ōu* "all of you".

Dat. *Ja'em-ōu te* "I shall tell it to you (*mēguyim-etān*)" was said to be more correct than *'wā kun-ē ja'em*.

## 3rd Prs. Pl.

122. Ag. *xūr-an* "they ate", *-an kuṛ* "they did", *hal'lā kuṛ* "they ran", *-an kuṛō cūrān* "the thieves have done", *sōr 'ōsp-an su'wār* *'kuṛ-an* "they placed (him) on the horse".

Acc. I have found no instance of this suffix used as an acc.

Gen. *bi'yā-an* "their brother", *dōs nafar-an* *γurca-en* "ten persons of them are hungry", *pai'lān tar-an* "before them". As a partitive gen. usually *-ē*: *kullinān-ē* "all of them", *žā'nān-ē* "others among them", *har 'khā kun-ē* "to everyone of them", *ma huddī'nān-ē-an* *'bōst* "they bound both of them". But *huddī'nān-an . . . 'xīs kuṛ* "both of them jumped up", where *-an* is the ag.; *sōr-e udā'nān-an mur* "their chief died from them".

Note the formal identity of the suffixes for the 1st and 3rd Prs. Pl. In many cases the context only makes it possible to decide which person is meant.

123. The gen. suffix is placed before the ag. or the dat.: *ma bāw-aw-an 'ānt-an* "we brought thy father", *'umr-e kama'i-om-a te da'hem* "I shall give thee the life of my throat". It is doubtful whether an acc. suffix can be used before the ag.; reg. *la'mēwō-i-a* "thou hast hung it(?) up" cf. 163. Generally the acc. of the personal pronoun is used in this case, e.g. *ma 'mun-a 'xūr*, *ma 'mun 'xūr-a* "thou atest me"; but cf. Orm. *xwalak-at-am*.



## 124.

## Demonstrative Pronouns.

"This" (Afgh. Prs. <i>i</i> ).		"That" (Afgh. Prs. <i>ū</i> ).	
Subst.	Adj.	Subst.	Adj.
Sg.			
Nom. <i>ē</i> ( <i>hē</i> ).	<i>hē</i> .	<i>ō</i> .	<i>hō</i> , <i>hu</i> .
Ag. <i>ēdē</i> ( <i>ē</i> ).	<i>hē</i> .	<i>ūdē</i> ( <i>ō</i> ).	<i>hō</i> .
Acc. <i>mendē</i> .	<i>mendē</i> , <i>hē</i> .	<i>mundē</i> .	<i>mundē</i> .
Gen. <i>ēdān</i> .	<i>hē</i> .	<i>ūdān</i> .	<i>hō</i> .
Dat. etc. <i>ēdē kun</i> etc.	<i>hē</i> .	<i>ūdē kun</i> etc.	<i>hō</i> .
Pl.			
Nom. <i>ēān</i> ( <i>ē</i> ).	<i>hē</i> .	<i>ōān</i> , <i>ūān</i> .	<i>hō</i> .
Ag. <i>ēdānān</i> .	<i>hē</i> .	<i>*ūdānān</i> .	<i>hō</i> .
Acc. <i>men'dānān</i> .	<i>mendē</i> .	<i>mun'dānān</i> .	<i>mundē</i> .
Gen. <i>ēdānān</i> .	<i>hē</i> .	<i>ūdānān</i> .	<i>*hō</i> .
Dat. etc. <i>ēdānān kun</i> etc.	<i>*hē</i> .	<i>ūdānān kun</i> etc.	<i>*hō</i> .

125. "This very" (Afgh. Prs. *hamī*)."That very" (Afg. Prs. *hamū*).

Subst. (Adj.).	Adj.	Subst. (Adj.).	Adj.
Sg.			
Nom. <i>he'wyak</i> .	<i>ha'wī</i> etc.	<i>hō'wyak</i> .	<i>hō'wī</i> etc.
Ag. <i>e'dhēk</i> .	»	<i>*u'dhēk</i> .	»
Acc. <i>men'dhēk</i> , <i>hewyak</i> <sup>1</sup>	»	<i>mun'dhēk</i> <sup>1</sup> .	»
Gen. <i>edhē'kân</i> .	»	<i>udhē'kân</i> .	»
Dat. etc. <i>e'dhēk kun</i> etc. <sup>1</sup>	»	<i>u'dhēk kun</i> <sup>1</sup> , <i>mun-</i> <i>dhēk kun</i> etc.	»
Pl.			
Nom. <i>hewya'kân</i> .	»		»
Ag.	»		»
Acc. <i>mendhē'kân</i> .	»		» <i>mun'dhēk</i> .
Gen. <i>edhē'kâna</i> .	»		»
Dat. etc.	»		»
"This here". <i>ekwi'yak</i>		"That there". <i>ökwi'yak</i> .	

<sup>1</sup> Used also as an adj.

*ē, hē* "this".

126. *ē* is usually a subst., and is frequently employed as a personal pronoun 3 sg. *ē ǝst xartōn* "he was eating", *ē-a xartō* D "he is eating", *ē čhī* "he went", *ē ghaṇḍ-a*, *ǝ čīnǝ-a* "this one is big, that one is small". Rarely *ē* is used as an adj. instead of *hē*: *ē ʕus* "this house". T employed *ē* as an ag.: *ē hǝwī pī . . . lam dā* "she put that milk . . ." (cf. 206). M has *ē* as a pl. in *ē ʕalaʕa ʔādam-en* "they are many people"; but in this instance the noun, too, is put in the sg.

*hē* is always an adj. and is used in all cases, sg. and pl.: *hē ʕus uʔdān-a* "this house is his", *hē čūrān* "these thieves", *hē pādšāʔka biyā* "this king's brother", *hē ādaʔmāna-in* M "they belong to these men", *hē mullā ʕarī* "this mulla said", *hē šār tar* "in this town", *hē ker kī kuṛō* "who has done this work?". D: *hē māniš* "this man", but also *hē tā ʕos-a* "is this thy house?". In some cases *hē* may be translated with the definite article, v. 78.

The derivation of *ē* and *hē* is uncertain. Av. *aēšō*, *aētaf*, and prob. *aēm*, would result in \**ī*; but gen. sg. m. *ahē* (Gath. *ahyā*) > *ē*? *h-* has been introduced from *hō*, q.v.

Pl. *ēān*, T usually *īān*, is formed in a regular way from *ē*: *ēān xaʔran* "they may eat", *īān čaʔaʔkēn* "they fled", *īān ʕarī* "they said" (as ag.). Note: *ī paltaʔnā* "these regiments" (XXI, 25).

127. The oblique base is *ēdē* (*eʔdē*): *ēdē dhǝr* "he saw", *ēdē pen* "with him" (or, as a collective, "with them"), *šǝr ēdē* "over him". Note: *šǝr-e ēdē tar* "to his head" (with *ēdē* instead of *ēdān* on account of *tar*, cf. 104). *-dē* must be a secondary affix, as old intervocalic dentals are not retained.

Gen. *ēdān*: *hē ʕus eʔdān-a* "this house is his", *elm-e ēdān* "his wisdom", *neʔdīk-e ēdān* "near him", *ēdān šǝr* "his head". But once *ēdā* *muṛ* "he died"?

*ēdān* is formed by adding the gen. suffix *-ān* to *ēdē*. The gen. pl. is formed with the pl. suffix *-ān*: *ēdānān*. It is used not only as a gen.: *hē ʕus eʔdānān-a* "this house is theirs", but as an oblique case in general: *ēdānān pen* "with them", *ēdānān kuṛ* "they did".

128. *'mendē* is composed of *ma* + *ēdē* with nasalization (v. 62). It is used as a subst.: *'mendē lam dahēman* "let us leave him", *men'dē-an ālē'sī* "they seized him", *men'dī (-ē-ē) ja'rī* "she said to him", *'mā 'mendē 'dhōrō*, *'mundē-om 'na dhō'rō* "I have seen this one, but not that one". As an adj. in sg. and pl.: *'mendē 'ādam-em 'pāntōn* "I know this man", *'mendē 'māl-ē 'ācuṛ* "he brought these goods", *'mendē 'ēx-ē 'ghīt* "he seized this egg", *'mendē bu'tān-ē 'ghīt* "he seized these idols", *'mendē 'huddē bā'lān-ē buṛ ban'dī* "he captured both these children". Either *'mendē* or *hē* may be used; but *'mendē* is the more frequent form (cf. 201): *'mā 'mendē ādam 'mēriman* "we shall kill this man", *'mendē 'ādam-an 'māt* "we killed this man"; but *'hē 'ādam-a 'māt* "thou killedest this man", *'mā hē 'ādam-an māta bōn* "we had killed this man". Note: *'mendē pād'sā'ka laška-rān-an šī'kas dā* "they defeated the armies of this king", where we should expect *\*ma ē'dān* (cf. 104). *'mendē ma 'mux-ē 'Mahmad Ha'nīfa 'dhōṛ* "M.H. saw her face".

We should expect the pl. of *'mendē* to be *\*men'dān*. Once I heard D: *mā nā mandān lam dahēm* "I do not allow them (*na mēmānam-iš*)". But the Shutul form is *men'dānān*, which has been influenced by *ē'dānān*: *men'dānān-ē 'māt* "he killed them (these)", *'ān men'dānān 'zō dahēm* "I shall give them barley".

*ō, hō* "that".

129. The inflexion of *ō, hō* is parallel with that of *ē, hē* and has been influenced by it. *hō* is derived from Av. *hāu*, *ō* poss. from *aom* or some other form of the stem *\*awa-*. It is also possible that Av. *hō* might result in Par. *hō*.

The forms of *ō, hō* are employed in a similar way to those of *ē, hē*. *ō* is used as a personal pronoun for persons and things a little further removed than those denoted by *ē*: *'ē 'mendē 'kaš koṛ*, *'ō 'mundē; na 'ē dha'ram tar čha'rī*, *na 'ō* "this one (he) grappled with that one (her), and that one (she) grappled with this one (him); neither this one (he) nor that one (she) fell to the ground".



*hō*: *hō mānēs* "that man", *hu p-pōnc-ē ja'rī* "all the four of them said", *hu γus w'dān-a* "that house is his", *hu γusān udānān-a* "those houses are theirs". *ō'ān: ē'ān jōr hēn*, *ō'ān nūjōr hēn* "these are well, but those are unwell", *u'ā phārī āyēn T* "those came from that side".

130. *udē: udē ja'rī M* "he (that one) said", *pēs udē* "after that", *dāl udē-m ja'rō* "I have said in his presence", *mun'dhēk u'dē kun da* "give that thing to that man (*hamū ēiz ba hamū ādam bide*)".

*u'dān: u'dān te'hān* "his eyes", *āšug-e u'dān* "her lover". *u'dānān: hu γusān u'dānān-a* "those houses are theirs".

131. *mundē: mundē-m dhōr* "I saw him", *mōnde ka'stī dhōr* "he saw that girl", *tū mundē mānēs bu'chetōn* "do you see this man?"

*mun'dānān: mun'dānān zō da'hem* "I shall give barley to those".

*ha'wī* "this very", *hō'wī* "that very".

132. Emphatic adjective forms are formed by adding *ī* to *hē*, *hō*. *hō + ī > \*hō'wī*, shortened into *hō'wī*, *ho'wī*. *hē + ī > ha'wī* (rarely *he'wī*) with *w* from *ho'wī*, and unstressed *ē > a*.

*ha'wī: ha'wī 'spō Sultān Mah'mūd bīn* "this dog was S. M", *ha'wī γus ha'wī ādamikā* "this house belongs to this man", *ha'wī γusān ha'wī āda'mān-a pl.*, *ha'wī ker-um ku'rō* "I have done this work", *ha'wī 'zāik'a bāi M* "the price of this thing", *ha'wī šār ha'wī 'zā mā dhōr M* "I saw this thing in this town", *ha'wī zī'nān* "these saddles".

*hō'wī: hō'wī ka'stē ā'γō* "that girl has come", *hō'wī bāw-ē ja'rī* "that father of his said", *ho'wī ādamika jīnē* "the wife of that man", *hō'wī dhār tar* "on that hill", *hō'wī dhārān* "those hills", *hō'wī za'if o hō'wī mullā . . . nhaštan* "that woman and that mulla sat down".

*he'wyak* "this very", *hō'wyak* "that very".

133. Strongly emphatic forms, referring to a recently mentioned word, are formed by adding *-ak* to *\*hē'wī* (*ha'wī*), *hō'wī* (*ho'wī*): *he'wyak* "this very", *hō'wyak* "that very". Cf. *Prs. īnak* "behold here, here is", *ānak* "behold yonder, there is", v. Phillott, § 35, o).

They are generally used as substantives: *he'wyak* *ɣw'lū sargar'dân* *chō* "this very man has become much distressed", *hēwyak* *ʒu 'sarē* *bas-um te ka'na* "this (just mentioned) [grain] may suffice for me during one year", *'na čē hēwyak* *'bite pa'nân ē gu'rī-a* "may he not take this very road again", (adj.); *kārī hō'wyak-a čē 'magam* *biyārân-au ma 'mun 'mēran* "that (other thing) is better, viz. that thy brothers may kill me".

The pl. of *he'wyak* is *hēwya'kân*: *hēwya'kân ɣw'lū nā'jōr hēn* "these ones are very ill".

Although *he'wyak* is used once as an acc. (v. above), this stem is chiefly found in the nom. On the other hand *ed(e)hēk* (*ēdē* + (*h*)*ēk*) is used in the obl. cases only, and the two stems are probably complementary. In the same manner *wdhēk* is formed from *udē*. The inflected forms in *-ân*, *-âna* are used as substantives only.

134. *e'dhēk*: *'ân peš e'dhēk 'spō pa'ram* "I shall follow this very dog", *e'dhēk tar-um 'pânt* "I understood for this very reason", *e'dhēk kun* "to this very person", *wdhēk*: *wdhēk 'spō kun* "to this very dog".

The gen. sg. is formed with *-ân*: *edhē'kân*, *udhē'kân*. *ha'wī âma'râ edhē'kân-en* "these apples belong to this very man", *hē ɣus udhē'kân-a* "this house belongs to that very man".

The gen. pl. is *edhē'kâna* with the same suffix as the gen. pl. of nouns. \**edhēkânân*, which would have been parallel with *e'dânân*, was perhaps too heavy a form. *ha'wī âma'râ edhēkâna-hen* (or *edhē'kânâ*) "these apples belong to these very people".

135. The acc. forms are *men'dhēk* (*mende'hēk*), *mun'dhēk*: *ē jâdu-gar-a*, *men'dhēk ba'rōr* "he is a sorcerer, take him away", *men'dhēk 'spō-ē čē dhōr* "when he saw that very dog", *men'dhēk 'âmar* *men'dhēk 'mâneš da* "give this very apple to this very man", *ēdē mun'dhēk 'elm . . . xā'nī* "she recited that very charm", *mun'dhēk kun* "to him"; as pl.: *-ē mun'dhēk suwâ'rân ja'ri* "he said to those very horsemen".

A separate acc. pl. exists, however: *men'dhēkân 'xē kan* "unbind these very [hands]", *men'dhēkân 'čâwâr phar 'âmar da* "give some apples to these very people".



136. Still more emphatic forms are *ekwiyak* (\**ēk* + *hewyak*?) "this here (*ēn hamī*)", and *ōkwiyak* "that there (*ōn hamū*)".

We also find *ēke men'dhēk māneš* "this very man here (*ēn hamīra*)", *ōkū māniš* D "that man", *ḡala'ba 'ōsp-ēn, ēkī ādami'kā* "there are many horses, they belong to this very man", *'ēkī zā la'mēw* "hang up this very thing", *ēkē 'murda-e pušī'kā* "this corpse here is thy son's". Cf. the pronominal adverbs *ēk* etc. (150).

### Reflexive Pronouns.

137. The reflexive pronoun is *xu* (Av. *x<sup>a</sup>atō*) "own, self": *'xu pen-ē* with himself", *čēm 'xu wanō-ī* "I went towards herself", *mēn 'xu tar 'dūst čēn* "they became friends among themselves", *'xu kun-um* "to myself (*ba xud-um*)".

*sē'bān-e mā'khān žu žu 'phōr 'xu kun-an da* "give us our apples, one single apple to each of us", *xu 'sōr-a larzē'wī* "thou didst shake thy head".

*ma xu 'sōr* is contracted into *max'sōr*, and is used as a single word: *max'sōr-an xa'rāb kur* "they destroyed themselves", *max'sōr nemā'yā ku'rō* "they have shown themselves".

138. The gen. of *xu* is *xu'kân*: *zā'ḡān-e xu'kân* "his own sons", *xu'kân nūka'rān kun* "to his own servants", *xu'kân-um-a* "it is my own (*až xud-i mā-s*)". *sēb-e ma'nān xu'kân-um da* "give me my own apple". But also *xu ḡus* "his own house" etc.

Instead of *xu*, *xu'kân* the pronominal suffixes are frequently used: *mā 'ōsp-om 'ḡont* M "I found my horse", *čū'mōr 'har kī ma wa'tan-ē* "everyone shall go to his own country". The same is the case in Prs.

An emphatic form of *xu* is *xuxu* "himself": *A'li 'ān xu'xu-m-em* "I myself am Ali", *xu'xu-ē* "she herself", *xu'xu-e pāla'wā* "the warrior himself", *tu xu'xāu* "thou thyself", *xu'xu-ē 'tar-ē da 'āḡa* "he himself arrived before her".



### Relative Pronouns.

139. The relative pronoun, or particle, is *če*: *har kī če* "every one who", *har če če* "everything which", *zâ-ē če laškar bīn* "whatever army he had", *hu puš-e kōr-om če čhī, čhī* "that blind son of mine who went away, has gone away (for good)", *ho'wī za'if če āsuq-e Māmad Hanīfān bīn* "that woman who was the mistress of M. H.", *pāla'wān če nām-ē Zai'yūn bīn* "a warrior whose name was Z." Without a verb: *zâi če bhār o māl-e ma'nā ham bur* "[they] also carried away the rest of my burdens and goods".

140. When denoting other cases than nom. *če* is frequently, as is also the case in Prs., supplemented by a demonstrative, or a pronominal suffix: *ho'wī mullā če ja'rō bōn-ē* "the mulla who (ag.) had said"; but also *men'dhēk mullā-ē, če ja'rō bōn če . . . , nhānt* "[she] made this mulla, who had said that . . . , sit down". Cf. also: *ma šēr če wā dhu'rō, ō ham tīb-e ma'nān-a* "the lion (acc.) which you have seen, is also in my power" (cf. 104).

*če, čī* occurs as a relative in Psht. and not infrequently in Afgh. Prs.

141. Instead of relative clauses we in some cases find paratactic constructions: *zū pāla'wā, nām-ē Šā-e Zarīḡka'mar bī, āḡa* "a warrior whose name was Sh. Z., came", *ḡaira Zai'yūn pāla'wā, āsuq-e u'dān-a, ēna-i te* "unless the warrior Z., who is his beloved, brings him", *har kī-an ḡunt, mērtan-en* "they use to kill everyone they find", *ker-a ku'rō, xūb ker-ā* "the work thou hast done is a good work", *puš-e ḡhāṇḡ-ē, Mir'zā nām dērō bōn, ō ham rā'hī čhī* "his eldest brother whose name was M., went away, too".

### Interrogative Pronouns.

142. *kī* "who?", *kī zē* "who is coming?", *kīy āra zī-e Xai'bār* "who shall dig the ditch of Kh.?", *hē ker kī ku'rō* "who has done this work?", *kī xabar dā-ē* "who brought the news about it?", *kī tar* "from whom?".

With the substantive verb *ka-* is used: *tūk-ka-i* "who art thou?", *kā* "who is it?", *'nām-e tāt (edhē'kân) 'kā* "what is thy (his) name?", *'wā 'ka hēr* "who are you?", *'kay-en* "who are they? (*kīstand*)".

The gen. is *kân*: *kân-a* "whose is it? (*az kīst*)"; *kân puš* "whose son?"; *ka'lam kân-a* "whose is the pen?".

Probably *ka* is the original nom.; *kī* is borr. from Prs., or derived from *\*kahya* (but cf. *ē < \*ahya(?)*, 126). *če* "what?": *'ē 'če 'hāl-a* "what matter is this?", *'čī-a* "what is it?", *mu'dā-a 'če-a* "what is thy intention?", *'čī ker dērē* "what work hast thou got?".

143. Corresponding to Prs. *kudām* "which?" we find *khâin, khân*: *'khâin 'māneš-a* "which man is it?", *'khâin zâ-a* "which thing is it?", *'ē 'sōr-e 'khâ pālāwānī'ka-â* "the head of which warrior is this? (*ī sar-i kudām pālāwānī as*). Cf. *khânjâi* "whereto, wherefrom". *khân* is probably merely a phonetical variant of *khâin*. Reg. the derivation of *khân < \*kadām < katāma-* v. 62.

144. *čâ* "how many": *'čâ 'māneš* "how many men?". Cf. Psht. *cō < Av. čvas*.

*'čeka* "how much?": *'bāy-ē 'čekâ* "what is its price?". Borr. from Prs. *čigadr*, cf. Pash. S *'čaka*.

*za'nēngī* "of what kind?", v. 152.

### Indefinite Pronouns.

145. *khâin* is used as an indefinite pronoun "some, somebody". Cf. the use of *kudām* in Afgh. Prs. (Phillott, § 37, e). *'khâin 'zâ-m 'gasa* "something stings me", *'khâin wa'tan-e 'zâ tar* "to some other country", *khâenī'kâ* "it is somebody's". *khân* occurs in *'har khân* "everybody" v. 143.

*khîn* "anybody": *'agar 'khîn bē* "if there is anybody", *'khîn tar-ē* "from anyone of them", *'khîn na 'γunt* "nobody found it", (*hēč*) *khîn na hâ* "nobody is there", *'khîn xa'bar na pa'ri-a* "nobody shall become aware of it", *'zâ 'khîn-ē te 'ēnen na 'nara* "nobody else can bring it".

*khîn < \*kahya + nâ*, cf. enclitical Av. *nâ* (Air. Wb. 1052, s. v.



nar-) with interrogative pronouns: *kēm nā* "wen", *kahyācīt nā* "eines jeden".

*hēc* "anything" (Prs.): *hēc par'wā na 'dēran* "they have no shame". *hēc kī*, *hēc khīn* with *nā*: "nobody". Reg. *hēc* as adv. v. 152.

146. *har kī*, "everybody": *ma har kī-m khu'jēwtōn* "I am asking everybody", *har khān*: *har khān-ē pādšā bīn* "everyone of them was a king", *har khān kun-ē* "to everyone of them". *har khīn*: *har khīn čē 'chī ra'fīk-e za'fīka*, *hāl-ē xa'rāb-a* "whoever becomes a woman's friend, his condition is bad".

*har čē* "whatever": *har čē ka'nān xu ka'nān* "let them do whatever they will do", *har čē kuṛ*, *dehen-ē na narī* "whatever he did, he could not beat him".

147. *čā* "some" (cf. 144): *čā ruč* "some days". Usually *čāwār*, M *čāwar*: *čāwar 'ōsp* "some horses".

*zā* "anything": *zā-i dhēwem* "I want something". < Av. *zāta* (cf. Voc. s.v.).

*žā* pl. *žā'nān* "another, other". *žā khīn* "anybody else". < \**yutāka* (cf. Voc. s.v.).

*felānī* "a certain, So-and-So" (proximate), *felāna* (remote). Prs.

148. *hus(s)* "all": *huss-ōu*, "all of you", *mā huss-an* "all of us", *hussū-ēr ma 'mun čukun 'jantā* D "why do you all beat me?", *mā kun huss kun-an* "to all of us", *huss-ē-ēn šamsērī* "all of them are swordsmen", *za'hēn . . . huss* "they all arrived", *ma pairādā'rān hussika 'sōr-ē čuṛt kōṛ* "he cut off the heads of all the guards".

A special pl. form is *hussī'nān*: *'ōsp mā'khān hussī'nān-an-a* "the horse belongs to all of us" (D. *hussinān-ān-a*), *hussī'nān-ō 'nhīnōr* "sit down all of you".

*huddī*, *huddē* "both": *huddī kaštē'an* "both girls", *huddle bālān* "both boys", *hē huddē* "both of them", *ho'wī huddle čūrān* "both those thieves". Frequently we must translate e.g. *huddle 'ōspān* "the two horses".

*huddī'nān* "both": *huddī'nān-an* "both of us", *mā huddī'nān na'žōn 'zareman* "we both eat bread", *mā huddī'nān 'šār wēhemān 'ōsp gu'rīman* "let us both go to the town and buy a horse", *ma 'wā*



*huddī'nān* "you both" (acc.), *ma huddī'nān-ē-an . . . bur* "they carried both of them", *hödī'nān-ē D* "har dū-iš, hamū har dū", *huddī'nāna* (gen.) 'qūwat-ē 'žū bī "the strength of both was equal". *kullī'nān* "all" = *huddī'nān*: *kullī'nān-an ā'yēman* (*kull-an*) "all of us came", *kullī'nān-ē ā'yēn* "all of them came", *'kull-e wā'khān* "all of you". *'huššē* "all three".

149. *hu-* in *huddī*, *'huššī* is probably a shortened form of *hus(s)*. The derivation of this word is unknown; but it is not altogether impossible that it may be an irregular, extremely reduced form of \**harwisp*, Phl. *harvīsp*, Sak. *harbišša*. Reg. the pl. in *-nān* cf. 82.

## Pronominal Adverbs.

### Adverbs of Place.

150. *ēk* "here", *ōk*, *uk* "there" (cf. the demonstrative pronouns *ē*, *ō* 124, *ēke* etc. 136): *ēk ā'ya bōn* "he had come here", *uk ham xunuk-a* "it is cold here, too".

*'ēka* "then (*ēna*)", v. Voc.

Emphatic forms are *en(e)hāk* "in this very place (*hamīn*)ā)", *un(ə)hāk* "in that very place (*hamūn*)ā)". *en'hākī* "hence (here)", *un'hākī* "thence". Still more emphatic is *ēken'hāk* "in, to this very place" (v. 136).

Less emphatic are *eke'stāk* "here", *ōke'stāk* "there" (remote). But *ō'kān ōke'stak* "in that very place (*ōna ūn*)ā)".

*ukī* M "there".

*e'čend*, *ečēn'dī* "hence, from this place or time", *u'čend*, *učen'dī* "thence, from that place". A kind of pl. occurs in *učen'dānī* "from those [hills]". *-čend* perhaps contains an element derived from Av. *hača* "from" (cf. Soghd. *čan*).

*pī* "on this side", *pū* "on that side" < \**pati-aita*-, *-awa-?* *phyārī* "from this side", *'phārī* "from that side". Poss. with abl. *-ī* from \**pīhār* < \**pīdōdār* < \**pati-aita-tāra*; \**pōhār* < \**pōdōdār* < \**pati-awa-tāra*.

*kū*, *kūī* "where?" (Prs.). *'har kū* "everywhere", *ku'čend* "whence?".

'*khânjâi* "where?, whence?, somewhere", '*har 'khânjâi* "wherever".  
'*kâwanô*, '*kâwun* "in which direction?, in some direction or other"  
(cf. 102).

*wa'khê* "up", *wa'cha'nê* M, G, *pa'stô* D "down", v. Voc.

### Adverbs of Time.

151. *ba'dê*, emphatic *ba'dhêk* "now" (v. Voc.), '*yâri* M "now",  
*bete* "again".

*ka'bî* "when", '*har ka'bî* "whenever", '*hêč ka'bî na* "never".

*nî* "now, to-day", *nî'hêk* M, G, *nî'hak* D "to-day", *nîxa'wân*  
"to-night".

*a'ze* "yesterday", *ašö'ruč* M, G, (*a'ze na*) *ašöröc* D "the day be-  
fore yesterday", *čašö'ruč* G, *čašöröc* D "three days ago" (v. 110).

*sa'bâ* "to-morrow", *passa'bâ* M, '*šîruč* G, *sa'bâ na* '*šîruč* D "the  
day after to-morrow".

*'âsur* G, *'âsur* D, *âsu'rêk* M "this year", *pa'râsur* G, *pa'râsur* M,  
*žâsar* (?) D "last year", '*žâsar* G "next year".

### Adverbs of Manner and Degree.

152. '*hega* "so much".

*hêč na* "not at all".

*čâ* "how?, why? (for what reason?)", '*čekun* "why? (with what  
intention?)".

*'čeka* "how much?" '*čeka do'rîn* "how far?"

*za'nêng* "how?, in what manner?".

*'hêč čâ na* "nowise".

### The Particles *te* and *ě*.

153. The particle *te* is very frequently used in connexion with  
the pronominal suffixes, when the verb is in the aorist. It makes  
no difference whether the pronominal suffix represents the gen. or  
the acc. (dat.). The ag., of course, cannot occur in connexion with  
the aorist. I have not been able to discover the exact shade of  
meaning that this particle is intended to convey; but it seems to

be slightly emphatic. It is possible that *te* is derived from the enclitic pronoun 2 sg. \**tai*. Cf. the pronominal suffix *-a*; but the *t* may have been preserved in this particle, which was treated as an independent, even if enclitic, word. Semasiologically the development of an enclitic pronoun 2 sg, a *dativus ethicus*, into a general emphatic particle is possible. Cf. Psht. *dē*, *di*, Orm. *di* (EVP. s.v.).

154. Examples. 1) The pron. suff. represents an acc. or dat.: *mēran-an te* "they will kill us", *žū sēb-a te da'hem* (or *da'hem-a te*) "I shall give thee an apple", *nīm-e pādšāhī-m-a te da'hem* "I shall give thee half my kingdom", *tō kun-ē te da'hem* "I shall give it to thee", *khāi zā-m te gasa* "something bites me", *pha'rātem-ē te* "I sell it", *čekun-ē te da'hē* "why dost thou give it?"

2) The pron. suff. represents a gen.: *ma bāw-a te mērem*, *bī bāw-a te ka'nem* "I shall kill thy father, and make thee fatherless", *jan-um te su'nim* "I shall wash my body", *jīnč-au te khōr phera* "thy wife will turn into a donkey", *berkhitō-en čē ō'spān-a te haran-ē* "I fear that thy horses will be lost", *dāda-m te ma mun mēra* "my father will kill me", *xu'xu-m te xa'rem* "I shall eat (it) myself", *huddīnān-an te nhīneman* "both of us shall sit down", *xiyu'ōk kun-um te* "to my nephew", *ja'rem dāl xā-m te* "I shall say in the presence of my husband", *šunq tar-an te de'hem ān* "I shall strike thy mouth", *gī'rīm te khān jāi para* "where wilt thou go from my embrace?", *bī Mahmad Ha'nīfa yār-om te šār tar na param* "I will not go to the town without my friend M.H." etc.

155. In many sentences of exactly the same type as those given above *te* is not used:

*xaren-ē (te) na narem* "I cannot eat it", *čē ān-a da'hem? umr-e kama'i-um-a te da'hem* "what shall I give thee? I shall give thee the life of my throat", *mērem-ē* "I shall kill him", *aga ēnen-ē na na'rem, xu xa'rem te* "if I cannot bring it, I shall certainly eat it", *ho'wī kī'tāb-um da, čē gu'rīm-ē* "give me that book that I may take it", *γax ka'nem čē mēran-au* "I shall call them, that they may kill thee", *ān ka'nem tārif-e te'chān-ā* "I shall praise thy eyes", *ān-ē pa bhāi gu'rīm* "I shall buy it", *tā čē Zai'yūn bāw pen-ē*



*be'žen 'na ênem, wa'tan tar-ê 'na param* "as long as I do not bring Z. bound together with her father, I shall not go home".

**156.** *ê*. This particle, too, is used in connexion with a verb in the aorist, without any appreciable change of meaning. In many cases it is difficult to distinguish this *ê* from the pronominal suffix 3 sg.

Eg. *mêrem-ê* might be translated "I shall kill him". But the same *-ê* is found after intransitive verbs: *'merem-ê* "I shall die", *'param-e* "I shall go", *'khûfem-ê* "I shall cough". It is not always attached to the verb: *'âne ê'im* (آء T) "I shall come", *'ân-e ma 'tô ja'nem D* "I shall kill thee", *'ân-e pa'ram* "I shall go", *'nî weyâr-e 'ân pa'ram* "I shall go to night", *ma 'tô-ê kha'nân* "they will laugh at you", *'mâ-e ma 'tô 'janiman D* "we shall kill thee", *'žê, če ma 'tô -e 'gap janem* "come, let me say a word to thee", *'ô-e ma 'tô 'zâ-e 'žâ phe'rêwa* "he will turn thee into something else".

But frequently without *ê*: *'mâ o 'tû 'paraman* "let you and I go" (but *ân o tû-e . . . 'paraman*).

It is possible that this particle may, after all, be etymologically identical with the pronominal suffix 3 sg., employed as a dativus ethicus (cf. 153).

## Verbs.

### Verbal Nouns and Participles.

#### Verbal Nouns.

**157.** The infinitive or verbal noun is formed by adding *-ô*, usually to the preterite stem. Cf. the infinitives in *-ak, -uk* in Orm., Ishk. etc.

Eg. *'rhîntô-ê 'yu'lû-m kur* "I did much weeping (wept much) for her", *'chô-au ra'wâ 'nâ* "thy going is not suitable (thou oughtest not to go)", *ma'lâmat ku'rô ba'kâr 'nâ* "there is no need to make reproaches", *'çimô-au žerêžî'kâ* "thy walk is like a partridge's". With a preposition or postposition: *da 'dehō čha'ri* "he started fighting (*dar zadan uftâd*)", *da na'ğôn 'xûrô čhên* "they started eating bread", *'sôr na'ğôn xu'rô hōst* "he was eating bread", *'ker*

*ku'rō tar 'mundē-m 'dhōr* "when I had finished my work, I saw him", *'zā 'xūrō tar pa'riz-em* "I abstain from eating anything".

The verbal noun is sometimes put in gen.: *'xāš-e 'jīnč bə'pōikā* "a desire to take a wife (*xāš-i zan burdan*)", *be'nā-e udhē'kā mātōi'ka* "an intention to kill that one".

But from the pres. stem: *ba me'rō-au te da'hem* "I give thee over to be killed", *bu'chō-e 'yārīka* "seeing the friend (*dīdan i yār*)".

158. Another verbal noun, ending in *-en* (*-in*) is used only in connexion with *nar*; "to be able". The *e* renders a direct derivation from a verbal noun in *-ana-* difficult.

*'xaren-ē (te) 'na narem, nā-m narē xaren M* "I cannot eat it", *'jaŋg ka'nen-ē narē* "canst thou fight him?", *'ē γūs xa'rāp-a, 'xaren-ē te 'na narē* "this meat is bad, thou canst not eat it", *'ēnen-ē te 'na nara* "he cannot bring it", *-ā 'dūcēn 'nartōn* "he can milk", *'mā-iman ja'ren na 'nartan M* "we cannot speak", *-um ja'ren na na'ri* "I could not speak", *'tū 'cā 'zīn na na'ri* "why couldst thou not come?".

#### Participles.

159. The present participle ends in *-en* (*-in*), with *-n* < *\*-nt-*. It is chiefly used in connexion with verbs of motion: *'hala ka'nen 'āya* "he came running", *xušwax'ti ka'nen u 'khanen . . . 'āya* "he came making merry and laughing", *men'dānān gu'rīn-ā 'dhār tar 'chēwetōn* "taking these with him he goes to the hills", *ber'khen ber'khen (ru'hen ru'hen) 'āya* "he came fearing (weeping) continually", *de'hen de'hen 'šārī ma 'bōr ka'nōr* "drive him out of the town beating him continually", *'ruč ba 'ruč wa'khē če'men 'chētōn* "he walks, growing higher day by day (*rūz ba rūz kalān šuda mēra*)", *bī'yam 'nhān 'khanen* "sit down peacefully, laughing (*xanda kada*)", *'zān mun'dhēk 'kaštē 'bāw pen-ē be'žen na 'ēnem* "so long as I do not bring that girl binding (having bound) her together with her father (*basta karda*)", *xu'xu-ē ra'fiq pen-ē 'aiš kanen 'bē* "may she be enjoying herself with her lover".

In some of the examples above the Par. participle in *-en*



corresponds to a Prs. past participle; but in Afgh. Prs. this form (e.g. *xanda kada*) is sometimes used to denote an action simultaneous with that of the finite verb of the sentence.

160. A participle or verbal noun in *-en* is used also to form the passive: *be'žen čhī 'žī-e Xaibār* "the canal of Kh. was built (*basta šud*)", *ka'fen čhī* "it was cut off", *ma'hōk gu'rīn cō D* "the moon has been eclipsed", *na'γōn pe'čen čhō* "the bread has become baked", *de'hen čhēn* "they were beaten", *tū 'ham 'mērien pa'rā Phon.* "thou, too, wilt be killed", *mē'ren čhī M* "he was killed", *ān-em 'berkhitō-em čē 'mērien 'na pa'rī* "I fear that he will be killed (*mētarsam ki kušta na šauca*)". Note the forms in *-ien*.

It is doubtful whether this participle is identical with one of the other forms in *-en*, or is connected with the similar Pash. passiva construction: *'lāya-m ha'nen bitī* "my brother was killed" (Par. *\*bi'yā-m ja'nen 'čhī*).

161. The present participle in *-tōn*, pl. *-tan* is used in forming the present and imperfect tenses (v. 193, 197).

162. The past participle in *-ō*, (*-a*) is used in forming the perfect and the pluperfect. (v. 207, 211).

Once we find: *su'wār-ē 'nhōšt, 'hai ku'γō 'čhī* "he mounted a horse, and rode off having whipped it" (pres. part. *'hai kanen*).

163. The past participle in *-ōi* is used as an adjective: *laška'rān ham ma 'šēr sōr 'ōsp 'bhār ku'γōi 'dhōr* "the soldiers saw the lion loaded on the horse", *la'mēwōi-a* "it is hung up (*āwēzān kadagī-s*)". Without any preterital meaning: *'lauč-e kha'nōi, 'lab-e kha'nō* "a laughing lip", pl. *law'cān-e kha'nōi*. As a noun: *na'γōni'kā thōi'ān* "burnt pieces of bread". In some instances it is used to form a passive preterite: *'dhōr čē dhārī am hupātōi, 'sōr-ē ham 'γōš ku'γōi, a'brō u me'jān-ē ham 'γōš ku'γōi* etc. "he saw that his beard had also been pulled out, the hair of his head had been cut, and his eyebrows and eyelashes had been cut", *'čhī čē kačōi'kān-ē bu'γō, thēwōi* "he went to carry away the thorns, they were set fire to (*suxtānd ast*)", cf. *la'mēwōi-a* above.

164. An isolated form, which occurs once in the Phon. text, is



*bōstun*: *bōstun* *bōstun-ē-an* *bōst* "they bound him firmly (: binding and binding?)".

165. The conjunctive participle ends in *-amān* (< \**māna*?). Eg. *čema'mā jara'mā xu pen-um u'stā* "when I had gone and told him it, he rose with me (*raftanī ki guftom-iš hamrā-i mā xēst*)", *na'γōn xara'mān u'stā-eman* (= *na'γōn-an ēe xūr*) "when we had eaten the bread, we rose", *phārī žia'mā dōst-ē šam'sēr tar bur* "when he had come from that direction, he laid his hand on the sword (*az ūsun āmada, āmadanī*)", *čema'mā mun'dī dhōr* "having walked about he saw him". Note: *tā dāda-m jōr čema'mā* "until my father gets well (*tā padar-om jōr šudan*)". *-amānī* in *ba'yal guria'mānī ča'ri ō* "she fell, having been seized in his arms".

166. The gerundive is formed by adding *-anē* to the root: *hō gi'hāi huss xara'nē-a* "all this grass is eatable (*xurdanī*)", *ker-e čema'nē bīn, čhī* "there was a work, which ought to (could) be done, and it was done (*kār-i šudanī būt, šud*)".

### Verb Substantive and Auxiliary Verbs.

"To Be".

Present.

167. Sg. 1 Prs. <i>hēm, -em</i> "I am".	Pl. <i>hēman, -eman</i> .
» 2 » <i>hē, -ē</i> .	» <i>hēr, -ēr</i> .
» 3 » <i>hā, hā, -ā, -a; sī</i> .	» <i>hēn, -en</i> .

*hēm* etc. cannot be derived direct from Av. *ahmi* etc. Probably the stem *hē-* is due to the influence of the verbs in *-aya-* (v. 185c). (*h*)*ā* etc. might, however, be derived from *asti*. For the personal terminations. v. 189.

168. The enclitic forms are mostly used as auxiliaries. The difference between (*h*)*ā* and *-ā* is not always observed: *kūč-a kantōn, sāt kun-ā žitōn* "he moves (they move), and comes to the village"; *un'hāk-a whētōn, ēe lī'wōn ku'rūt-ā γu'lū kantōn* "he goes (they go) there to make much ghee and curds". But *žū čūr hā* "there is one thief", *žū dūkān'dār hā* "there is a shopkeeper": *xub ker-a* "it is a good work", *yalaba xub ju'wān-a* "he is a very good young man";

*khîn* 'na 'hâ, *mâlâ* *ya'lâ-a*, *xâwand-an* 'na *hâ* "nobody is present, the beasts are let loose, and their master is not present". Sometimes the auxiliary 3 sg. is omitted: *dhôr-ê* *çe žû* 'šêr-e 'nar "he saw that it was a male lion". Note also: *šam* 'šêr-ê *ham* 'döst *tar ha'wâla-i kor A'li* "with the sword in his hand A. struck a blow at him"; *sêlâ'bân-an* *luč* 'â<sup>γ</sup>ên "they came with drawn swords".

In Pash. S we find *a*, *â* used indiscriminately.

169. *sî* expresses existence, with regard to inanimate things: *gû tar-au* 'spô *hâ* "there is a louse in thy ear", but *gû tar-au* 'gard *sî* "there is dust in thy ear"; *har* 'mêwa *xu ai* 'uk *ferîmân-a*, *šaftâ'lû u* 'sêw *nâšpâ'tî sî*, *ay'gûr u be'hî ham ferîmâ sî* "all kinds of fruit are plentiful there, there are apricots and apples and pears; grapes and quinces, too, are there in plenty".

*sî* is bor. from. Pash. S *šî*, (< *sete*), with substitution of *s* for the palatal *š* (v. 68). Derivatives of *sete* are frequent in Dardic languages (v. Report, 72), and it is more probable that *sî* is bor. from Pash., than that it should be derived from Av. *saētē*, with semasiological influence from Pash.

170. A present form *bitôn* from the root *bî-* occurs once: *šu mē'hîy-â* 'tî 'bitôn "the mulberries last for three months".

#### Aorist.

171. Sg. 1 Prs. *bîm* "I may, shall be". Pl. *bîman*.

» 2 » *bî*.

» *bî'ôr*.

» 3 » *bē*.

» *bēn*.

172. This form is used in the same sense as Prs. *bāšam*: *nâ'jôr bîm* "I shall be ill"; *tû* 'chô, 'ân-e *en'hak bîm* "go thou, I shall stay here"; *puš-e* 'tân 'mur, *tu xu'xâ-w* 'ja'nô *bî* "thy son died, thou thyself wilt remain alive"; *A'li* 'ja'nô *bē* "if A. is alive"; *aga* 'mu *kun bi'yâ bē*, *kârî bē* "if there shall be a brother for me (: if I shall have a brother), let him be good"; *khîn na bē ma* 'γus "let nobody be at home". For further details reg. the use of the aorist v. 191.

For the personal terminations v. 189. Regarding the derivation of *bē* (v. 185b).

## Imperative.

173. Sg. 2 Prs. *bē*, Pl. 2 Prs. *bēōr* (*bīōr*) G, *bōr* T. *čub bē* "be silent".

## Subjunctive.

174. *na bādā* (*ma bādā*), *na bā'dāi* "let it not be, lest", *borr.* from Prs. *mabādā*.

## Past Tense and Imperfect.

175. Sg. 1 Prs. *hastam*, *bēm* "I was". Pl. *hastaman*, *bēman*.

» 2 » *hasta*, *bē*. » *hastahēr*, *bēr*.

» 3 » *hōst*, *bīn* (*bī*), *bōn*. » *hastan*, *bēn*.

176. Acc. to G there is no difference in meaning between *ān nā'jōr hastam* and *ān nā'jōr bēm* "I was ill"; *nā'jōr hōst* = *nā'jōr bīn* etc. Cf. also: *'zāi čē laškar-ē bīn* (*bēn*) "all the soldiers he had"; but *'zāi čē ōsp(ān)* . . . *hōst* "all the horses he had".

*hastam* is, however, usually a durative imperfect: "I dwelt, existed, was in a certain state". *tū na hasta 'γus tar-au* "thou wast not in thy house", *'rhizō hastam* "I was lying down", *'nhaštō hastam* "I was sitting" (v. 197), *žū bā'lō-e ku'fō hōst* "there was a lame boy", *čha'řō hōst* "he was ill (had fallen ill)" (v. below).

*bēm* etc. in *žū ādam bīn* "there was a man", *ān 'kal bēm* "I was bald-headed", *'āhena khān-e žāika bīn* "the mirror belonged to somebody else", *Sultān Māmūd pādšā bīn*, *'dī ōsp dērō bōn*, *žūika nām-ē Tāphōnē bīn* "Sultan M. was a king, he had two horses, the name of the one was Gh."

3 sg. *bōn* is used in forming the pluperfect of intransitive verbs (v. 212), cf. *čha'řō bōn* "he had fallen" (v. *čha'řō hōst* above). Once I heard: *ē Haidar bō* "he was H."

177. *hastam* is probably derived from \**hasta-*, past part. of Av. *had-* "to sit down". In Av. this verb does not occur without preverbs; but cf. Orm. *hanyēk* (*hayēk*) "to remain, abide, dwell, be seated", which Grierson derives from *had-*. For the personal terminations v. 189.



*bēm* etc. < *bī* (Av. *būta-*) + *hēm* etc. 3 sg. *bī(n)* with unexplained -*n* (cf. -*tōn* 193). But cf. also Pash. S *bīn*: *ya 'sāya 'ādam-žēka'lū bīn* "this sister was a cannibal", *dō brūi bin* "there were two brothers". *bō(n)* < Av. *bavat*, or, more prob., < \**būtaka-* (originally a perfect?).

178. The preterite (formally a pluperfect) of *sī* (169) is *sō bōn*, pl. *sē bēn*: *'aze ma'nā 'γus tar 'hēc na'γōn na 'sō bōn* "yesterday there was no bread in my house"; *'hu bandi'xāna tar da'rūn tar-ē butān 'sē bēn* "there were some idols inside that prison".

### "To Become".

#### Aorist.

179. *pa'ram* "I become" (originally "I go"), the inflexion is given 188: *pa'ram 'ān xa'lās* "I shall become free", *'cāk paran* they [may] become fat".

*čēm* (v. 181) was said to be used as an aorist also, corresponding to Prs. *šawam*: *nā'jōr čēm* = *nā'jōr bīm* (v. 172). Once only I heard *čē* "go" used as a 2 sg. aorist with imperative force (v. 191 c); in all other cases *čēm* etc. were used as preterites.

#### Imperative.

180. Sg. 2 Prs. *ču* (*čhō*, *čhā*), also *para*; Pl. 2 Prs. *ču'mōr*.

#### Past Tense.

181. Sg. 1 Prs. *čēm*, *cēm* D "I became (I went)". Pl. *čēman*.

» 2 » *čē*.

» *čēr*.

» 3 » *čī*.

» *čēn*.

The *ē* is very narrow before a nasal, and sometimes I heard *čīm*, *čīn*. *čī* < \**čiyuta-*, cf. *'cā bī'wār čē* "why didst thou become frightened?", *xa'rāb čēn* "they became bad", *čār'bi čī* "became greasy". Reg. the formation of the passive with *čēm* v. 160.

## Perfect.

182. 3 sg. *čhō: ma'hōk gur'in čhō* "the moon has been eclipsed"; *kōr čhō* "he has become blind"; *žū haž'dâr pa'dâ čhō* "a dragon has appeared".

Perfect subjunctive in *'magam mardumi'kâ 'nhâmōr 'čhō bē* "perhaps people may have forgotten".

## Pluperfect.

183. Sg. 1 Prs. *'čhē bēm* "I had become (I had gone)", 3 Prs. *'čhō bōn*, Pl. 1 Prs. *'čhē bēman*, cf. 212.

Sg. 3. Prs. *'čhō hōst* in *'hōst čār'bī čhō* "it had become greasy [and remained so]".

## The Finite Verb.

184. The Par. verb has two stems, — an aorist stem and a past stem. From either of these groups of tenses are formed.

From the aorist stem the following tenses and moods are formed:

I. Direct from the aorist stem:

The Imperative.

The Aorist.

II. From the aorist stem + *-tōn*:

The Present.

The Imperfect.

From the past stem are formed:

I. Direct from the past stem:

The Past Tense.

Past Optative.

II. From the past stem + *-ō*:

The Perfect.

The Pluperfect.

Perfect and Pluperfect Subjunctive.

## The Aorist Stem.

185. The aorist stem is identical with the imperative 2 sg. The great majority of aorist stems end in a consonant, e.g. *bar-* "to carry", *mer-* "to die", *mēr-* "to kill", *āγu'nēw-* "to dress" etc. A few, irregular stems end in a vowel: *'para-* "to go, become", *'gurē-* "to seize", *žē-* "to come", *bē-* "to be, become", *su'nī-* "to wash",

*nī-* "to go out", *thā-* "to shave", *ušte-* "to rise". The imperative of *chēm* "I become" (?), v. 179, is *chu* etc. (v. 180).

From the historical point of view we can distinguish stems in *-a-*, *-ya-*, *-aya-* and *-āya-*. The various classes of athematic verbs had probably become thematic in late Anc. Ir.

a) Stems in *-a-*: *ār-* "to bring" (\**ā-bara-*), *bar-* "to carry" (Av. *bara-*), *jan-* "to kill" (Av. *jana-*), *xar-* "to eat" (Av. *x<sup>ə</sup>ara-*), *har-* "to be lost" (\**hara-*), *līs-* "to lick" (\**laiza-*, v. 70, cf. Av. *raēs-*), *pa'rič-* "to shake a sieve" (\**pari-waiča-*, Av. *vaēča-*), *γâr-* "to rain" (Av. *vāra-*), *thā-* "to shave" (\**tāša-*, Av. *tāš-*, *taša-*), *ruh-* "to weep" (\**ruda-*, Av. *uruša-*), *γuh-* "to throw" (\**wida-*), *γur'z-ēw-* "to pour out" (\**wi-hyza-*, Av. *hərəza-*), *harw-* "to hear" (Av. *haurva-*), *γun-* "to find" (Av. *vinda-*), *â'γun-* "to dress" (\**ā-gunda-*), *kan-* "to do" (\**kṛna-*, Av. *kərənav-*), *nhin-* "to sit down" (\**ni-hīdna-?*), *dah-* "to give" (\**dada-*, Av. *dadā-*).

b) Stems in *-ya-*: *mer-* "to die" (Av. *mirya-*), *rhīz-* "to lie down" (\**fra-razya-*), *thī-* "to burn" (\**tafya-*), *ūzeh-* "to remain" (\**awa-zahya-?*), *bež-* "to bind" (\**badya-?*), *ter-* "to drink" (\**trya-?*) *deh-* "to beat" is prob. a lw. (v. Voc.); *bē-* "to be", (Av. *buya-?*).

c) Stems in *-aya-*: *ēn-* "to bring" (\**ā-naya-*), *ūn-* "to lead, bring down" (\**awa-naya-*), *mēr-* "to kill" (\**māraya-*), *pēc-* "to cook" (\**pāčaya-*), *rhēz-* "to build, prepare" (\**fra-rāzaya-*), *rēm-* "to turn round" (\**rāmaya-*), *dūč-* "to milk" (\**daučaya-?*), *dēr-* "to hold" (Av. *dāraya-*), *nhēn-* "to make to sit down" (\**ni-hādnaya-?*), *gēh-* "to copulate", *menth-* "to smear" (\**manthaya-*), *derz-* "to take on one's back" (Av. *dərəzaya-*), *ušt-* "to rise" (Av. *ustaya-*), *phīš-* "to sow" (\**pršaya-?*), the causatives in *-ēw-* (\**āpayā-*, cf. 219), *su'nī-* "to wash" (Av. *snaya-*), *nī-* "to go out" (\**nīš-aya-?*). Some of the verbs in *-ē-* are probably secondary, analogical formations.

c) Stems in *-āya-*: *gu'rē-* "to seize" (Av. *gūrvāya-*, cf. 44 sqq.), *žē-* "to come" (\**ā-yāya-?*).

d) A few aorist stems are derived from past participles: *pha'rāt-* "to sell" (\**parā-waxta-*), *ner-* "to take out" (\**ni-byta-?*). Cf. *jar-* G, T "to speak", but *jar-* M.

e) *para-* "to go, become" is probably borrr. from Pash.



## Imperative.

186. The imperative 2 sg. is identical with the aorist stem. But note *ču* (*čhō*, *čhā*) "go" (\**čiyauca*?), *ušte* 'rise'. *dah* "give", *deh* "beat" are usually pronounced *dā*, *dě*. Note *gurē*, *gu'rē* "seize, take".

The termination of the imperative 2 pl. is *-ōr* (cf. 189): *ka'nōr* "do", *da'hōr* "give", *be'žōr* "bind", *mē'rōr* "kill", *ē'nōr* "bring", *ba'rōr* "carry", *āli'sōr* "seize". Note *žōr* "come", *u'stōr* "rise", *bōr* "be" (also *bē'ōr*, v. 173). The plurals of *para*, *su'nī*, *gurē* are not known to me. *ču'mōr* "go, become" is irregular.

The prohibitive particle is *na*: *'na kan* "do not do", *'na berkh* "do not fear", *'na para* "do not go, become", *'na ču'mōr* "do not go, become" (pl.).

A polite command is frequently expressed by the aorist 2 sg. or pl. (cf. 191 c).

## Aorist.

187. The regular paradigm of the aorist, which applies to the great majority of verbs, is as follows:

Sing. 1. <i>'merem</i> "I die" <sup>1</sup> .	Plur. <i>'meríman</i> .
2. <i>'merē</i> .	<i>me'rēr</i> ( <i>me'rīr</i> M).
3. <i>'mera</i> .	<i>'meran</i> .

## Similary D:

Sing. 1. <i>janem</i> "I kill".	Plur. <i>janíman</i> .
2. <i>janē</i> .	<i>janhēr</i> .
3. <i>jana</i> .	<i>janan</i> .

## 188. Irregular verbs are:

Sg. 1 Prs. *pa'ram* "I go" (پَرَم) Pl. *'paraman* (*'pareman*) (پَرَمَن, پَرَمَن)

» 2 » *pa'ra* (پَرَا, پَرَا).

» 3 » *pa'rī* (پَرِي) » *pa'ran* (پَرَن).

Sg. 1 Prs. *gu'rīm* "I seize". Pl. *gur'íman*.

» 2 » *gu'rī*. » *gu'rīēr*.

» 3 » *gu'rī*.

<sup>1</sup> The accent is not fixed, *me'rēm*, *me'ran* etc. are frequently heard. But in Prs. script always *مَرَم* etc. *زَهَم* "I arrive": *زَهَم* *zahēm* "I arrived". Regarding *-em*, *-im* etc. v. 189.

Sg. 1	Prs. <i>žim</i>	"I come".	Pl. <i>žīman</i> .
» 2	» <i>žī</i> .		» <i>žīr</i> .
» 3	» <i>žē</i> .		» <i>žēn</i> .

Regarding *bīm* "I shall be" v. 171. The conjugation of *su'nīm* "I wash", *nīm* "I go out" is not known to me.

189. Personal Terminations. The 1. sg. is derived from *-ami*, not from *-āmi* (cf. Meillet, MSL. XXII, 220 sqq.). The types *'mērem* "I kill" and *'merem* "I die" are developed regularly from *\*mārayami*, *\*mī'yami*; *gu'rim* etc. from *\*grbāyami* (cf. 37), *su'nīm* from *\*snāyami*. In *\*bārami* the second *a* must have retained its quality long enough to prevent the change of the stressed *á* into *ō* (v. 26); but we should expect *\*barum*. *-em* must have been introduced from the stems in *-aya-* and *-ya-*. *pa'ram* is borrr. from Pash. S *param*, and this fact may explain the irregular termination *-am*. Other verbs borrr. from Pash. are, however, conjugated in the regular way. Note *thām* "I shave", *uštem* "I rise".

The 2. sg. *-ē* is derived from *-ayahi* (*'mērē* < *\*mārayahi*). The *-ē* of *'barē* is analogical, as *\*bārahi* could scarcely result in this form (v. 42). *žī*, *gu'ri* < *āyāyahi*, *grbāyahi* with *i*-umlaut? (But unstressed *-ayahi* > *-ē*?). *pa'ra* is irregular.

The 3. sg. *-a* < *-ati* (*'bara* < *bāratī*). *'mēra* is an analogical form. *\*mārayati* would result in *\*mērē*, a form which would be identical with the 2. sg. In the irregular verb *gu'rim* the coalescence of the 2. and 3. sg. was tolerated; *pa'ri* is probably formed on the analogy of *gu'ri*. But *žē* cannot be derived direct from *\*āyāyahi*, if *žī* 2 sg., *gu'ri* 2. and 3. sg. are regular forms.

1. pl. *\*mērem* < *\*mārayama* was distinguished from the 1. sg. by the addition of the pronominal suffix 1. pl. *-an* (v. 116)<sup>1</sup>. Similarly in Talish (a Caspian dialect) 1. sg. *-m*, 1. pl. *-mūn*. In several other Ir. dialects the *-n* of the pronominal suffix has simply replaced the *\*-m* of the 1. pl. Some Pash. dialects, but not those

<sup>1</sup> If the original form had been *-ayāma* or *-ayā'mahi* we should have Par. *-īm*, a form which would prob. have been retained. But Psht. 1. sg. *-əm*, 1. pl. *-ū* (< *-āma*), Shgh. 1. sg. *-um*, 1. pl. *-ām* (< *-āma*? We should expect *-ām*).



bordering upon Par., present a similar form. This is, however, restricted to the subjunctive, the 1. pl. indicative *-as*, *-aiš* (*-anz-*) < *-āmasi* being in itself sufficiently different from 1. sg. *-am*. E.g. Pash. of Nirlam: *āyakas* "we eat", but *āigeman* "let us eat". Probably there is no direct connexion between the Par. and the Pash. forms. — Reg. *-ma* for *-man* v. 24. The *-n* of the 3. pl. is never omitted, as *-a* would be identical with the termination of the 3. sg.

2. pl. *-ēr* (imperative *-ōr*). This termination is difficult to explain. Probably the terminations of the 3. sg. and the 2. pl. act. coalesced phonetically (cf. Turfan Phl. *-ēd* 3. sg. and 2. pl.) and recourse had to be had to some other termination. A similar development has taken place in several Dardic languages, cf. e.g. Pash. S 2. pl. *-unda*, Khow. *-mi*. The only explanation I am able to suggest regarding the Par. terminations is that *-ēr* is derived from *-ayadwam*, *-ōr* from *-adwam* (cf. Av. imperative and optative medium *-adwam*, *-ōdōwam*). Regarding the phonetical possibility of *-dw-* resulting in *-r* v. 57. *gu'riēr* with *i* from *gu'rīm(an)* etc.

3. pl. *žen* < *\*āyāyanti*, *mēran* < *\*mār\** and < *\*mārayanti* (stress infl. by *\*mārayati*)?

190. The Par. aorist is derived from the old Ir. present, an uncompounded tense. But all the other tenses are compound forms, and this fact has to some extent influenced the formation of the aorist as well.

*janhēr* D "you kill" seems to be compounded with *hēr* "you are", cf. also *gu'riēr*. *āran* "they bring", *paraman* "we go" are written آران, پرممن, which shows that these forms are felt, more or less, to be compounds. Sometimes the personal termination is separated from the stem of the verb: *ān-em ma 'tō 'dhē* M = *ān ma 'tō 'dehem* "I (shall) beat thee" (cf. Zeb. *āz-im deh* "I beat"); *nā-m na'rē xa'ren* "I cannot eat it"; *mun'dī (-ē-ē) ēnen na'rē* "canst thou bring it?"; *khān jāy-em te wese'je* "where shall I send it?"; *tū-ē mo mun jāna* D = *tū mo mun jānē* "thou killest me"; *ma xā'ān-an 'pand dhā* "they may give advice to their husbands". In



the last example *dhā* may, however, be sg. instead of pl., and *-an* may be the possessive pron. suff. 3. pl. In *'mā-ān-a te 'mērīm*, *'mā-ān-a mērīm-a te M = 'mērīman-a te* "I (we) kill thee" the *-an* of the 1. pl. is separated from the rest of the verb.

The personal termination is repeated in: *'māy-an ma 'wā de'heṃan* M "I (we) shall beat you"; *'mā-ima 'nhīneman* "we shall sit down"; *'ān-em ma 'tō w'stēwem* "I shall make thee rise"; *'ān-em 'γušt rupa'i gurīm* "I shall buy it for twenty rupees".

Note: *yā 'tū merē, yā 'ān* "either thou or I must die".

Not infrequently the sg. of verbs is used instead of the pl., cf. 83.

191. The aorist is used:

a) As a future: *ba'dē na xa'rem, pē'sthēra-ē xa'rem* "I shall not eat it now, I shall eat it later on"; *'bite ka'nem* "I shall do it again"; *'ān men'dānān 'zō da'hem, 'bite pa'ram, mun'dānān da'hem* "I shall give barley to these people, then I shall go and give it to those"; *'kiy āra 'zī-e Xai'bār* "who shall dig the canal of Kh. (kī mēarad jōy-e Xaibar)".

b) As a subjunctive in dependent sentences: *ba'dē 'šār we'hēm ēe 'ōsp gurīm* "now I shall go to town to buy a horse (*ālī šār mērum, asp bigīrum*)"; *ma 'mun na 'mērē, huš kā* "take care that thou doest not kill me", (cf. c); *'har ēe ka'nān xu 'kantan-en* "they are doing whatever they [wish to] do"; *'mun 'dhīray 'mācī 'dērō, 'Haidar 'bāw-a bē, ma 'tō žu 'kaštē 'dēha* "thou hadst a mother like me, and H. is thy father, and [yet] a girl can beat thee?".

c) In polite commands, as in Prs.: *'na kanē = 'na kan* "do not do"; *'huš kanē* "listen"; *'bōr-au 'xē kanē* "open thy door (*daricāza wāz kunī*)"; *'para hō'wī 'kamar tar, 'enē xu žu haž'dār* "go to that rock and bring a dragon here"; *'hēc na 'berkhē* "do not fear at all"; *'ēhe, ēe za'hē men'dhēk 'elm 'xānē* "go, and when thou arrivest, recite this charm"; *un'hak 'hāzer 'žir* "be present there"; *ālī'sēr* "seize", *'na parī* "may he not become".

*'dērem* "I hold, have" is used as a present, just as Prs. *dāram*. No present form \**dērtōn-em* occurs.

## Aorist Subjunctive.

192. The subjunctive force of the aorist is sometimes emphasized by the addition of *-a*. In my material this form occurs only in the 3 sg. of the verbs *gurē* "to seize" and *pa'ra* "to go, become": *'na-i ēē 'sār pary-a* "lest she may be wounded"; *ēē la'skar pa'dā pa'ri-a*, *'jang ka'nen-ē na'rē* "if the army appears, canst thou fight it?"; *'na ēē 'hewyak bite pa'nān-ē gu'ri-a kāvun pa'ri-a* "[I hope that] he may not again take this road and go somewhere (*na kī hamī rāra bāz bigīra, kudām taraf burawa*)".

A similar form exists in Zeb. (Grierson, *Ishk.* p. 53), and in some Dardic languages.

Another kind of subjunctive occurs once: *ka'nen bē* "he may do(?) (*karda bāša*)".

## Present.

193. The present is formed by adding the present of the verb substantive to the pres. part. in *-tōn* (v. 161).

This participle is formed from the aorist stem, e.g. *kan-tōn* "doing", pl. *kan-tan*, *gu'ritōn* "seizing". The *-n* is frequently dropped: *kantō*, *kantā*, in D regularly *kantō*, *kantā*. Usually the first syllable is stressed; but forms like *kan'tōn* do also occur.

A voiced final consonant of the present stem becomes unvoiced before the *t* (v. 24): *bež-* "to bind", pres. *beštōn*, *rhāz-* "to fly": *rhāstōn*. A euphonic *e*, *i* is inserted, where a difficult group of consonants would result: *bučhetōn* "seeing" *harwetōn* "hearing", *čaketōn* "dripping", *γuhitōn* "throwing" (but *dhaitōn* "giving": *dah-*), *ruhetōn*, *rhoitōn* "weeping", *zahitōn*, *zhaitōn* "arriving", *berkhetōn* "fearing" etc. The verbs in *-ēw-* do not usually have a euphonic *i*: *pherētōn* "turning" etc.; but *čarētōn*, *čarēwitōn* "grazing" etc. Note D *γafitō* "weaving".

With *-tō(n)* etc. we must compare the present forms in NW. Pash. dialects, e.g. Pash. Sh *hanto-yem* "I am killing"; Par. D *žantō-hēm* etc. The Par. form must have been borr. from Pash at



a time when the inflexional type: sg. -*ō*-, pl. -*a*- (v. 26, 82) was still frequent. Generally the Ir. languages form the durative present by means of particles, not by means of a participle. Regarding the derivation of Pasb. -*to* etc. v. Rep. p. 91.

194. The regular paradigm is as follows:

Sg. 1. Prs. *ân-em* 'xartōn G "I am eating". Pl. *mâ-īman* 'xartān.

» 2. » *tū-ē* 'xartōn. » *wâ-ēr* 'xartān.

» 3. » *ō-ē* 'xartōn. » *ō'ân-en* 'xartān.

(Sg. 1. Prs. *ân-em* xartō D.

Pl.

» 2. » *tū-ē* xartō.

» *wâ-ēr* xartā.

» 3. » *ē-a* xartō.

» *-ēn* xartā).

Also: *ân* 'xartōn-em, 'xartō hēm, D *ân* xartō hēm etc.

195. Examples: 1. sg. *pāntō* hēm, *ân-em* 'pāntōn "I know", *ĵartōn-em* "I am saying", *ân-em* *sunītō(n)* "I am washing", *ân-em* (*mâ-em*) *ĵartōn* M, *ĵartō* hēm D "I am saying", *ân-em* *ma* 'tō *bōcetō* D "I am seeing thee"; 2. sg. *tū-ē* . . . *dhaitōn* "thou art giving"; 3. sg. *māneš-ā* *dūcetōn* "the man is milking", *buĵ-a* *weŋ'gertō* "the goat is bleating", *mērtōn-ē-a* "he is killing him", *whēwetōn-a* "he is moving"; 1. pl. *mâ-īman* *bučhitan* "we are seeing", *khanta-īman* M, *khantan-īman* G "we are laughing", *mâ-īman* 'pāntōn (sic!) M "we understand"; 2. pl. *wâ-ēr* 'ĵartān M "you are saying"; 3. pl. *mērtan-en* "they are killing", *hē mānešân- ēn* xartā D "these men are eating", *hude kaštē'ân-en* . . . *whētōn* (sic!) "both girls are going".

With double personal suffix: *ân-em* 'berkhītō-em "I am fearing", *spō-a* 'ĵafetō-a "the dog is barking". Without any personal suffix: *mâ* *juwāb* *dhaitan* M "we are giving an answer".

196. The present has a frequentative and durative force: *mērtan-en* "they usually kill (*mēkušand*)"; *ma* 'har *kī-m* *khū'jētōn*, *ĵartōn-ā* "everyone, whom I ask, says"; *wi'yār* 'ĵinč-aw-ā *žitōn* "thy wife usually comes every night"; *harči* *če* 'Ķāra *xudrat-e* *xw'dāyān* 'Ķartōn-a "however much it snows it snows (: usually snows) according to the will of God"; *har* *kī* *če* *tar'yāk-e* *bēd pāna*, *dha'rēwtōn-e-a* "he spares everyone who knows the *bēd*-antidote";



*bālō-e nō-ā žitōn* "the young boy is coming". Cf. the numerous examples of the present in the tale XII, e.g. *rhaγām-ā čē čhemtōn* "when spring comes".

Note: *mā pōnč ruč ēk-eman* "we have been here for five days".  
*nhaštō hēm* "I am sitting" is used as a present.

### Imperfect.

197. The imperfect is formed by adding the imperfect of the verb substantive to the pres. part. Generally the form *astam* etc., not *hastam* is used.

E.g. *kantōn astam* "I was doing (*mēkadam*)", *a'stan bartan* "they were carrying".

The imperfect is frequentative and durative like the present: *ōst dhaitōn* "he used to give (*mēdāt*)"; *ma māneš ōst spō phe'rēwtōn* "she used to turn men into dogs"; *ōst whētōn, ārtōn, pha'rātetōn, xartōn* "he used to go, bring it, sell it, and eat [what he bought for the money]"; *hē na'γōn-pe'čāk, az ān čē zūri-ē hōst zhaitōn, der'zi* "the baker took as much as he was able to carry on his back"; *Sul'tān Māmūdān xōm-ōst na bartōn* "[she said that] Sultan M. would not fall asleep" (but, considered as a single event: *ho'wī xa'wān xōm-ē na bur* "that night he did not fall asleep"); *na'γōn ōst xartōn* "he was eating the bread" (but: *sōr na'γōn xū'rō hōst* "he was occupied in eating the bread", *na'γōn-ē xūr* "he ate the bread").  
*nhaštō hastam* means "I was sitting", *rhizō hastam* "I was lying down". Cf. 176.

### The Past Stem.

198. The past stems can be divided into regular, or weak stems in *-ī*, and irregular, or strong stems, which are formed in various ways.<sup>1</sup> The pret. stem in *-ī* is connected with, and probably borrows.

<sup>1</sup> Among the verbs which occur in my materials 39 have strong preterite stems, 95 weak stems (of these 33 are causatives in *-ēw-*). The preterite stems of 19 verbs are unknown to me; but the majority of these verbs are prob. weak.

from the Prs. pret. stem in *-id*.<sup>1</sup> E.g. *ber'khī* "feared", *guda'rī* "passed", *asta'rī* "smeared" etc. All verbs in *-ēw-* have weak preterites: *uštēwī* "raised" etc.

199. The strong preterite stems can be divided in several groups according to the Ir. forms from which they are derived.

- I. a) Ir. *\*āta-*: *dā* "gave", *su'nā* "washed", *uštā* "rose", *ūzā* "remained", *\*zā* "born" (perf. *zā'wō*).
- b) Ir. *\*ata-*: *jō* "killed", *'āya* "came", *nar'γō* "went out".
- c) Ir. *\*āta-*: *chī* "went", *bī(n)* "was" (From the modern Par. point of view these verbs are weak).
- II. a) Ir. *\*rta-*: *bur* "carried", *'āwur* "brought", *kur* "did", *mur* "died", *xūr* "ate". *ja'rī* G, T, D (*ja'rī* M, *jōr* G once) is weak, but has got its *r* from a strong participle.
- b) Ir. *\*rsta-*: *dhōr* "saw", *thōr* "drank". *nōt* "drew out", *hu'pāt* "dug" are secondary formations from *ner*, *hu'pēr-* (lw.), cf. 65.
- III. a) Ir. *\*asta-*: *bōst* "bound", *nhōst* "sat down" (cf. 68). *rhāst* "built" (*rhēz-*), *gōst* "bit" (*gas-*) are secondary formations.
- b) Ir. *\*usta-*: *ā'γust* "dressed".
- c) Ir. *\*ista-*: *γust* "threw".
- d) Ir. *\*išta-*: *lušt* "licked".
- IV. a) Ir. *\*ufta-*: *rūt* "swept".
- b) Ir. *\*arfta-*: *hōt* "heard" (a secondary formation instead of *\*hur* < *\*hṛta*).
- c) Ir. *\*rfta-*: *ghūt* "seized".
- d) Ir. *\*arxta-*: *māt* "killed". Cf. the present stem *pha'rāt-* "to buy" (*\*parā-waxta*).
- V. a) Ir. *\*nīta-*: *ānt* "brought", *ūnt* "brought down".
- b) Ir. *\*ndita-*: *γunt* "found".
- c) Ir. *\*udna-* + *t*: *rhīnt* "wept". In a similar way *nhānt* "set down", *rhānt* "turned round" (note *rh-*), *pānt* "knew" have been formed from *nhēn-*, *rēm-*, *pān-*.
- VI. a) Ir. *\*axwa-*: *phōk* "cooked".
- b) Ir. *\*uška-*: *hušk* "dried".

<sup>1</sup> Also Mj. *-īy* (*xād-*: *xādīy* "to laugh" etc.) may be borrr.

200. Besides *hōt* "heard" we find a weak stem *har'wī*. In several cases the weak stem has been preferred because the strong preterite stem either coalesced phonetically with that of another verb, or became too far removed from the aorist stem. Thus the strong preterite stem of *derz-* "to take on the back" would have been \**dhōr* (cf. *dhōr* "saw"), of *tār* "to split" \**thōr* (cf. *thōr* "drank"), Av. *vista-* "found" would have resulted in \**γušt* (cf. *γušt* "threw") etc. Accordingly *der'zī*, *tārī*, *γunt* were preferred. The regular past stem of *yaḡ-* "to weave" would have been \**ūt* (\**ūd*), of *rhīz-* "to lie down" \**rhōšt* etc. Such aberrant forms have only been tolerated in a small number of verbs, most of which are frequently used.

201. In the past tenses a pronominal subject is put in the nom. or the ag. T prefers the nom.: *'mun ma tō dhōra bōn* G "I had seen him", *mōn ma tō dhōr* D "I saw thee", *'mā 'mundē 'dhōrō* M "I have seen him"; but *'ān xu 'mundē 'dehō bō* T "I had beaten him", *ō saīl kor* T "he regarded". Cf. 112.

The object is nearly always put in the acc.: *'wā ma 'mun 'dhōr* "did you see me?"; *'mā ma bi'yā-e wākhān dhōr* "we saw your brother"; *'jīnē-e ma Sultān 'Māmūd na 'dhōr* "his wife did not see Sultan M."; *'mendē 'ādam-an 'māt* "we killed this man" (but also: *'hē 'ādam-an māt*).

#### Past Tense.

202. Intransitive verbs. As in most other modern Ir. languages the conjugation of intransitive verbs differs from that of transitives in the past tenses, with the exception of the imperfect.

The past tense of intransitive verbs is in most cases formed by adding the present of the verb substantive to the past stem of the verb. The verb substantive is never separated from the past stem.

203. The paradigm of weak verbs, which form the great majority of the intransitives, is as follows:

Sg.	1. Prs.	<i>za'hēm</i>	"I arrived".	Pl.	<i>za'hēman</i> .
	2. "	<i>za'hē</i> .			<i>za'hēr</i> .
	3. "	<i>za'hī</i> .			<i>za'hēn</i> .



The strong verbs present some peculiar forms:

Sing. 1.	<i>âγēm</i> "I came".	<i>nar'γēm</i> "I went out".	<i>ûzâēm</i> "I remained", ( <i>u'stâēm</i> "I rose").
» 2.	<i>âγē.</i>	<i>nar'γē.</i>	<i>ûzâ(h)ē.</i>
» 3.	<i>âγa.</i>	<i>nar'γō.</i>	<i>ûzâ</i> ( <i>u'stâ</i> "I rose).
Plur. 1.	<i>âγēman.</i>		( <i>u'stâēman</i> ).
» 2.	<i>âγēr</i> ( <i>âγēir</i> ).		
» 3.	<i>âγēn</i>	<i>nar'γēn(-ōn?)</i> .	( <i>u'stâēn</i> ).

Reg. *chēm* and *bēm* v. 175, 181.

*nhōšt* "sat down" is inflected as follows (cf. *hastam* 175):

Sing. 1.	<i>'nhaštam.</i>	Plur.	<i>'nhaštiman.</i>
» 2.	<i>'nhaštē.</i>	»	
» 3.	<i>nhōšt.</i>	»	<i>'nhaštan.</i>

But also, with transitive construction, 2. sg. *-a nhōšt*. From *mer* "to die": 1. sg. *'mur-um*, 3. sg. *mur*, 3. pl. *mur-an*. From *ruh* "to weep" *rhint-um* (but notice that the corresponding Psht. verb *žarəl* is also constructed as a transitive in the past tenses). Regarding the forms of 1. and 2. prs. cf. 208.

204. Transitive Verbs. The past tense of transitive verbs is identical with the past stem. The subject is expressed by a pronoun in the agent case, a pronominal suffix, or, in the 3rd person, a noun (frequently with the addition of a pronominal suffix). The position of the pronominal suffix is optional as is the case e.g. in Shgh.

E.g. *'xūr-um*, *-um 'xūr*, *mun 'xūr* G (T *'ân 'xūr*, M frequently *'mā 'xūr*) *'mun . . . -um 'xūr* "I ate"; *'mun har'wī 'ker kuṛ*, *har'wī 'ker-um kuṛ* G "I did this work" (\**har'wī 'ker 'kuṛ-um* was said to be incorrect; but cf. *'xūr-um*, *'bur-um*, *'ghūt-um*, *su'nā-əm* etc.); *har'wī-m*, *'mun har'wī* "I heard"; *-əm γunt* D "I found"; *mōn, tū 'dhōṛ* D "I saw, thou sawest"; *jö-m* "I killed". In *-um kuṛ<sup>a</sup>*, *-um buṛ<sup>a</sup>* (Phonograph) the *a* has no morphological significance.

With double suffix: *ma 'bâw-aw-an 'ânt-an* "they brought thy father", *-an 'dhōṛ-an* "they saw".

The object is generally put in the acc., v. 201.

205. The past tense usually refers to a single action: *ʼān ʼčhēm, naʼyōn ʼöst ʼxartōn*; *ʼān ham unʼhak ʼnhaštam, ʼmun ham ʼxu pen-ē naʼyōn ʼxūr*; *naʼyōn-an ʼče xūr, naʼyōn xaraʼmān, uʼštāman, huddiʼnān-an ʼayēman* "[when] I came, he was eating; I, too, sat down there, and also ate the bread together with him; when we had eaten, and had finished eating, we rose, and both came here"; *ʼān ʼče ʼčhēm, sör naʼyōn xūrō hōst*; *naʼyōn-ē unʼhak ʼlam dā, ʼmun pen uʼštā, ʼāya* "when I came, he was engaged in eating; he put the bread aside there, rose together with me, and came [here]"; *wiʼyār ham unʼhāk rhīʼzi* "he lay down for the night there", *ʼthārī ʼče ʼāhū haʼrī* "he saw the stag disappearing".

The past tense has, however, a durative meaning when the verb itself is durative: *ʼtū da ʼwāʼyār ʼčhē, ʼtō wāʼyārī* "thou didst start dancing, and thou didst dance [for a long while]", *ēdē ʼyulū ʼyīr wāʼyārī* "she danced for a long while". In some other instances, too, a durative past tense occurs: *čör ʼručʼān bīʼhuš ʼčharēm* "I have been lying unconscious for four days"; *ʼtū kaštīka dōʼstī ʼčharē, čör ʼruč bīʼhuš ūʼzāhē, . . . čör ʼruč bīʼhuš ʼčharē* "thou didst fall (wast felled) by the hand of a girl; for four days thou didst remain unconscious, for four days thou didst lie unconscious"; *ʼhōd ʼwyār, ʼhōt ʼruč xuʼxu-m ʼbāw pen-a ʼjang kor* "I myself did fight with thy father for four nights and four days"; *ʼdōz ʼruč . . . ma ʼyus ʼnhōšt* "he sat down (: stayed) at home for ten days". In some cases we should prefer to translate the preterite by a perfect: *rhaʼyām ʼčhī* "spring has come". Cf. 210.

The past tense is used in the sense of a futurum exactum: *ʼhar ʼče ʼče ʼmun ʼjaʼrī, ʼtū ʼkan* "do thou whatever I shall tell you"; *ʼaga ʼnā-w ham naʼrī, ʼhar ʼker ʼče ʼān ʼjaʼrī, ʼjaʼr: ʼnarem-ē* "even if thou art not (: wilt not be) able to do it, whatever I shall say, thou must say: I can do it".

#### Past Optative.

206. A kind of optative past occurs in some instances: *na-m ʼkūr bā* "would that I had not done it (*na mēkadom*)"; *xuʼdāē na ʼkūr bā ʼhast-au* "would that God had not created thy existence".



## Perfect.

207. The perfect base is formed by adding *-ō(-a)*, usually stressed, to the past stem. Before this *-ō* an *-ō* (< *a*) of the preceding syllable becomes *-a-* (cf. 26): *ha'tō: hōt* "heard", *ba'stō: bōst* "bound", *na'fō: nōt* "took out", D *pa'kō: pōk* "cooked". But *dhō'rō, dhu'rō: dhōr* "saw".

A final *-i* or *-a* of the past stem is elided before the *-ō*: *ha'rō* "has been lost": *ha'rī* "was lost", *cha'rō* "has fallen": *cha'rī* "fell", *ā'γō* (ā'γō) "has come": *ā'γa* "came". After a final *-ā* of the past stem a euphonic *-w-* is inserted: *dā'wō* "has given": *dā* "gave".

This *-ō* is derived from *\*-aka-*. With Par. *-um ku* "I did", *-um ku'rō* "I have done" cf. Prs. *kardam, karda-am*.

Regarding the special forms assumed by the perfect base in the pluperfect v. 212.

208. Intransitive Verbs. Cf. the formation of the past tense of intransitives (202). In my material the perfect of intransitive verbs rarely occurs except in the 3. sg. and pl.: *mu'rō* "he has died", *ūzā'wō* "he has been left behind", *guda'rō* "he has passed", *cha'rō-ēn* (not *\*cha'rō-ēn*, v. 212) "they have fallen" etc. The absence of other forms is difficult to explain. Is it possible to assume that the 1. and 2. prs. perfect have coalesced phonetically with the corresponding forms of the past tense? Once I heard *rhāzē-im* "I have flown", cf. *dar w'zāhē* "dar mānda-i" (perf.).

In one case a transitive verb has been treated as an intransitive (with a passive meaning): *ha'wī dō'stān-om čē bastō-en, mendhēkân xē kan* "untie these hands of mine, which have been bound" (or read: *bastō-an* "they have bound"?).

209. Transitive Verbs. The same rules which apply to the formation of the past tense of transitive verbs (v. 204), apply to the formation of the perfect: 1. sg. *xū'rō-m, -um 'xūrō, 'mun* (T *ān*, M *mā*, D *mōn*) *'xūrō*, M *'mā 'xūrō-m* "I have eaten", 2. sg. *-a ku'rō, -a ku'rō tū, ku'rō-au* etc. "thou hast done", etc.



**210.** The perfect is chiefly used in the same way as in English: *ha'wī 'ker-om ku'rō* "I have done this work (*kada am*)"; *'rōng-a phe'rō lāla'zār* "thy colour has become [like that of] a tulip-bed"; *žū 'jāy-om 'lam dā'wō* "I have put it somewhere"; *'mā žū na'γō 'dhēwī, za'if-an na dhē'wō* M "I (we) asked for a loaf of bread, I have not asked for the woman"; *'bade bi'ya-e pādšā'ka 'čhī, ma 'šēr-ē āli'sō, 'čir-ē ku'rō, 'nesp-ē 'ghitō, āwu'rō. 'Mende 'šēr am 'bur dāl 'pādšā* "now the king's brother came; he has caught the lion and cut it up, he has taken half of it and brought it here. He also brought the [whole] lion to the king".

The perfect is used after a past tense in dependent clauses with *če*, where we would prefer the pluperfect: *'thārī če 'he k-kal 'yalaba 'sāheb-e 'sūrat čhō* "he saw that the bald boy had become very beautiful". Note: *'čhī če kačōi'kân-ē bu'rō* "he went to(?) carry away the furze".

In *ma 'bāw-ē 'dhuγ če dhārī am hupā'tōi, 'sōr-ē ham 'γōš ku'rōi* etc. "he [looked at] his father and saw that his beard had been pulled out, and that his head, too, was shaved" I am inclined to think that we have to deal with a passive form, and that *hupā'tōi* is not to be explained as *hupā'tō-ē* "he (: the elder brother) has pulled out" etc. Cf. also *'čhī če kačōi'kân-ē bu'rō* (v. above) *thē'wōi* "... and they had been put fire to". In this example an active construction does not seem possible. Cf. 163.

*'nhaštō, 'nhaštō-a* means "he is sitting (: he has sat down)". Note: *ta'mām-e kaštē'ā 'nhaštō* "all the girls are sitting" (but in the written text نشستن \**nhaštēn*).

### Pluperfect.

**211.** The pluperfect is formed by adding the preterite of the verb substantive to the perfect base in one of its various forms.

**212.** Intransitive Verbs. Weak verbs have *-ō* in the 3. sg., but *-ē* in all other persons. Strong verbs have *-a* in all persons.

Sg. 1. *čha'rē bēm* "I had fallen." *'āγa bēm* "I had come".

» 2. *čha'rē bē.* *'āγa bē.*

» 3. *čha'rō bōn.* *'āγa bōn.*

Pl. 1. <i>čha'rē bēman</i>	<i>'āya bēman</i>
* 2. <i>čha'rē bēr</i>	<i>'āya bēr</i>
* 3. <i>čha'rē bēn</i>	<i>'āya bēn.</i>

Similarly *čhē bēm* "I had gone (become)", *čhō bōn*, *čhē bēman*; *'dērē bēm* "I had", *'dērō bōn*; *'mura bē* "thou hadst died", *'mura bōn* etc.

The difference between *-ō* and *-a* must be due to a shifting of the accent (*'āya* < \**āgataka-*, *ā'yō* etc. \**āgatakahya*, cf. 45, g); but I cannot explain the forms in *-ē*. Cf. 208.

**213.** *hastam* (v. 175) is used as an auxiliary with a durative force, denoting the lasting result of an event or action.

E.g. *čha'rē bēm* "I had fallen", but *čha'rē hastam* "I had fallen ill, was ill"; *su'wār 'nhaštō bōn* "he had mounted a horse"; but *'nhašta hastam* "I was sitting". The distinction is not absolute: *tū 'nhašta bē* means "thou wast sitting". Cf. *'rhizō hastam* "I had lain down, was lying down"; *kā'lā-ē hōst čārbi čhō* "her dress had become greasy, was greasy".

**214.** Transitive Verbs. The pluperfect of transitive verbs is based on the 3. sg. of the intransitive ones. The subject is expressed in the same way as in other past tenses of transitive verbs. The weak verbs have *-ō*, the strong verbs *-a*:

*mun ja'rō bōn* "I had said"; *Zai'yūn de'hō bōn* "Z. had beaten"; *'mendē 'spō-e pad'dō ph'rēwō bōn* "she had turned him into a black dog". But note: *wange'wē bōn-um* "I had eaten" (incorrect for *wange'wō?*).

*'mun 'xūra bōn G*, *'ān 'xūra bōn T*, *-um 'xūra bōn*, *'xūra bōn-um* "I had eaten"; *'kurγ-ē 'dā bōn* "he had given a hen"; *mā hē ādam-an māta bōn* "we had killed this man"; *a'ze 'mun ma 'tō 'dhōra bōn* "I had seen thee yesterday".

**215.** Regarding the use of the pluperfect v. the concluding sentences of IX. Cf. also *'čhī ho'wē 'jaŋgal tarī*, *čē 'jaŋg-ē 'kura bō* "he went to that jungle where he had fought"; *'tū sōr 'mun tar 'khār na čhā*, *čē 'mun 'žū 'rūč suwā'rī Sul'tān Māmūdān dhōra bōn*, *te'čhān-e ha'wē espōi'ka-m ba te'čhān-e Sul'tān Māmūdān 'dhōr* "do not be angry with me; but (because) one day I saw (had seen)



Sultan M. riding, and [now] I saw the eyes of this dog in the eyes of Sultan M. (: of Sultan M. in the eyes of this dog"; 'čör 'ruč tar tū 'muḡa bē, rōng-au ḡala'ba 'zīt phe'rō "thou hast (hadst) been dead for four days, and thy colour has become very pale".

#### Perfect and Pluperfect Subjunctive.

216. The perfect subjunctive of transitive verbs is formed from the perfect base by adding *bē*, aorist 3. sg. of the verb substantive: *magam mardumikā nhā'mōr čhō bē* "people will certainly have forgotten [me]"; 'xāš agar 'dērō bē "if he should wish"; 'jigar-əm 'xūn kor, na'ī čē 'xešem ku'rō be, zur-e 'mō tar 'dard ku'rō bē "I am distressed, [fearing] that he may have got angry with me, and that his heart may be offended with me".

A pluperfect subjunctive occurs in 'tū 'aze 'āḡa bē, 'mun 'dā bē "if thou hadst come yesterday, I should have given [it]".

I have not found any such forms of intransitive verbs; but it is quite possible that they occur. The form we should expect would be: \*ān čhō bīm "I will have gone" etc.

#### Causative Verbs.

217. A number of Par. verbs are derived from ancient causatives in \*-aya- (v. 185, c); but in a few cases only the original contrast between these causatives and simple verbs is preserved: 'mērem "I kill": 'merem "I die"; rhēz- "to (lay down), build, prepare": rhiz- "to lie down", etc.

218. The living causative suffix is -ēw-: phe'rēw- "to make to turn": pher- "to turn"; ber'khēw- "to frighten": berkh- "to fear"; āḡu'nēw- "to dress somebody else, to make to dress": āḡun- "to dress" etc. These causatives are very numerous. In some cases the causative form only seems to be existing: waḡ'gēw- "to eat", khe'rēw- "to pick" (but. v. Voc.), mē'lēw- "to plough". ē'čēw- "to put, throw" is possibly derived from a stem in \*-ābaya- (v. Voc.).

The causative in -ēw- is of Ind. origin, cf. Psht.,Orm. -aw-, Minj. -ōv-, Yd. -iw-, Wkh. -ūw-. The Par. form must have been borrowed very early, -āpaya- resulting in -ēw-.



## Compound Verbs.

219. Compound nominal verbs occur, but are far from being so numerous as in Prs. or Psht.

With *kan-* "to do": *ha'lai kan-* "to run" *au'bāzi kan-* "to swim", *gul kan-* "to extinguish", *fūza kan-* "to yawn", *ta'wassum kan-* "to smile", *rhintō kan-* = *ruh-* "to weep", *khānas kan-* "to bellow" etc.

With *dah-* "to give": *lam dah-* "to place", *dhāw dah-* "to run", *bāng dah-* "to crow".

With *deh-* "to beat": *nāra deh-* "to cry out".

Cf. also (*ma'nān*) *a'wē-m-a* "I remember", *a'wē-m chī* "I forgot", *'atsa-m 'āya* "I sneezed", *'āwə 'yarw bīn* "the water was boiling" but *'yarwetō* "is boiling").

Apart from the ancient compounds with preverbs (v. 77), adverbial compounds are rare: *dar 'āya* "entered (*darāmad*)", *dar ūzāhē* "thou hast been left behind (*dar māndaī*)".

## Prepositions and Prepositional Expressions.

220. The majority of the prepositions are of Prs. origin.

*az* "from", Prs. *az 'hukm-e 'tān bē'rūn* "outside, away from thy command".

*ba* "at, in", Prs. *ba 'waxt-e 'šām* "at evening tide", *ba xu 'zur* "in his own heart".

*ba'γair az* "except", Prs. *ba'γair az A'li Hai'dār* "except A. H.". *ba ham'rā-i* "together with, by help of". Prs.

*bī* "without". Prs. *bī 'tō* "without thee".

*'bād az* "after", Prs. *'bād az ēdē* = *'pēš ēdē* "after this, afterwards".

*da* "at, to", Prs. *da 'bāw-om* "to my father, at my father's", *da Xu'dā* "before God".

*dāl* "in the presence of, with". *dāl-um* "with me", *dāl 'pādšā* "in the presence of the king".

*dāl tar* "in the presence of, with". *'dāl tar-ē, dāl 'ēde tar* "with him".

- dâ'li* "from the presence of". *dâ'li-m* "from me".  
*dum'bâl tar-e* "behind", Prs. *dum'bâl tar-e mâ'khân* "behind, after us".  
*da'rûn-e* "within, inside", Prs. *da'rûn-e 'γus (tar)* "inside the house", *da'rûn-e γu'sî* "from the interior of the house".  
*da'rûn tar* "inside", Prs. *hôt ka'lâ da'rûn tar* "inside seven castles".  
*hêwaz-e* "instead of". *hêwaz-e 'tân sôri'ka* "instead of thy head".  
*ma* "into, in". *ma 'γus* "into the house, at home", *ma'bôr* "outside". V. 87.  
*mhak* "to, straight to, at". *mhak fark tar-ê* "straight at the top of his head".  
*mên* "in, among". *mên γa'nîr* "in the field", *mên Au'γân* "among the Afghans", *mên-e bôr* "in the doorway", *mên 'xu tar* "from each other".  
*misl-e* "like". Prs. *misl-e tû* "like thee".  
*nez'dik-e* "near", Prs. *nez'dik-e ma 'γusika 'âγa* "he came near to the house".  
*pa* "at, for". *pa bhâi gurê* "to buy", *pa wa'khê* "upwards".  
*pêš-e* "before", Prs. *pêš-e bôr-au* "before, at thy door".  
*pêš* "behind". *pêš ô'spân* "behind, after the horses", *pêš tō tar* "after thee".  
*pêš'chan* "behind, after". *pêš'chan-ê* "behind him".  
*rux ba* "towards", Prs. *rux ba 'γus-ê* "towards his house".  
*sô(r)* "on, on the top of". *sô 'dhâr* "on the top of the hill", *sô 'mêz* "on the table", *ma 'sôr-a* "on account of thee (*sar-i tû*)" = *sôr tō*.  
*sôr tar* "to, on". *'sôr tar-ê* "to him".  
*ta-i* "under", Prs. *'ta-i 'žû 'lēf* "under one blanket".  
*tâ* "until, as far as", Prs. *tâ 'zânû* "as far as the knee".  
*tâ ba* "until, as far as", Prs. *tâ ba 'zânû; tâ ba sa'hâr* "until the morning".  
*tar* "before". *tar-ê* "before him". Note: *ha'wî 'γus tar udhêkân-a* "this is his house (*i xâna az hamû-s*)".  
*ta'rî* "before, to". *ta'rî mun* "before me", *'janggal ta'rî* "to the jungle".

'tartar "in front of, before". 'tartar-ē "in front of him", 'tartar-e žū 'ādam "in front of a man".

ze "from", Prs. ze 'ešq-e 'tān "from love of thee".

zēr, zīr "under", Prs. 'zīr-e 'dōst-an "under our hand, in our power".

### Conjunctions.

če "that" etc.

221. Like Prs. *ki*, only to a still greater extent, Par. *če* is used to introduce all kinds of subordinate clauses.

a) Substantive Clauses: 'dhōr-um če 'yār-om 'āya "I saw my friend coming"; 'dhōr-um če 'kaštē 'āyō "I saw that the girl had come"; 'dhōr-ē če 'su-e 'w'dān 'muṣa bō "she saw that her daughter-in-law had died"; 'dhōr-ē če haṣ'dār mu'rō "she saw that the dragon had died"; 'pānt-om če hōwī ju'wān 'kaštē bīn or 'kaštē-a "I understood that this youth was a girl".

'Jīnč-ē 'ja'rī če: tō-ē du'rūy 'jartōn "his wife said that he was lying"; but also: 'ja'rī: . . . 'ān-em du'rūy 'jartōn, "he said: ' . . . I am lying'"; 'i'sārat kor če: 'khū kan "[the dog] made a sign that he should lift [him] up"; ha'rān ūzā če: 'ē 'ēi serr-a "he remained astonished [wondering]: 'What mystery is this?'"

b) After verbs of hoping, wishing and fearing:

'zur-an čī če 'žēn 'γus wanō "they wanted to come home". Without *če*: mā u'mēd-an-a sa'bā 'ōsp 'γuniman "we hope to find a horse to-morrow". M *berkhitō-em* če merem-ē "I fear that I shall die", če hē ādam-ē mera " . . . that this man will die", če wā-i merīr " . . . that you will die", če 'ōsp-om te hara-i " . . . that my horse will be lost", če hē ādam mēren pa'rī " . . . that this man may be killed", mēren čī " . . . has been killed"; D *berkhitu-im* tū mo mun jānē "I fear that thou wilt kill me", če 'ōkū māniš mo mun jāna " . . . that that man will kill me". But with *na* and positive meaning: M *berkhitō-em* če mēren na pa'rī "I fear that he will be killed", G 'ān-em 'berkhitō-em če mērin 'na pa'rī; 'berkhitōn-em, 'na če nā'jōr



*paraman* "I fear that we may become ill". Note *berkhetōn-em* 'na *ḡara* "I fear that he will not say" with negative meaning.

c) Final Clauses. *ʾān pa'ram pēš ʾō'spān ʿē* 'na *haran* "I shall go after the horses, that they may not be lost"; *hawī alafī dhēwī ʿē xara* "he wanted this grass in order to eat it". Without *ʿē*: *mā lāyag na-iman tu ma mun puš ḡartūn (ḡurī)* "I am not worthy that thou shouldst call me (take me as) thy son".

d) Causal Clauses. *ʿhā, ʿē . . . žū haš'dār pa'i'dā ʿhō* "come, because a dragon has appeared".

e) Temporal Clauses. *rha'ḡām-a ʿē ʿchemtōn* "when spring comes"; *hawī 'waxti ʿē tū pādšā ʿhē* "from the time when thou becamest a king".

f) Relative Clauses. V. 139.

g) Conditional Clauses. *sa'bā ham ʿē žī, žū ʿhaṭa'i-a te dahem* "if thou comest to-morrow, I shall give thee one rupee"; *ʿē khānjāi 'laškar pa'i'dā pa'ri-a, 'ḡaḡg ka'nen-ē na'rē* "if an army appears somewhere, canst thou fight it?" Regarding conditional clauses with *agar* v. below.

*agar* "if".

222. In conditional clauses that may be realized, the verb is frequently put in the past tense in the protasis and in the aorist in the apodosis (cf. Phillott, § 128, e): *agar na'rīm, sa'bā žīm, agar 'na-m na'rī, 'na-ē žīm* "if I can, I shall come to-morrow, if I cannot, I shall not come" (v. 205; but: *aga 'mēren-ē 'na narem, xu xa'rem te* "if I cannot kill it, I shall certainly eat it"); *aga tū ʾōsp ḡunt, mā baxšiš-a dahem M* "if thou findest the horse, I shall give thee a bakhshish". Cf. also: *aga ʾōsp-e mā harī, tū paidā-ē kan M* "if my horse is lost, thou must find it"; *agar mā ʿāwar ʾōsp dhōr, pursān-eman kanta, ʿē kân-ēn* "if we see some horses, we ask to whom they belong"; *agar 'phōr ḡulū 'dērō bōn, ō xu'kân hāse'li ḡulū 'āwura bōn, pāntōn ʿē* "if he has much grain, and his field has yielded much, he understands that . . .".

Without *agar*: *žā ḡāi ḡusī narḡē, 'mērem-au te* "if thou goest out of the house a second time, I shall kill thee".

With the aorist tense in the protasis: *agar sāl če kima'ti bē, . . .*  
*ā . . . guza'rân-an čemitōn* "if it is a year of dearth, we live . . .";  
*agar 'khin če 'xâeš-e 'jīnč bə'roika 'dērō bē, . . . ā 'kantōn* "if anybody  
 should wish to take a wife, he makes . . ."; *aga 'mu kun bi'yā bē,*  
*'kārī bē* "if I shall have a brother, may he be good". Also in  
 conditional clauses, the conditions of which are not realized: *'tū*  
*a'ze 'āya bē, mun žū čaṭa'i dā bē* "if thou hadst come yesterday,  
 I would have given thee one rupee".

## TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

### I.

#### Standard Sentences (LSI.). (M).

220. 'nām-i 'tān 'kā? "What is thy name?"
221. 'umr-i ha'wē 'ōspik'a čā sār-ā? "How old is this horse?"
222. 'ečen zā Šutul čeka dərīn-a? "How far is it from here to Shutul?"
223. tān 'bāwik'a 'γus 'čā 'puš hēn? "How many sons are there in thy father's house?"
224. nī'hēk pa'nān-e dərīn čēm. "I have walked a long way today".
225. kākika 'puš-um xī ho'wē ādamī'ka 'jīn' ghīt. "The son of my uncle is married to the sister of that man".
226. 'zīn-e 'ōsp-e čaṭō'k'a ma 'γus sī. "In the house is the saddle of the white horse".
227. 'zīn 'puṭ-ar-e 'ōspik'a lām da. "Put the saddle upon the back of the horse".
228. u'dā 'puš-am γala'ba dehī. "I have beaten his son much".
229. hē 'ādam sō 'dhār-a 'māl ča'rēwetūn. "This man is grazing cattle on the top of the hill".
230. hē 'ādam sō'wār 'zēr-i tī 'nhaštō. "This man is sitting on a horse under the tree".
231. bi'yā-i xī tar-ē 'ghānḍ-a. "His brother is taller than his sister".
232. ha'wē 'zāik'a bāi dī wo 'rhūž rupa'i-a. "The price of this thing is two rupees and a half".



233. *bâw-om* 'cînô 'γus tar 'nhaštō-a. "My father lives in the small house".

234. *ha'wī rupa'ī* 'udē kō da. "Give this rupee to him".

235. *udhē kâ tar rupa'ī* 'gurē. "Take the rupees from him".

236. *mōnde xub* 'deh, 'bāž guri 'munde beš. "Beat him well and bind him with a rope".

237. *ho'wī cā'ī* 'āwo ner. "Draw water from the well".

238. *da'māi cōhō*. "Walk before me".

239. *kân* 'puš-a pēš 'tū tar 'wēhō? "Whose boy comes behind thee?"

240. *kī tar-a* ha'wī 'zā 'ghitō? "From whom didst thou buy that?"

241. *žu dukân'dâr-e* deā'tī. "From a shopkeeper of the village".

## II.

### A Dialogue (G).

A. *Tū* 'khânjāi ē? "From where art thou?"

B. *Ān Čutu'li-em*. "I am from Shutul".

A. *Tū* č'i'kun ā'γē? "Why hast thou come?"

B. *Ān* 'nūkar-em. "I am a soldier".

A. *Mōn kun sau'γāt na* 'āwur? "Hast thou not brought me a present?"

B. *Ān* 'tu kun 'če sau'γāt ārēm? *Ma'nā* 'sāt tar sau'γāt 'na sī cē 'tū kōn 'ārem. "What present should I bring thee? In my village there is no present which I can bring thee".

A. *Mun kōn* 'pišt-e ka'būt yā 'chaččō 'ār, 'ān-ē xa'rēm. "Bring me blue or white mulberry-flour, and I will eat it".

B. *Ārem-ē*. "I will bring it".

## III.

### The Prodigal Son (M).

*Zū ādam dī* puš dērō būn. *Puš-e cînō* būw kun-ē jārī:  
One man two son(s) having was. Son little father to-his said:

"*Āi bāw, hawī māl-a taxsīm kan ma kân<sup>1</sup> hisāb da.*"  
 "O father, that property-thine division make, me to share give".

*Bāw māl-e xukâ taxsīm kuṛ, zâṣân-e xukâ kun-ē*  
 Father property his-own division made sons his-own to-he  
*dâ. Câ ruč pēsč(h)ân puš-e činō-ē mālân-ē jam*  
 gave. Some day(s) afterwards son little-his possessions-his collected

*kuṛ, mulk-e dārīn tar rawân č(h)ī. Okčī māl-e xukân-ē*  
 made, country far to going went. There property his-own-he

*bībākī gum kuṛ. Waxti čī hawī mālân hawī bālō-e*  
 completely lost made. Time when those possessions that son

*činō-ē gum kuṛū, hē mulk tar kâtī saxti č(h)ī,*  
 little-his lost had made, this country in famine hard became,

[*hawī bālō hawī mālân hawī watan tar harēwī, qâtī uštā*]  
 [that boy those possessions that land in spent, famine arose,]

*hē bālō ɣurča č(h)ī. Tartar-e žū ādam-e mutabar č(h)ī,*  
 this boy hungry became. In-front-of one man rich he-went,

*nūkar č(h)ī. Hō ādam xukân ɣanīr tar-ē rāhi kuṛ, ɣarō,*  
 servant became. That man own field to-him going made, sheep

*čārēwa. Hē bālō d(h)ēwī čī hawī gīāi ɣarwēka*  
 he-shall-graze. This boy wished that that grass-of the sheep (gen.!)

*xārtūn, hawī alafī dhēwī čē xara. [Hawī bālō ba*  
 is eating that grass he-wished that he-may-eat. [That boy to

*xu zər ɣarī: "Hē gīā ɣarō xartūn, mā xareman.]*  
 his-own heart said: "This grass the-sheep is-eating, we may-eat.]

*K(h)īn udē kun zâ na dâ. Sōr tar-ē žū mūi hušī*  
 Anyone him to anything not gave. Head to-his one hair of-sense

*āɣa, ɣarī: "Da bāw-om čāwar mazdūr hēn, ɣalaba-in*  
 came, he-said: "With father-my some servant(s) are, much-they-are

<sup>1</sup> = *mu(n) kun* or *mākhân*?

*naçõn xartân, sîr ç(h)ên, walêkin mâ enehâk yurçagî*  
bread eating, satisfied they become, but we here from-hunger

*mereman. Mâ uşteman, da bâw-om am param, mundê jarem:*  
are-dying. We will-rise, to father-my also I-will-go, (to)him I-will-say:

*'Mâ da Xudâ, da tû gunâ kurû-m. Mâ lâyaq na-iman,*  
'We with God, with thou sin have-done-I. We worthy not-are,

*tu ma mun puş gurî. Ma mâ mæzl-i zû muzdûr gure''.*  
thou me son callest (takest). Us like one servant take''.

*Wapeşt uştâ, da bâw-e xukân ç(h)î. Bâw-ê dərînâ*  
Again he rose, to father his-own he-went. Father-his from-afar

*mende dhõr, zər-ê thî, da hê bālõ-ê hala kor, dõst*  
him saw, heart-his burnt, to this boy-his running made, hand

*mañdõ tar-ê andâzî, mundî mux-ê maçi kor. Puş bâw kun jarî:*  
neck on-his laid, him-he face-his kiss made. Son father to said:

*"Ai bâw, mâ da Xudâi, da tû gunagâr-iman; mâ lâyaq na-iman,*  
"O father we with God, with thee sinner(s)-are we worthy not-are,

*tu ma mun puş jartûn." Bâw xukân nukarân kun farmâsî:*  
thou me son (art) calling." Son his-own servants to commanded:

*"Kâlâ xub ârûr, mundê âyunewûr, angûst'-ar-ê angûstari*  
"Dress good bring-you, him dress-you, finger on-his ring

*kanûr, pâ tar-ê kausarâ kanûr. Naçõn xariman, xuşwaydî*  
make-you, foot on-his shoe make-you. Bread let-us-eat, merriment

*kaniman, çâ puş-an mura bûn, badê janwê ç(h)û; harõ*  
let-us-make, because son-our dead was, now alive has-become; lost

*bûn, badê-om çont. Pêşte xuşwaydi-an kor.*  
was, now I found. Then merriment they made.

*Bad(h)ek puş-e ghâñd mē yanîr hûst. Nazdîk-e ma yusika âya.*  
Now son big in field was. Near to-the-house he-came.



*Ē yax-an hōt, xušwaγdī-an kor, baid-an dar kūp kor,*  
He voice-their heard, happiness-they made, song-they singing made,

*hawī yax gū kun-ē âγa [hōt]. Ē žū nūkar sadâ-ē*  
that voice ear to-his came [he heard]. He one servant calling-he

*k(h)oži: "Xušwaγdī čī-kā kantān?" Nūkar jarī ēe:*  
asked: "Merriment what-for (they) are-making?" Servant said that:

*"Biyā-i tân âγa, bâw-a γalaba naγōn dâ." Ē bālō*  
"Brother thine came, father-thy much bread gave." This boy

*xafa č(h)ī, ma γus na č(h)ī. Bâw-ē ma bōr naγō,*  
angry became, in house not went. Father-his outdoor emerged,

*γalaba minnat kor. Bālō bâw kun jarī: "Buč(h), γalaba sâl*  
much entreating made. Boy father to said: "See, many year(s)

*mâ xizmat-e tâ kantān, hēc gašt az hukm-i tân bērun*  
we service thine are-making, any time from command thine outside

*na č(h)imān. Hēc kabī tū žū ešten mâ kun na dâ, ēe mē*  
not we-went. Any time thou one kid us to not gave, that we

*dōst o rafīq pen xariman, xušwaxt parēman. Badē*  
friend(s) and comrade(s) with may-eat, happy we-may-become. Now

*hawī puš-e tân âγō, hawī kančānī pen māl-e tân-ē gum*  
that son thine has come, those harlot(s) with property thine-he lost

*kurū, tū udē kun γalaba naγōn dâ." Bâw-ē juwâp-ē*  
has-made, thou him to much bread gave." Father-his answer-him

*jarī: "Ai puš, tū mudām dāl-um hē, harči čī māk(h)ân-a,*  
gave: "O son, thou always with-me art, whatever that ours -is,

*tân-a. Walē munāsib-a ēe xušwaγdī kaniman, čâ biyā-i*  
thine-is. But necessary-is that merriment we-make, because brother

*tân mura būn, jameē č(h)ī, harō būn, badē paidā čhī.*  
thine dead was alive became, lost was, now appeared became.

## IV.

## Anecdotes.

LSI. X, p. 244. Örmürî, Spec. 2. (M).

*Sul'tâ* 'Māmad žu 'gašt žu dī'vān ko ja'ri: "Zə'i 'tān-a  
Sultan Mahmud one time one madman to said: "Heart thine-is  
'če 'dhēwetun?" Ja'ri çe: "Zə'i ma'nān-a ya'rōika 'dum  
what wanting?" He-said that: "Heart mine-is sheep's tail  
'dhēwetun." *Sul'tâ* te'(h)ān pen-ē ma 'žū 'ādam ni'sān 'dā çe:  
wanting." Sultan eyes with-his to one man sign gave that:  
"Udē kun žu 'zardak 'dā." Žu 'zardak-a (:ē?) 'āvura bün, ho'i  
"Him to one carrot give." One carrot-he brought had, that  
dī'vān 'xūr. 'Sar-i 'xud-ē 'šūr ko-ē, 'khanī. *Sul'tâ*  
madman ate. Head his-own-he shaking made-he, he-laughed. Sultan  
mundē ja'ri: "Čā-i 'khāntūn?" Ju'wāp-ē ja'ri: "Ha'wē  
to-him said: "Why-art-thou laughing?" Answer-he said: "That  
'kēr tar-em 'khāntūn, ha'vi 'waxti či 'tū 'pādšā č(h)ē,  
matter from-I-am laughing, that time-from that thou king becamest,  
ha'vi 'dumba-i ya'rōika čār'bū na 'dēra."  
that tail of-sheep fat not has."

(Phon., G: *Sul'tān* 'Māmūd žū 'gašt žū dī'vān kun ja'ri: «Zvri  
'tāna čī dhēwtōn?» Ja'ri çe: «Zvri ma'nāna ya'rōika 'dum d' hēwtōn?»  
*Sul'tān* te'čhān penē ma 'žū 'ādam ni'sān dā çe: «Udē 'kun žū 'zardak  
dā.» Žū 'zardakē 'āvura bōn, ho'vi dī'vān 'xūr, 'Sōre xu'kānē 'šūr kv  
(nōf) 'khanī. *Sul'tān* 'mundē ja'ri: «Čāi 'khantōn?» Ju'vāp(p)ē ja'ri:  
«Ha'vē 'kēr tarem 'khantōn, ho'vi 'waxti čī 'tō 'pādšā čhī, ha'vi dum-  
baI ya'rōika čārbū na 'dēra.»<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In these transcriptions from the phonograph I have, for practical reasons  
used *a*, *ā*, not *a*, *ā*.

LSI. X, p. 245. Örmürî, Spec. 3. (M).

Žū 'ādam bīn, laḡḡō'tā-i fa'qīr 'ghīt, ča'a'kī. Fa'qīr  
One man was, turban-of mendicant seized, ran-away. Mendicant  
č(h)ī, karbi'stān tar 'nhōšt. Mundē fə'lānī ja'rī: "Čā ēg  
went, cemetery in sat-down. To-him someone said: "Why here  
'nhaštō hē? Hē 'ādam bāxča tar č(h)ī." Fa'qīr ju'wāb  
sitting art-thou? This man garden to went." Mendicant answer  
dā: "Āxīr ē 'ēg žē."  
gave: "Ultimately he here will-come."

(Phon., G: Žū 'ādam bīn, laḡḡō'tā-i fa'qīr 'ghīt, ča'a'kī. Fa'qīr  
qabrī'stān tar n'hōšt. Mundē fə'lānī ja'rī: "Čā eke'stak n'hastē?  
Hē 'ādam bāxča tar č(h)ī." Fa'qīr ju'wāb dā: "Āxīr 'ēg žē."

LSI. X, p. 246. Örmürî, Spec. 4. (M).

Žū 'ādam bī'ayl č(h)ī, sū pa'nān-ē žū 'āhēn (ā'ina) 'yunt. Da  
One man stupid went, on road-he one mirror found. In  
'umr-e xu'kān-ē hēč 'āhēn na 'dhōra būn. Ğala'ba xu'shāl č(h)ī,  
life his-own-he any mirror not seen had. Very happy he-became,  
'khanī. Mendē ē'dān xi'yāl bur: "Ā'hēna k(h)ān-i žāika  
he-laughed. Him of-this thought carried: "Mirror somebody else's  
bīn, hē 'ādam čē 'dhōr, 'xāwand-e āēne'k'a bīn." 'Sōr-e  
was, this man whom he-saw, owner of-mirror was." Head  
xu'kān-ē 'sūr-ē koṛ, 'ude ja'rī: "Hē 'zā 'māl-i 'tān-a;  
his-own-his shaking-he made, he said: "This thing property thine-is  
'mā ma 'tō 'lām dāiman." Wa'pēs ra'mī, une'hāk-ē 'lām dā,  
we to thee left will-make. Back he-went, there-he left-it made,  
ra'wān č(h)ī.  
going went.



LSI. X, p. 464. Wakhī, Spec. 2. (M).

Žū dī'wāna da dar'wāza-i daulatmandi'ka 'āya, 'zā-ē  
 One madman at door of-rich-man came something-he  
 'dhēwī. Da'rūn-e 'yusi 'yax nar'γō čē: "Za'if ma  
 asked-for. Within of-house-from voice emerged that Woman in  
 'yus na 'hā." Mendē dī'wāna ja'rī: "Mā žu na'γō 'dhēwī,  
 house not is." To him madman said: "We one bread asked-for,  
 za'if-an na dhē'wō, čē 'hēkezm ju'wāb da'hā."  
 woman-we not have-asked-for, that such answer he-should-give."

LSI. X, p. 464. Wakhī, Spec. 3. (M).

Žū ha'kimji karbe'stān tar gu'zar koṛ, 'mux-ē rūi'māl pen ūṭa'fī.  
 One doctor graveyard to passing did, face-he scarf with he-covered.  
 Žū ra'fiq-ē 'ude tar k(h)ō'ji: "Hē 'če sa'bap-a?" 'Hē  
 One comrade-his him from asked: "This what reason-is?" This  
 ha'kim ja'rī: "Xalk tar xarbi'stān tar šar'menda-ēm; 'dārū  
 doctor said: "People from graveyard in ashamed-I-am; medicine  
 tar-e mā'khān 'huss 'muṛ."  
 from our all died."

(Phon. G.: Žū ha'kimji kabri'stān tar gu'zar kōṛ, 'muxē rūi'māl  
 pen ūṭa'fī. Žū ra'fikē 'ude tar k(h)ō'ji: «Hē čī 'sabapā?» 'Hē ha'kim  
 ja'rī: «Xalk tar kabri'stān<sup>1</sup> tar šar'mūndaēm. 'Dāru tarē mā'khān  
 'hus muṛ.»

<sup>1</sup> First: karbi°.

## V. (T).

Žū pala'wâ bî, 'nâm-ê Hanîfa bî, 'ô yu'sî nar'γō, 'sî 'mâneš-e xu'kân ham'râ ghît. Hu 'čōr-ê 'chê šekâr ko. Žū mai'dân tar'î za'hên, ze'rêš, kabû'târ šekâr-an kor, 'zâe ce 'kury-e 'dhârî pai'lân tar-an 'âya de'hî-an. Tu'lû šekâr-an kor, ma â'hû-an hum yu'lû dhî, ma 'husse-an zû 'jâi 'jam kor, 'zuγ-an 'chî, ce zên yus-wa'nô.

Bî'xabar 'garđ o yu'bâr pai'dâ chî, bî'xabar mên gar'dî chîl 'nafar pai'dâ chî, 'zû-ê 'tartar-ê 'âya, zâ'nân-ê a'peš dha'rên. Jâ'ri ce: «Tu 'kai, ce 'âye ma'nâ šekârjâi tar?» Jâ'ri: «'Ân-em pala'wân, nâm-um Hanîfa.» Jâ'ri: «Tu 'nâm-a 'jaγ, ce 'tu kka-ê?» Jâ'ri ce: «'Ân-em Zai'γôn.» Huddî'nân-ê guftegû chî. 'Ē mun'dê ba šam'sêr 'dhî, 'ô men'dê, huddî'nân-ê 'jang kor. Ha'wî ka'stê, ce 'nâm-ê Zai'γôn bî, 'ô yala'ba (yu'lû) pala'wân-e zûr'âwâr bî. Žū 'naiza-ê man'dô tar-e 'Mâmad Hanîfân-ê de'hî. 'Ē sôr 'ô'spî čha'ri dha'ram tar. 'Čōr 'ruč bî'huš 'ûzâ. 'Âya ce 'sôr-ê ka'tâ, 'dhör-ê ce 'hêz ja'nô 'na hâ, ra'gân-ê mu'pô, az kârîgî sôr-ê ju'dâ na kor.

## V.

There was a warrior whose name was Hanifa, he went out from home and took three of his own men with him. They all four went shooting. They came to a plain and shot partridges and pigeons; whatever kinds of mountain-birds appeared before them, they killed<sup>1</sup>. They made a good bag, they killed many deer also and collected all of them in one place. Then they had a mind to go home.

Suddenly dustclouds rose, and suddenly out of the dust forty persons appeared, one of them went in front, and the rest kept back. She (: the one who went in front) said: "Who are you who have come to my shooting-ground?" He said: "I am a warrior, and my name is Hanifa." Then he said: "Tell me your name. Who are you?" She answered: "I am Zaighun." They started quarrelling. He struck her with his sword, and she him<sup>2</sup>; they both fought. This girl whose name was Zaighun, was a very mighty warrior. She thrust a spear at Mahmâd Hanîfas neck. He fell from his horse to the ground. He remained unconscious for four days. She came to cut off his head; but she saw that he was not alive at all, all his veins being dead, and on account of his beauty she did not sever his head.

<sup>1</sup> čizi az mur'î kôh ce ba pēšwâ (dūčâr)-išân âmat, zadan.

<sup>2</sup> i ūra zad, ū ira.



'Huddē a'muika pu'sân-ē, ǝ ham'râ-ē bēn, hal'lâ koṛ ha'wī pala'wân wa'nō. Pala'wâ 'dhōṛ, ǝ huddi bâ'lâ 'âṣē, ma huddi'nân-e bâ'lâna zū 'dōst pen ho'wī ka'stī-pala'wân 'ālī'sī, ma 'huddi bâ'lân ho'wī pala'wân zū 'dōst pen 'bōst, ma huddi'nân-ē 'tar-ē 'ṣušt, 'chēn dâl 'pâdsâ ǝ 'bâw-e ho'wī palawâni'kâ. 'Bâw-ē ja-rī: «Tū-ē ǝ ba šekâr 'whētōn? Žâ 'gâi ǝ 'chē 'mērem-â te.» 'Mendē pala'wâ 'buṛ-ē, zū ṣus tar ban'dī koṛ, ǝ: «Žâ 'gâi hē bīsar'yâ 'na ka'nē!»

Mende 'lam daheman, 'bade sōr ha'wī 'âdamī 'gurīman, ǝ Zai'ṣōn 'dehō bō. 'Čōr ruč 'bâd ǝ ē ba 'huš âṣa, jâ'ī uštâ, 'pī wo 'pū xu'kâ thârī, 'dhōṛ-ē ǝ 'huddē bâ'lâna 'na hen. 'Elm-e ē'dân 'âṣa, ǝ ha'wī pala'wân ma 'mun-ē de'hī, 'mende 'buddē bâ'lân-ē buṛ ban'dī. Muṣ'bel ṣu'lâm-ē 'ham ma 'dâl-ē 'âṣa, 'šukur-ē koṛ ǝ: «Tu ham 'janō chē; čōr 'ruč tar tu 'muṛa bē, 'rōng-au ṣala'ba 'zīt phe'rō.» 'Huddi'nân-ē 'râi chēn ṣus wa'nō.

'Mâma-i 'dhōṛ ǝ 'puš-om 'âṣa. Pailân tar-e puš'ka-i 'âṣa, ma 'puš-ē thârī, ǝ 'rōng-ē ṣala'ba 'zītō-a, ja'rī: «Čâ 'rōng-e tân 'zītō-a?» 'Ja'rī: «Ō 'mâma, 'čī 'jartō? Ma 'mân zū 'rūzi guda'rō 'sōri-m, ǝ

Both his cousins, who accompanied him, came running towards this warrior (: the girl<sup>1</sup>). She saw the two boys coming; and that warrior-maid seized both of the boys with one hand, bound them both with one hand, and drove them in front of her; they went to the king who was the father of that warrior-maid. Her father said: "Why do you go out shooting? If you go out another time, I shall kill you." Then he took this warrior and imprisoned her in a house [saying]: "Do not show such disobedience another time!"

Let us leave her and turn now to the man whom Zaighun had struck. Four days afterwards, when he recovered consciousness, he rose from the place, looked about him in all directions, and saw that the two boys were not there. Then he understood that this warrior had struck him and had carried both the boys away as prisoners. His slave Muqbil came to him and thanked God [saying]: "You have come back to life; for four days you were dead, and your colour had turned very pale." They both started homewards.

His mother saw that her son was coming. She came forward towards her son, she saw that his colour was very yellow, and she said: "Why is your colour so pale?" He answered: "Oh mother, what words are

<sup>1</sup> *ba taraf-i duxtar.*



'na khuĵ. » Mâci ja'ri ċe: « Ċe rūz guda'rō? Ĵar dāl 'mân! » Ĵa'ri ċe: « 'Ān ċhē bēm zū mai'dân tarĭ, zū jo'wân pen-om 'ĵang koṛ. 'Magam 'pânt-om, ċe hō'wĭ jo'wân 'kaštē bĭ. » Mâci ja'ri ċe: « Za'nēng-a 'pât, ċe 'kaštē bĭn? » 'Mahmad Ha'nifa ja'ri: « Ed'hēk tar-om 'pânt, ċe ta'mâm-e jânika-i tâ 'zânû sō 'ōsp lar'zĭ, 'pânt-om ċe 'kaštē-a. Wa'lē zū 'zarb-e 'saxt-ē ma 'mun dhĭ. 'Ĉōr 'ruċ ân bĭhuš ċha'rēm, 'huš-om 'âġa, ċe na 'ō hā, 'na a'mūika pu'sân-om, 'na ċhil so'wârĭ, ċe xu 'pen-ē 'hōst. Hai'rân ū'zâēm, ċe 'ân za'nēng ka'nem? Nâ-i'lâĵ rux ba 'ġus â'ġēm. »

'Mâci tâna dâ ċe: « 'Tū kašte'ka dō'stĭ ċha'rē, ċōr ruċ bĭhuš ū'zâhē, 'na-em 'pântōn, ċe 'ō za'nēngĭ 'kaštē bĭn, ċe ma 'tō-ē dhĭ ċōr 'ruċ bĭhuš ċha'rē. 'Mun 'dhĭraġ 'mâci 'dērō bĭ; 'Haidar 'bâw-a bē, ma 'tō zū 'kaštē 'dēha! 'Hōd 'wyâr, 'hōt 'ruċ xu'xu-m 'bâw-pen-a 'ĵang koṛ, 'har ċe-um 'koṛ, 'âxir-ē ma 'mun dhĭ. 'Mun ham 'bĭte men'dhēk 'bâw-au 'ghĭt, ma 'tō zū 'kaštē 'dhĭ? Ba 'khâĭn 'sōr-au 'âġē? » 'Puš-ē ja'ri

these (: what do you say)? A day [of ill-luck] has passed over my head, do not ask." His mother said: "What day [of ill-luck] has passed? Tell me!" He answered: "I had come to a plain, and [there] a youth fought with me. But I understood that that youth were a girl." His mother said: "How did you understand that she were a girl?" Mahmad Hanifa said: "I understood it for this reason that the whole of her body, down to her knees, trembled on the horse; then I understood that she were a girl. But she struck me a hard blow. I fell down [and lay] senseless for four days; when I awoke she was not there, nor the sons of my uncle, nor the forty horsemen who were with her. I remained perplexed as to what I should do, and, being helpless, I came home."

His mother rallied him [and said]: "You fell by the hand of a girl, and for four days you remained senseless; I do not understand what kind of girl she could be, who could strike you [in such a way that] you fell [and lay there] for four days. Can you have a mother like me<sup>1</sup> and can Haidar be your father, and yet a girl can beat you? I myself fought for seven nights and seven days with your father; but whatever I did, he finally beat me. Then I took this father of yours; but a girl has beaten you! What has become of your head?"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *misl-i mā mīdar dāsta bāsi.*

<sup>2</sup> *ba kudām sar-it āmadi* "to which head of yours have you come?"

če: «Bas kan, 'mâci, če ma'nân 'zör tar-au 'âr andâ'zi! 'Tü če mâ'ci-m-ē, he'zail 'tâna ma 'mun 'dâ, 'zâ 'mardum-un te mu'dâm 'tâna dhâ.»

'Mendē 'yulâm-ē če 'xu pen-ē 'höst 'ghit-ē, dâl mâ'ci' ma bōr nar'γō. Ma Muq'bel 'yulâm-e xu'kân-ē ja'ri če: «Ma 'ösp-om 'zag 'zin kan, če hē 'tânaī če ma 'mun 'mâci-m dâ'wō, zâ 'tâyat 'na 'dērem, če eke'stak dha'rem.» 'Kasam-ē 'xūr če: «'Zân mun'dhēk 'kaštē 'bâw pen-ē be'žen na 'ēnem, 'zâ 'wil-ē 'hē wa'tan tar 'na žim.» 'Hawī 'kasam-ē 'xūr, râ'hī chī.

Mâci'ka 'zur tar-ē wa'hī če: «Ma 'puš-om 'tâna 'dâ, 'na če he'wyak 'bite pa'nân-ē gu'ri-a, 'kâwun pa'ri-a.» Ma ka'nizân-ē wese'jī če: «Ču'mör, 'Mahmad Ha'nifaâ 'yus tar, au'hâl-ē 'mun kun â'rör, če ma 'yus 'hâ yâ 'na.» E'yân chēn, a'pešt â'yēn, ja'ri če: «Ma 'yus-ē 'na höst?» Ja'ri-an če: «Nâ.» Jā'ri če: «Ču'mör, 'har khân 'jāiy-au 'yōnt, au'hâl-ē 'mu kun 'zak â'rör!» E'dânân če ta'mâm lu'ri, 'hēc au'hâl-ē-an 'na yunt, kanizân dâl bī'bī-an â'yēn, ja'ri-an če: «Mâ ta'mâm lu'ri, 'nâ yunt.» E'dân 'elm za'hī če: «Ba hō'vi 'tâna-e

Her son said: "Stop, mother! You have thrown fire into my heart. If you, who are my mother, have jeered at me in this way, then other people will always jeer at me."

He took the slave who was with him and went out of his mother's house. He said to his slave Muqbīl: "Saddle my horse quickly, because, on account of my mother's jeers, I have no strength left to stay here." He took an oath [saying]: "As long as I do not bring that girl bound together with her father, I shall not come again to this country." He took this oath and departed.

His mother's heart turned towards him [and she thought]: "I have mocked my son, so that he will not again take this road, but will go in some [other] direction<sup>1</sup>." She ordered her maids [saying]: "Go to Mahmad Hanifa's house, and bring me tidings of him, whether he is at home or not." They went, and came back. She said: "Was he not at home?" They answered: "He was not." She said: "Go, and wherever you find him, bring me tidings of him quickly." When the maids had searched everywhere, and had not found out anything about him, they came back to his mother and said: "We have searched everywhere, but have not found him." She understood that he had taken to the road on account of her rallying, and had gone forth to

<sup>1</sup> na kī hamī rāra bāz bigira, kudām taraf burawa.



ma'nân pa'nân-ê 'ghitö, 'bite un'häk chö.» Ma kanî'zân-ê ja'ri ce:  
«Ma'nân ösp ham 'zin ka'nör, ce 'peš 'puš-om te 'ân ham pa'ram.  
Çe 'Haidar-ê xa'bar pa'rî, ju'wâb-e u'dâ 'â 'ce da'hem?»

Zû pa'nân ku 'puš-ê çhî, 'zû pa'nân kun 'mâci 'chî. Ha'wî 'mâma-ê  
'puš tar-ê ho'wî 'jangal tar, ce 'šekâr'jâi 'bîn, 'zag za'hî. Un'häk  
çe 'mâci za'hî, 'dhör-ê ce 'bite hö'wî 'kaštê 'âyö, 'chil su'wâr xu  
'pen-ê 'hâ. Ma bi'bi ce 'dhör, næz'dik-e ē'dân 'âya, hö'wî 'kaštê-e  
pala'wân, ce 'Mamad Ha'nifa-ê 'dhöra bôn, khuje'wî ce: «Tû 'ka-i, ce  
ma'nân še'kâr'jâi tar 'âyö?» Ja'ri: «'Ân-em, Bi'bi 'Hanifa 'nâm-un-a.»

Ē'dân 'nâm-ê ce 'pânt, 'sör tar-ê 'âya, zû šam'sër-ê 'sör-e e'dê tar  
ha'wâla koř, dö 'yušt 'sör tar-ê ma'ci, 'mende 'kaiw buř. Ē ösp-e  
ē'dân 'tünd bi, 'hai koř 'phârî 'bite 'âya. 'Bite huš 'sör tar-ê 'âya,  
šam'sër-ê ham ha'wâla koř, 'hu cör 'pâ-i öspi'ka-i ka'tî. Ösp-ê cha'ri,  
'yax-ê koř ce: «Mu'kân (= mun kun) ösp 'raw 'ârör, ce ösp-e  
ma'nân-ê 'dhî.» Ēde kun-an ösp 'âwuř, su'wâr çhî.

Bi'xabar sa'dâ na'yö, næz'dik 'âya, ce 'Mahmad Ha'nifa je'law-e  
öspi'ka-i mâmai'ka-i a'pešt ât, xu'xu-i 'jang-tar a'pâ çhî. Ja'ri ce:

that place again. She said to her maids: "Saddle my horse also, that I, too, may go and search for him. If Haidar becomes aware of it, what answer shall I give him?"

Her son went by one road, and his mother went by another road. His mother came quickly before her son to the forest where the shooting-ground was. When she arrived there, she saw that the girl had come again, and forty horsemen were with her. When this warrior-maid, whom Mahmad Hanifa had seen, saw his mother, she approached her and said: "Who are you, who have come to my shooting-ground?" She said: "It is I, Bibi Hanifa is my name."

When she caught her name, the warrior-maid went towards her, struck her on the head with her sword, cut two fingers' [breadth] into her head, and she (Bibi Hanifa) became senseless. Her horse was swift, it ran and came back from the other side. She regained consciousness, then she, too, struck the girl with her sword, and cut off all four of her horse's feet. Her horse fell, and she shouted: "Bring me a horse quickly, because he has struck my horse." They brought her a horse, and she mounted it.

Suddenly a cry was heard; she (: Zaighun) approached the place where Mahmad Hanifa was standing ready to fight, having led his



«Tū 'ka-i?» Ĵa'ri: «Ān-em 'Mahmad Ha'nifa.» Ĵa'ri: «Ān xu 'mundē 'dehō bō, ō za'nēng ja'nō na'γō?» Ĵa'ri: «Ma 'mun Xu'dāi dha'rēwī, 'aga 'tū 'badē ma'nān ča'gī xa'lās čhē, ya'kin-om čē pala'wān-ē.» Huddi'nān-ē šam'sēr ba šam'sēr čhēn. Zai'γōn sam'sēr-ē ha'wāla-ē ko' 'Mahmad Ha'nifa ko'. 'Mahmad Ha'nifa šam'sēr-ē 'rat ko', 'heč-ē 'na la'gī. Huddi'nān-ē 'mēn ba 'mēn čhē, 'ē 'mendē 'kaš ko', 'ō 'mundē<sup>1</sup>. Na 'ē dha'ram tar čha'ri, na 'ō; huddi'nāna 'qūwat-ē 'zū bī.

'Māma-i 'dhōr čē: «'Mahmad Ha'nifa 'hājes zī 'kāl-a, 'na-i čē 'deha-i.» 'Ō 'sōr-ē 'luč ko', 'rux ba Xu'dāi čha'ri čē: «Qūwat'dār tar ma 'puš-om dha'rē[w]! 'Ān 'tō kun su'pāriš-om ku'rō.» Wa'khē Xu'dāi tar sa'dā āya čē: «Čhā, ma 'puš-a 'jar, čē huddi'nān-ē su'wār pa'ran, 'ē u'dān 'mēnī 'āliša, 'ō ē'dān 'mēnī, qū'wat kanan, ka'māl-e ma'nān 'pa'ri kan!»

Awa'lina āli'sō, ma 'Mahmad Hanīfān mēnī 'ghīt-ē, čē 'har čē 'qūwat kōr, 'qūwat-ē 'ker 'na ko', jā'i hež ju'kēwen na na'ri, 'ōsp-ē

mother's horse back by the bridle.<sup>2</sup> She asked: "Who are you?" He answered: "I am Mahmad Hanifa." She said: "But I had smitten him, how is it that he has escaped alive?" He answered: "God protected me; but if you escape now from my clutches, I shall know that you are indeed a warrior." They both started fighting with their swords. Zaighun aimed a blow at Mahmad Hanifa with her sword; but he parried it, and it did not hit him. They both fought, holding each other in a tight embrace, she pulling at him, and he at her. Neither she nor he fell to the ground; the strength of both was equal.

Then his mother saw: "Mahmad Hanifa is becoming exhausted, now he must flee(?), lest she beat him."<sup>3</sup> She uncovered her head, fell down facing God [and said]: "Save my son from the powerful one, I have entrusted him to thee." And there came a voice from God above: "Go and tell thy son that they shall both mount their horses; he shall seize her by the waist, and she him, and they shall try their strength. Then behold my perfection."

She grappled him first and seized him by the waist; but however much she exerted herself, her strength was of no avail; she could not move him from the spot, and his horse stuck in the mud up to the

<sup>1</sup> We should expect: ē 'mundē . . . ō 'mendē.

<sup>2</sup> «brought back the bridle of his mother's horse.»

<sup>3</sup> qūcat-iš kam ast, ājes āmad, hāli kāl-iš ast, nai ke bezana.

am 'tâ ba zâ'nû 'sû tar ma'ci. Ĵa'ri ċe: «Badē 'tû 'qūwat-a kōr, ma'nân 'nūbat-a.» Ĵa'ri: «Ma'nân mē'nī 'āleš 'har ċe 'qūwat 'dērē 'kan!» 'Dōst-ē de'hī, kamar'band-e Zaiyū'nân-ē 'āle'sī 'qūwat-ē kōr. Žū 'wīl sōr 'ōspī hu'pât, âz'mân wanō-ē wa'khē 'γušt, ba'rābar ba si'tāra ċhī.

'Māma-i 'āya dāl 'puš-ē, Ĵa'ri ċe: «Huš kan, men'dē dha'ram tar na 'lam dai (= dahe), ċe 'ċhara, 'nai ċe 'šār 'parya. 'Ān 'γax-e γai'bī 'hōt ċe: «'Ē 'tân 'jinč-a'». 'Mahmad Ha'nifa māmā'ka 'gap-ē ka'būl kōr, âz'mân wanō-i 'thārī, ċe wa'khēi wa'hen 'āya. 'Hawerang sō 'dōst-ē dha'rēwī, ka'rārehā-ē ma 'dharam-ē 'ūnt. Bur'ka kašte'ka mu'xī du'rīn ċhī, men'dē ma 'mux-ē, 'Mahmad Ha'nifa dhōr, 'āsux-ē 'ċhī, ma 'su 'ruč eke'stak 'Mahmad Ha'nifa bī'huš ċha'ri; 'bādaz 'su 'ruč 'bād ba 'huš 'āya.

'Māma-i 'γax kōr, Ĵa'ri ċe: «Dāl 'mun 'zē!» 'Māma-i 'hala kanen 'āya, Ĵa'ri: «Men'dī-om maha'qam be'žem, 'mendē 'gure, 'ċā 'γus wa'nō, ċe-om 'qasam 'xūrō, 'tâ ċe 'bāw-ē be'žen na 'ēnem, wa'tan tar-ē na 'žim.» 'Māma-i 'ċhī rux ba 'γus, pala'wān 'ċhī rux ba 'bāw-e kašti'kā.

knees. Then he said: "Now you have tried your strength, and it is my turn." She answered: "Seize me by the waist, and use all the strength you have." He stretched out his hand and seized Zaighun's belt, and tried his strength. Suddenly he dragged her from the horse, and threw her high up towards the sky; she went straight towards the stars.

His mother came to her son and said: "Take care, don't let her fall down to the ground, lest she be hurt. I have heard a hidden voice saying that she is your wife." Mahmad Hanifa obeyed his mother's words, and looking towards the sky [he saw] that she was whirling down. He held her in this way with his hands, and let her slowly down to the ground. The veil slipped away from the girl's face, and Mahmad Hanifa saw her face. He fell in love with her, and, falling down, lay senseless on the spot for three days. After three days he regained consciousness.

Then his mother spoke, saying: "Come to me." He came running to his mother and said: "I shall bind her firmly, do you take her and go home. I have sworn not do come home, till I can bring her father bound with me." His mother went homewards, and the warrior (Mahmad Hanifa) sought the girl's father.



Žū 'mēhī bād za'hī wa'tan tar-e bāwi'ka-i. Žū 'wil sam'sēr-ē nōt, da de'hō čha'ri, ɣala'ba-i u'ri. Sa'hār čē čhī, e'dān pai'lān tar-an 'hōt čā hō'pāt, ma 'hōt čā-n xaš'pūs kor. Ū'ā 'phāri āyēn, pala'wān 'phyāri čhī. Ōsp-ē žū 'wil heŋ'gas kor, sī kām'čēn-ē 'dehī, na rhā'zī. Ba čōrom'gī ōsp 'xist kor, 'xī čā'ī rhā'zī, āxa'ri tar-ē 'čha'ri, mēn 'čā tar. 'Thāri-an, čē pala'wā mēn 'čā čha'ri, žū 'wil ma 'laškar 'ɣax-ē kor. 'Laškar 'zā-ē čē 'bīn 'āya dāl 'Aram 'Šā. Jā'ri čē: «Zā-i čē 'hēr, 'ger ɣu'hōr, ba 'zarb-e 'gīrika-i mē'rōr!» Ī'ā 'zā-i čē 'bēn, 'gīr-an 'ɣōst, 'čā 'tha' čhī az 'gīr. Ī'ān jā'ri čē: «Badē muṛ, mu'žōr, 'pareman 'sār wanō!» Ī'ā 'čhēn 'sār wanō, ma 'ōsp-ē-an āle'sī-an.

Ma 'žū 'pādsā pen-ē ha'wī pala'wā 'jang 'kuṛa bōn. 'Nām-e hō'wī pādsāi'ka Mī'āt bīn, 'edē pen-ē bi'yādar-xānda'gī 'ghīta bōn. 'Ē 'āya sōr čā.

'Mendē 'qessa 'lam daheman, sōr hō'wī kašte'ī du'bāra 'gurīman. Hō'wī ka'stī, čē 'Mahmad Hanīfān 'māčī pen 'rux ba 'ɣus 'čhō bōn, žū mai'dān tar-ē 'čhō bōn, čē ɣāphu'nē 'saxt čhī. Žū 'wil je'hān 'gard ɣu'bār ālī'sī, 'mendē 'Bībī Ha'nifa ɣāphu'nē 'khū kor, 'buṛ-ē,

One month later he arrived in her father's land. At once he drew his sword, started fighting and slew many. When the morning came, they dug seven wells in front of him and covered them. They came from one side, and the warrior advanced from the other side. Suddenly his horse neighed, and he whipped it three times; but it did not move. The fourth time the horse leapt, flew over the six wells, but fell into the seventh. They saw that the warrior had fallen into the well, and he (Aram Shah) at once called the army. The whole army came to Aram Shah.<sup>1</sup> He said: "Throw stones all of you, and kill him with stone-pelting." All of them threw stones, and the well was filled with stones. Then they said: "Now he is dead, come, let us go to the town." They went to the town, and seized his horse.

This warrior had [formerly] fought with a certain king. The name of this king was Miat, and he had entered blood-brotherhood with him. He came to the well.

Let us leave this tale and revert to the girl. When this girl, who had gone home with Mahmad Hanifa's mother, had come to a certain plain, a strong wind arose. Suddenly clouds of dust covered the world, and the wind lifted Bibi Hanifa up, carried her away, and

<sup>1</sup> the father of Zaighun.



'adel ma 'γus-ē zahē'wī. 'Thārī ǎe: 'Ā bī'xabar 'γus tar-em, xu'kâ wa'tan tar za'hēm. » 'Dhur-ē, ǎe ha'wī 'kaštē ǎe 'nām-ē Zai'γūn bī, 'ē ne 'hâ. Hē huddi'nân 'zū ma 'zâi tar ju'dâ ǎha'rēn.

Ha'wī ka'stika, ǎe dō'stân-ē 'bastō bīn, 'thārī ǎe ha'zâr su'wâr nēz'dik 'āyēn. Ho'wī ha'zâr nafari'ka zū (:zū-ē) pād'sâi'ka 'puš bīn. 'Ō 'yala'ba pala'wân bīn, ma e'dân 'mux-ē ǎe 'dhōr, 'ō 'āsux ǎhī. Zū 'wil-ē mun'dhēk suwâ'rân ja'ri: 'Ĉu'mōr, 'halka ka'nōr, 'āli'sōr, dâl 'mun-ē 'ēnōr! » 'Ĉhēn, 'āli'sī-an, 'mendē-an 'ānt. Ja'ri ǎe: 'Men'dē ba'rōr ma'nân 'jâi tar. » 'Mendē 'kašte-an zahē'wī 'jâi tar-ē.

Jâdū'garī pai'dâ ǎhī, pala'wân ja'ri ǎe: 'Ai jâdū'gar, ǎe 'heǎ ǎâ 'mu pen 'nâ 'rhistōn, maha'bat-ē 'hēǎ 'na sī. » Ja'ri ǎe: 'Kir-ē te 'nī wyâr 'rhēzem. » 'Āya dâl hō'wī 'kaštē, ǎe 'nām-ē Zai'γōn bīn, 'ēde kun-ē 'pē 'yar'wēwī, ja'ri: 'Mendē tū 'ther! 'Param-e, ma pād'sâi'ka 'puš ham-ē 'dahem. » 'Ē ja'ri: 'Ān-ē 'na xarem. » 'Ē hō'wī 'pī gap'ār tar 'lam dâ, hō'wī 'kaštō zâifi'ka, ǎe jâ'dū ōst 'kantōn, 'ēdân 'xōm-ē buṛ. 'Ē 'xōm tar-ē 'dhōr ǎe: 'Di 'ādam 'āyēn, ma 'mun-en ha'wī 'ār tar 'thēwtan. » Za'if ja'ri ǎe: 'Ma 'mun 'ǎâ mēn 'ār 'thēwtan? » Ja'ri ǎe: 'Tū jâ'dūgar-ē. 'Ĉhâ, dō'stân-e hō'wī Zai'γōnâ la'sēw! »

brought her straight home. She saw that she was suddenly at home, and had arrived in her own land. She saw also that the girl whose name was Zaighun, was not there. These two had been separated from one another.

The girl, whose hands he had bound, saw one thousand horsemen approaching. One of these thousand horsemen was a prince. He was a great warrior, and when he saw her face, he fell in love with her. At once he said to those horsemen: "Go, run, seize her and bring her to me." They went and seized her and brought her to him. He said: "Take her to my place." They brought this girl to his place.

A sorceress appeared and the warrior said: "O sorceress, she will in nowise lie with me, she has no love [for me]." [The sorceress] said: "I shall arrange this affair to-night." She went to the girl whose name was Zaighun, she boiled milk for her and said: "Drink this. I shall go and give some to the prince also." The girl said: "I will not drink it." She placed the milk on the fireplace, and the old woman who practised sorcery had a dream. In this dream she saw two men coming, who burned her in this fire. The woman said:

Ē 'čhī dāl Zai'γōn, 'sōr-ē dāl 'pāi 'ūnt, ja'ri čē: «Har gu'nāl čē 'ku'ō'm, tū, Zai'γōn, 'baxš!» Ĵa'ri: «Ma 'tō-om 'bax'si.» Ĵa'ri: «Ha'wī dō'stān-om čē 'bastō-en, men'dhēkān. 'xē kan!» Ha'wī za'if-e ka'ttō 'čhī, 'arra sū'hān 'āwū-ē, ma ē'dān dō'stān-ē xalās kor. Ĵa'ri čē: «Šam'sēr 'dērē?» Ĵa'ri: «'Dērēm.» Ĵa'ri čē: «'Ōsp-e kārī ham 'dērē?» Ĵa'ri: «'Dērēm.» Mende 'ōsp u šam'sēr-ē pala'wān Zai'γūn kun 'āwū. Ē 'mēm 'bōst, ma 'ōsp-ē-an 'zīn kor, 'mōza 'pā-i kor, se'lāwa ma'qō tar-ē 'γōšt, sōr 'ōsp su'wār čhī. Čhī ba 'jang, bī'xabar čhī, ma pairadā'rān-ē 'dhōr, mendā'nān-ē 'māt.

'Zā 'paltan xā'bar čhī, 'zū wil 'huss-ē sōr pala'wā, čē 'nām-ē Zai'γūn bī hal'lā kor. Ē 'mē tar-an da de'hō čha'ri, 'yala'ba-i 'māt, 'bāki 'mānda 'zā-i šī'kast 'xūr. Eke'stak mullā-i 'nhānt, tāb-e ha'wī Zai'γūnā 'čhēn. Ečēn'dī rā'i čhī a'pešt bāwī'ka 'jāi wanō. Dōs rūč 'bād za'hī bāwī'ka watan tar-ē.

'Dhōr-ē, čē 'mardum 'yala'ba 'zū 'jāi 'jam hā. Ĵa'ri, ma 'zūi khu'jēwī čē: «'Ē 'čē 'hāl-a?» Ĵa'ri, čē: «'Mahmad Hanī'fā mēn 'čāh

"Why do you burn me in the fire?" They answered: "You are a sorceress, go, untie the hands of Zaighun."

She went to Zaighun, threw herself at her feet and said: "O Zaighun, forgive me whatever I have sinned against you." Zaighun answered "I have forgiven you." She (also) said: "Untie these my hands which are bound." The old woman went away and fetched a saw and a file and released her hands. She asked: "Have you got a sword?" [The old woman] answered: "Yes." She asked: "Have you got a good horse also?" She answered: "I have." She brought the sword and the horse to Zaighun. She girdled her waist, they saddled her horse, she put shoes on her feet and a sword round her neck. She mounted the horse, and went to fight. Suddenly she went and when she saw the guards she killed them.

The rest of the army became aware of this; they at once ran towards the warrior whose name was Zaighun. She started fighting amongst them and killed many of them; the remaining survivors(!) of them were defeated. She appointed a mulla there, and they came into the power of Zaighun. Thence she went back towards her father's place. Ten days later she arrived in her father's land.

She saw that many people were assembled in one place. She spoke and asked one of them: "What is this?". He answered: "They



‘yoštō. Be’nā-e ude’kâ mâtōi’ka ‘dēran. E’čen’di ma šam’sēr-ē nōt, ha’la-i koṛ, mēn tar-an dar ‘āya, da de’hō čhaṛi. Men’dānān-ē ma ya’laba’gī māt, bāki mānda ‘zā-ī čaṭa’kī. Men’dānān-ē rūf kanen buṛ. Mēn ‘arg dar ‘āyēn, bōr-e argi’kā-n dā.

Zu wil ‘Mahmad Hanifa a’wē ‘āya čē: «Mun’dhēk ‘khāin-ē na mēra!» A pēz ra’mī, ‘āya sō čāh, čē ‘Mahmad Hanifa ‘čhaṛō bōn, ‘dhōr-ē, čē ‘janō hā, ‘na muṛō. ‘Mahmad Hanifa čāhi ‘yax koṛ čē: «Ma’gam Zai’gūn ‘yār-e ma’nān-ē, ma ‘mun mēn čāhi neṛ!» Ka’mānd-ē se’par tar bōst, se’par-ē mēn čā ‘yošt. Ja’ri: «Sōr e’dhēk ‘nhīn, čē se’par tar bōst, se’par ‘nhōst, ‘har čē ‘qūwat-ē kuṛ, ‘neṛen ‘na narī. Čāhi ‘yax koṛ čē: «Muṛbīl ‘yulām-um ‘ham hā, ‘mundē ham ‘yax ka!»

Ma ‘yulām-ē ‘yax koṛ, ‘yulām-ē ‘āya, huddi’nān-ē ‘qūwat koṛ, men’dhē-an čāhi nōt, ‘sail-an koṛ, čē pā’nān-ē xāp bujjula’kī čēn. E’dān ‘daṛd-e ya’laba’gī koṛ, ja’ri čē: «Ma ‘mun en’hāk zāhi ‘lam da’hōr, ‘wā ču’mōr!» Mendē-an ‘lam dā, ‘huddi čēn. Bī’xabar

have thrown Mahmad Hanifa into a well, and intend to kill him." Then she drew her sword, ran and entered amongst them, and started fighting. She killed plenty of them, and the rest of them fled. Pursuing them she carried them away(?). They entered the castle, and shut the gate of the castle.

Suddenly she remembered Mahmad Hanifa [fearing] that someone might kill him. She went back and came to the well into which Mahmad Hanifa had fallen. She saw that he was alive and not dead. Mahmad Hanifa spoke from the well: "Assuredly, Zaighun, you are my friend, draw me out of the well." She tied a halter to a shield, threw the shield down into the well and said: "Sit down on it, and I will pull you out." He sat down on the shield; but however much she exerted herself, she could not pull him out. He shouted from the well: "There is my slave Muqbil, call him."

She called his slave, he came, they both tried with all their might, and pulled him out of the well. They saw that his feet were torn from the ankles and down. He was in great pain, and said: "Leave me here alone, and go your way." They left him, and both went away. Suddenly some fairies appeared and fell in love with Mahmad



pa'riâ pai'dâ chēn, 'Mahmad Hanī'fân 'âšux bēn. Men'dē-an 'khū  
koṛ, 'bur-an peš 'hōt paṛ'da-i- Kūikāfi'kā. Pā'nān-e e'dān 'jōr  
chēn.

'Mendē peš paṛ'da-i Kūi'kāf 'lam daheman, 'sōr pala'wān Zai'yūnī  
'gurīma<sup>n</sup>. Će 'āya sōr 'cāh, 'dhōr-ē ĉe 'Mahmad Hanī'fa 'na hā. Ē  
yalaba 'rhīnt, sē'lāba 'nōṭ ĉe ma-x'sōr 'mēra. 'Mendē 'yalaba 'mennat-an  
koṛ ĉe: «Ma-x'sōr ĉe'kun 'mērtōn?» Eĉen'dī ma Muṛ-bīl-ē ja'ṛī ĉe:  
«'Muš, 'paraman wa'tan wanō, ma'gam 'yuniman-ē.» Muṛ-bīl 'tar-ē  
'dā, Zai'yūn peš'cha'n-ē, 'šār-e- Ma'dīna wanō 'chēn. 'Zu mmēhī 'bād  
za'hēn ma Ma'dīna, 'sōr karbe'stānānī 'apaĉē 'na ĉī ĉe: «'Qasam-um  
'xūrō, 'bī 'Mahmad Hanī'fa 'yār-um te mē<sup>n</sup> 'šār 'na param.»

Muṛ-bīl 'yu'lām-ē ĉe 'Mahmad Hanī'fān pen 'hōst, ĉī, ma 'mardum-ē  
xa'bar koṛ, ja'ṛī ĉe: «Ēken'hāk Zai'yūn 'āyō, har 'ĉī-m 'jartō, mē šār  
nā 'zītō.» Ja'ṛī ĉe: «'Bī 'Mahmad Ha'nīfa 'yār-om te 'šār tar 'na pa'ram.»  
Ja'ṛī-an ĉe: «'Mahmad Ha'nīfa 'kū hā?» Ja'ṛī ĉe: «'Ān-em 'ham na  
'pāntōn, ha'rēwō-m.»

Hanifa. They lifted him up and carried him behind the seven curtains of Kohikaf. His feet became healed.

Let us leave him behind the curtains of Kohikaf and return to the warrior Zaighun. When she came [back] to the well, she saw that Mahmad Hanifa was not there. She wept bitterly and drew her sword to kill herself. They entreated her very earnestly and said: "Why should you kill yourself? "Then she said to Muqbil: "Come, let us go to our country, perhaps we may catch him." Muqbil went before and Zaighun behind, and they went towards the city of Medina. One month later they arrived at Medina, but did not proceed further than to the graveyards, because she had sworn not to enter the town without her friend Mahmad Hanifa.

His slave Muqbil, who was with Mahmad Hanifa<sup>1</sup>, went and told the people and said: "Zaighun has come here; but whatever I say, she will not enter the town. She said that she would not enter the town without her friend Mahmad Hanifa." They said: "Where is Mahmad Hanifa?" He answered: "I do not know either; I have lost him."

<sup>1</sup> This statement is inconsistent with what has just been said about the fate of Mahmad Hanifa. Or: *hōst* = 'used to be'?

Haidar 'nāra dhī, 'zāe ċe 'mardum bīn 'jam ċhēn, ja'ī: 'Ĉā 'nāra-e bat'kūr-a dhī? Ja'ī: «Puš-um ha'rō». Ja'ī ċe: «Kī 'xabar 'dā-ē?» Ja'ī: «Xu Zai'yūn 'āyō.» Ne'māz-ē 'xānī, 'dōst ba du'wā ċhī, ja'ī: «Xu'dāyā, 'puš-e ma'nā 'kū hā?» Taibī sa'dā 'āya: «Puš-e 'tān peš 'hōt pa'r'dā-e Kūhikāf hā; 'yaira Zai'yūn pāla'wā 'āsuq-e u'dān-a 'ēna-i te, 'zā 'khīn-ē te 'ēnen 'na nara».

Eċen'dī 'mēn-e Zai'yūn'an-an 'bōst, 'Mahmad Hanī'fān 'nām-an sō Zai'yūn 'lam dā, du'wā-n dā, rā'hī ċhī, mēn dī'wā za'hī, e'dānā pen-ē 'yalaba jang koṛ, 'tāb-ē kuṛ-an. Eċen'dī rux'sat ċhī, ċhī, sō dar'yāi za'hī, hē dar'yā tar-ē max'sōr 'gaḍ kōṛ. 'Zu mē'hī bād 'hū bar-e daryāi'kā za'hī, nēz'dik-e 'pa'rda-i Kūhikāf'ka za'hī. Uċen'dī u'stā 'ċhī, peš Kūhikāf tar za'hī, 'dhōr-ē ċe: 'Yār-om en'hāk hā. Ba'yal-ka'sī-an koṛ.

Uċen'dī rā'hī ċhēn, ā'yēn sōr karbe'stān-e 'Baqea za'hēn; karbe'stān-e 'Baqea nēz'dik-e šārī'kā-n bīn. 'Bite eke'stak 'Mahmad Hanī'fā a'wē 'āya ċe: «Ān qa'sam 'xūra bōn, 'tā ċe ma Zai'yūn 'bāw pen-ē be'žen 'na ēnem, wa'tan tar-ē 'na param.»

Haidar uttered a cry, and all the men who were there, assembled and said: "Why did you utter this ill-omened outcry?" He said: "My son is lost." They asked: "Who has told you so?" He said: "Zaighun herself has come." He recited a prayer and raised his hands in supplication and said: "O God, where is my son?" A hidden voice was heard: "Thy son is behind the seven curtains of Kohikaf; unless the warrior-maid Zaighun, who loves him, will bring him, nobody else can bring him."

Then they girdled the waist of Zaighun and gave her the name of Mahmad Hanifa.<sup>1</sup> They prayed and went away, they arrived amongst the demons, fought much with them, and subdued them. Then she took leave of them and went away. She came to a river and plunged into it. One month later she reached the farther shore of the river, and came close to the curtains of Kohikaf. She rose from there and penetrated behind Kohikaf, and saw that her friend was there. They embraced.

Then they set off and came to the graveyard of Baqea. The graveyard of Baqea was close to their town. There Mahmad Hanifa remembered again that he had sworn not to enter his [own] country, till he brought Zaighun bound together with her father.

<sup>1</sup> nām-i M. H. sar-i az Z. māndan.



Ma 'laškar-ē rux'sat kōr, 'xuxu-ē ham 'Mahmad Hanīfa ma 'yus wanō na čī, čā čē: «'Ān qa'sam 'xūrō, tā čē Zai'yūn 'bāw pen-ē be'žen 'na ē'nem, yus wa'nō-ē na 'xm.» Ečen'dī ja'ri wo rā'hī čī ba 'jang, pēs'čan-ē 'bāw-ē ham rā'hī čī, za'hī 'Aram Šā'ā 'jāi tar, čē Zai'yūnān 'bāw bēn.

Eke'stak-ē šam'sēr 'nōt, da 'jang a'pā čī. 'Phārī 'laškar-e 'Aram Šā'ā 'āya, phyārī 'ē čī. Da 'jang ča'spī, as ka'rārī de'hī, čē yū'lu-ē 'māt, ečen'dī i'sāb-ē 'khīn na 'yōnt. 'Aram Šā'ā šī'kast 'xūr, učen'dī ča'čā'ki byāyi'ka wa'tan tar-ē. 'Ō ham un'hāk 'pādsā bīn, 'hōd biyā 'Aram Šā'ā dērō bōn, har 'khān-ē 'har 'mulk tar 'pādsā bīn. 'Āxer ul 'amr ma 'hōt biyā-i šī'kas dā.

## VI (T).

'Mahmad Hanīfa 'Sāheb 'žu ruč 'yus tar 'nhaštō hōst, ha'wā-e šekārī'ka 'sōr tar-ē 'āya. Ma 'ōsp-ē 'zīn koj, su'wār čī. Čī, 'čōr duba'ra-i Ma'dīnāika čī'mī, heč šekār-ē na koj. Rā'hī čī žū ja'ngal

He took leave of the army; but Mahmad Hanifa did not himself go home, because he had sworn not to come home, till he could bring Zaighun bound together with her father. Then he spoke and went out to fight. His father also started after him, and they came to the place of Aram Shah, who was the father of Zaighun.

There he drew his sword and stood up to fight. From one side came the army of Aram Shah, and he came from the other side. He got embroiled in the fight, he fought without stopping<sup>1</sup> and killed many, and nobody knew their number. Aram Shah was defeated and fled from there to his brother's country. The brother was also king of that country; Aram Shah had seven brothers, and each of them was king of some country. But finally he (M. H.) defeated his seven brothers.

## VI.

One day Mahmad Hanifa Sahib was sitting in his house, and a desire to go out shooting seized him. He saddled his horse, and rode away. He went, rode four times round Medina, but did not have any shooting. He went away to a jungle; partridges appeared, and he killed

<sup>1</sup> aska'rārī "az karār".



tar, pai'āntar-ē 'zirež 'āya, ma 'zirež-ē de'hī, 'bōdana 'āya, men'dī ham de'hī, zū 'šēr āya, ma 'šēr-ē ham dē'hī.

Zū 'āhū pai'dā 'chī, 'dumb-e 'thūika āle'sī, 'khū-i koṛ, ma'hak dha'ram tar-ē 'dhī. Žā 'āhū pai'dā 'chī, 'ē 'dālī čaṭa'kī, 'dumb-e ē'dān-ē āle'sī. 'Har če peš'chan-ē 'hala-ē koṛ, āle'sen 'na-i na'ri. 'Thārī če 'āhū harī, učen'dī a'pež ra'mī, 'āya sōr šekār'jāi tar. Ma 'zai če sai'dān bēn, ma 'huss-ē 'jam koṛ, 'bhār-ē ē'čēwī, be'nā-i če ma 'huss-ē 'dherza.

'Thārī če 'čōr duba'ra-i 'laškar pai'dā 'chī. 'Laškar žā-ē a'pešt ūzā, zū pala'wā, 'nām-ē 'sā-e Zariṅka'mar bī, 'āya nez'dik-e Mahmad Hanī'fā, 'ja'ri če: «Čī 'kantō ma'nā šikār'jāi tar?» 'Ja'ri: «'E xu'kā šikār'jā-om-a, 'tān čā bē?» 'Ja'ri: «'Nām-a 'kā?» 'Ja'ri: «'Nām-um Mahmad Hanī'fa, 'rūzī 'žitōn-em ān šī'kār. 'Tu 'nām-a 'jaṛ, 'nām-a 'kā?» 'Ja'ri: «'Nām-e ma'nān 'Šā-e Zariṅka'mar. «Huddi'nān-ē guftigū chēn 'phyārī 'ē šam'sēr nōt, 'phārī ō. Huddi'nān-ē 'jang koṛ. 'Mahmad Hanī'fa 'hājes 'āya, 'jelan-e ōspika 'γus wanō 'rhānt, be'nā-e čaṭakōi'ka-i koṛ če: «'Hē pāla'wā 'yala'ba qūwat'dār-a, ma 'mun ē ham 'mēra.»

them; quails appeared, and he killed them too; a lion appeared, and he killed the lion too.

A deer appeared; he seized its tail, lifted it up, and struck it hard against the ground. Another deer appeared, and ran away from him; he wanted to seize it by the tail. But however fast he rode after it, he could not seize it. He saw the deer disappear, then he turned and came back to the shooting-ground. He collected whatever game was there, made a bundle of it and intended to take it all on his back.

Then he saw that an army had appeared on all four sides.<sup>1</sup> Leaving the rest of his army behind a warrior whose name was Shah-i Zariṅkamar approached Mahmad Hanifa and said: "What are you doing in my shooting-ground?" He answered: "This is my own shooting-ground, how can it be yours?" He asked: "What is your name?" He answered: "My name is Mahmad Hanifa I come out shooting every day. Tell me your name. What is your name?" The other answered: "My name is Shah-i Zariṅkamar." They both started quarrelling; one drew his sword on the one side, the other on the other side. They both fought. Mahmad Hanifa became exhausted, turned the bridle of his horse towards home and sought to flee, thinking: "This warrior is very powerful and he will kill me, too".

<sup>1</sup> Lit.: "the four sides of an army (*čār pēr-i laškar*)."

'Dâli čata'kî, peš'čhan-ē 'Šâ-e Zariŋka'mar 'ōsp ham dhâwē'wî nez'dik za'hî. Dî 'pâ'e ōspi'ka-i âle'sî, 'rust-ē koŋ dhara'mî, 'sōr tar-ē wa'hēwî, dē'hî mhaḡ dha'ram tar. 'Ōsp-ē 'rîza' rîza čhî dha'ram tar.

'Mahmad Hanîfa sō 'zîni wa'khē rhâ'zî, 'phârî zîa'mâ 'dōst-ē šam'sēr tar buŋ, ha'wâla-i koŋ ma'hak 'fark tar-e 'Šâ-e Zariŋkamari'ka. 'Šâ-e Zariŋka'mar 'du nim čhî, zū nîm-ē 'pî čha'rî, 'zu nîm-ē 'pū čha'rî. 'Sōr-ē 'čup't koŋ, ma 'sōr-ē 'ghit, 'čhî. Ma 'sōr-ē ma wa'tan-e xu'kâ tar-ē zahē'wî, 'sōr-ē 'mix tar âwe'zân-ē kōŋ sō 'bōr.

Ečen'dî 'bâw-ē xa'bar čhî, 'bâw-ē ja'rî čē: «'Hē ker 'kî ku'ŋō?» 'Heč khîn dâl 'Alî gap 'na jōŋ, ḡala'ba 'qhar-ē sū'rî: «'Har kî ha'wî ker ku'ŋō, 'raw ja'ra čē 'ē sōr-e 'khâ pâlawa'nî'ka â.» 'Mahmad Hanîfâ Sâheb jâ'î u'stâ, ja'rî: «'Yâ 'dâdâ, ha'wî ker 'ân ku'ŋō.» Jâ'rî: «'Gap jaŋ čē za'nēng-a ku'ŋō.»

Jâ'rî čē: «'Ā 'čhē bēm še'kâr. Bî'xabar 'laškar pai'dâ čhî, zâ 'laškar a'pež dha'rî, zū pâlawa'n a'pače 'âḡa 'mēnî laškari'ka-i, ja'rî: «'Čâ-ē tū 'zîtōn 'hē marḡu'zâr tar?» Jâ'rî: «'Hē marḡu'zâr xu'kân-om-a.»

He fled from him; but Shah-i Zarinkamar also spurred his horse and gained upon him. He seized two feet of his horse, lifted it up from the earth, swung it round his head, and struck it hard against the ground. The horse was smashed to pieces against the ground.

Mahmad Hanifa flew high up from the saddle, and, coming from the other side, put his hand on his sword and aimed a blow at Shah-i Zarinkamar's temples. Shah-i Zarinkamar split into two halves, one half of him falling on this side and one half on that side. Mahmad Hanifa cut off his head, took it, and went away. He brought the head to his own country, and hung it up on a peg over the gate.

Then his father heard about it and said: "Who has done this deed?" Nobody said a word to Ali, and he became very angry and said: "Whoever has done this deed, shall tell me quickly what warrior's head this is." Mahmad Hanifa Sahib rose and said: "O father, I have done this deed." His father said: "Tell me how you have done it."

Mahmad Hanifa answered: "I had gone out shooting. Suddenly an army appeared; the rest of the army kept back; but one warrior emerged from the middle of his army and asked: 'Why do you come to this field.' I answered that the field was my own. We both started quarrelling, he striking at me with his sword, and I at him. I saw that



Huddi'nân-an guftə'gūi kor, 'ō šam'sēr 'mun kun de'hī, â šam'sēr 'ude ku. 'Dhōr-om će 'ō ʔalaba qūwat'dâr bīn, čaʔa'kēm' çe 'žim ʔuz-wa'nō. Dī 'pā-i ōspika'i-m-ē âle'sī, 'sōr tar-ē 'daur dā, de'hī dha'ram tar, 'ōsp-om 'riza 'riza čhī. Sō 'zīnī â wa'khē rhā'zēim, 'phārī zia'mā šam'sēr-om 'nōt, də'hī mhak 'fark tar-ē. Šam'sēr-om 'du nisp-ē kor, 'sōr-ē-om ʔu'dā kor, ma 'ōsp-ē-om su'wār nhōšt, 'kala ân 'âwupō. »  
'Bāw-ē hu'wāsi: «'Žā gāi šekār 'na čhā, çe mā'khân duš'man ʔu'lū hā.»

'Dōz ruč 'Mahmad Hanī'fa Sāheb ma 'ʔus nhōšt, çe 'dāda-i nesi'ʔat kuʔa bō. 'Bādaz dōz 'ruč 'išq sōr tar-ē âʔa šekārī'ka çe: «'Ân pa'ram, šekār kanem.» 'Bāf tar-ē pa'ʔuʔ, mā'čī tar-ē 'ham pa'ʔuʔ, 'mardum 'xabar heč na čhī.

U'stā-ē, čhī šekār, 'ōsp-e ablaq 'Šā-e Zariŋkama'rā su'wār-ē 'nhōšt, 'hai ku'pō čhī. 'Čhī duba'ra-i Madinaī'kā čhī'mī. 'Ŧāphunē čhī, 'gaʔd u'stā, pa'nān-e ʔusi'ka-i ha'rēwī. 'Ŧōsp-ē hō'wī 'ʔaŋgal tar â'muxta bī, 'dhāw-ē dā, 'čhī hō'wī 'ʔaŋgal tar çe â'muxta bī.

'Gard, ʔu'bār 'pū čhī, 'dhōr-ē çe: «'Ân ha'wī 'ʔaŋgal tar 'bete â'ʔēm.»

he was very powerful, and I fled, trying to get home. He seized two feet of my horse, swung it over his head, struck it against the ground, and the horse went to pieces. I was thrown high up from the saddle, and, coming down on the other side, drew my sword and hit him on the temples. My sword cut him in two halves, I severed his head, mounted his horse and have brought the head." His father scolded him and said: "Don't go out shooting another time, because we have many enemies."

For ten days Mahmad Hanifa Sahib stayed at home, as his father had advised him to do. After ten days he was overcome by his love of shooting, [and he thought]: "I will go shooting." He concealed it from his father, and he concealed it from his mother, too, and people did not suspect anything.

He rose and went out shooting. He mounted the piebald horse of Shah-i Zarinkamar, whipped it and rode off. He went and rode round Medina. The wind blew and the dust rose, and he lost his way home. His horse knew that forest well, so it cantered and went to the forest that it knew.

The dust-storm abated and he saw that he had come again to the same forest. He looked about him, and suddenly an army appeared



'Thārī, bī'xabar čār dubarāī 'laškar paidā čhī. 'Ē da 'jang čha'ī, men'dē-an āle'sī 'buṛ-an dāl 'pādsā.

'Pādsā 'hukm-e mātōi'ka koṛ, jallā'tān-ē dhēwī. Jāl'lātān-ē 'āyē dāl 'pādsā, ja'ī čē: «Čī 'jaṛtō ma 'mā?» Jā'ī: «Men'dhēk 'Mahmad Hanīfa 'mērōr!» Jallā'tān šam'sēr-an 'rust koṛ, čē 'dehan mak fark tar-e 'Mahmad Hanīfā. Ba 'hukm-e Xu'dā 'bāzū-ē ha'wā tar hušk, 'har čē kuṛ 'dehen-ē 'nā na'ī. Jā'ī: «'Ē jādu'gar-a, men'dhēk ba'rōr, ban'dī kanōr.»

'Mende-an buṛ, bandī'xāna tar-an 'yušt. Jā'ī: «'Lam-ē da'hōr čē ba 'xārī wu 'zārī 'mera. 'Nim-e na'yōni'ka da'hōr čē az yur'ča'gī ha'lāk 'parī-a.» Hu bandī'xāna tar da'rūntar-ē butān 'sē bēn, 'mende butān-ē 'ghīt, 'huss-ē xāṛ koṛ. Paira'dār 'āya dāl 'pādsā, ja'ī: «'Hē ban'dī ma 'butān huss 'xāṛ koṛ.» 'Pādsā ja'ī: «Čū'mōr, ē'nōr-ē!»

'Mahmad Hanīfa dāl 'pādsā 'buṛ-an. 'Hugm-ē koṛ: «Te'čhān-ē kânō kanōr.» 'Har čē-an 'koṛ, te'čhān-ē 'nā na'ī 'kânō ka'nen. Jā'ī: «'Ē jādu'gar-a.» Pēs'čhan-ē pādsāi'ka kâset āya, ja'ī čē: «'Muš,

from all four sides. He started fighting, but they caught him and brought him to the king.

The king commanded that he should be killed, and summoned the executioners. The executioners appeared before the king and said: "What do you command us?" The king said: "Kill this Mahmad Hanifa!" The executioners lifted their swords to strike Mahmad Hanifa on the temples. But by the command of God their arms withered, and however they tried, they were unable to strike him. The king said: "He is a sorcerer, take him away and imprison him."

They took him away and threw him into the prison. The king said: "Leave him, that he may die in pain and distress. Give him half a loaf that he may perish from hunger." Inside the prison there were some idols. He took the idols and smashed them all. The guard came to the king and said: "This prisoner has smashed all the idols." The king said: "Go and fetch him!"

They brought Mahmad Hanifa before the king. He ordered: "Blind his eyes!" However they tried, they could not blind his eyes. The king said that he was a sorcerer. A messenger arrived in the presence of the king and said: "Come, let us go, a certain king is giving a feast." The whole of the army rose and went to the feast in the other king's place.

'parama, fe'lâna 'pâdsâ mē'mānī dēra! » 'Zâē çe 'laškar-ē bīn (bēn) u'stāen o čhēn mē'mānī 'zâ pâdsâ'ka 'jâi tar.

Ta'mīm 'pâdsâ bīn, zu 'dut-ē•dērō bōn. 'Dut-ē ham ḡala'ba 'sâheb-e muxi'kâ bīn, 'fakat 'rūč dhirang 'mux-ē bīn. Sō 'Mahmad Hanī'fa 'Sâheb 'âsuq čhī. Bandi'xâna tar hō'wī 'kaštē 'čhī, bandi'xâna tar za'hī 'kaštē. Paira'dârâ kun-ē hal'wâ dâ, hal'wâ tar-ē 'dârū-e bī'hušī 'gaḡ koṛ, pairadâ'râ kun-ē 'baxš koṛ, pairadâ'râ 'xūr, ma pairadâ'rân 'hussika 'sōr-ē 'čurṭ koṛ, 'čhī dâl 'Mahmad Hanī'fa, ja'ri: «'Â sōr 'tō 'âsuq-em.»

'Mahmad Hanī'fa Sâheb ja'ri çe: «Ma'nâ 'dōst o pâ'nân zan'jīr-a». Ja'ri: «Ma zan'jīrân 'â ka'ṭem.» 'Čhī, 'arra su'hân-ē âwuṛ-ē, ma zan'jīrân-ē 'arra koṛ 'Mahmad Hanī'fa'ân 'dōst o 'pâi. 'Ē ma 'bōr na'ḡō. 'Mahmad Hanī'fa 'Sâheb ja'ri: «'Mu kun 'ōsp 'ēn, ḡalaba 'ōsp-e 'kârī bē, ba 'qūwat bē, çe 'ân pâla'wân-em.»

'Kaštē čhī, mē ka'mand dar 'âḡa, 'sail-ē kuṛ ma 'ōspâ, zū 'ōsp-e 'kârī ânt. 'Mahmad Hanī'fa Sâheb 'thâri çe 'ōsp-ē ham 'kârī-a, ja'ri: 'Čhâ, 'mu kun šam'sēr âr, 'guṛz âr, 'naiza âr, drē'sī âr, 'mōza âr! » Ma 'huss-ē hē 'kaštē âwuṛ, ja'ri: «'Čhâ, ma 'čhel ka'nīz-i 'zâ-au ham 'gurē, çe 'paraman çe 'kbīn 'xabar 'na pa'ri-a». Su'wâr čhēn,

It was King Tamim(?), and he had a daughter. His daughter had a very beautiful face, which was as radiant as the sun. She fell in love with Mahmad Hanifa Sahib. The girl went to the prison and arrived there. She gave the guards some sweets, and she had mixed some narcotic drug with the sweets. She gave them to the guards, who ate them; then she cut off the heads of all the guards, went to Mahmad Hanifa and said: "I am in love with you."

Mahmad Hanifa Sahib said: "My hands and feet are chained." She said: "I shall cut the chains." She went and fetched a saw and a file, and cut the chains of Mahmad Hanifa's hands and feet. [Mahmad Hanifa(?)] came out and said: "Bring me a horse! Let it be a very good horse, and a strong one, because I am a warrior."

The girl went and entered the stable and looked at the horses. She brought him a good horse. Mahmad Hanifa saw that the horse was good and said: "Go, and bring me a sword, a mace, a spear, a dress and shoes!" The girl brought all these things, and he said: "Take your forty other girls with you too, and let us go, that nobody may



'zâi çe 'ösp-e pâdsâi'kâ höst, xa'zâna tar çe dau'lat sô bôn, sô bhârgi-rân-ê 'bhâr koṛ. Ečen'dî râhî çhên.

Žū 'bâlō-e kuṭṭō<sup>1</sup> höst, 'ede kun ūbâli 'âya, men'dî na 'mâta bôn. Ma žu 'qâter 'bâlō su'wâr nhöst, 'xabar-ê za'hēwî 'pâdsâ kun çe: «Hō'wî ban'dî ma 'dut-aw-ê 'ghît, 'čhî, xa'zâna 'ham-ê buṛ, 'zâi çe ō'spân höst, ma ō'spân-ê ham buṛ.»

'Laškar-e 'hē pâdsâi'ka o 'hu pâdsâi'ka žu 'jâi čhî, sör 'Mahmad Hanî'fa Sâheb â'γēn. 'Mahmad Hanî'fa 'thârî çe žu 'laškar 'âya. Žu 'pušta belan'dî bîn, ha'wî 'mâl u za'if, dau'lât ma 'huss-ê un'hâk buṛ, 'lam-ê dâ.

Xu'xu-ê uz'gî 'jang tar, da 'dehō čha'ri. Ha'zâr 'nafar-ê 'mât, γala'ba 'mânda čhî, 'jangî čhî dâl hō'wî za'if, ja'ri: «'Â γala'ba 'mânda čhēm.» Hō'wî za'if çe 'âsuq-e 'Mahmad Hanî'fa bîn ja'ri çe: «'Ân-e pa'ram 'jang tar.» 'Ösp-ê su'wâr nhöst, pušta'î uz'gî, 'čhî 'jang tar.

'Bâw-ê 'thârî çe: «'Dut-e ma'nâ 'jang tar 'âyō.» 'Bâw-ê ja'ri: «'Čâ 'hē ker-a koṛ? Ma 'mun-an dâl 'mardum šarmē'wî. 'Tū 'Mahmad

be aware of it." They mounted all the horses belonging to the king; and all the riches that were in his treasury they loaded on the beasts of burden. Then they departed.

There was one lame boy [among the guards], whom she had not killed, because she thought it would be a sin. The boy mounted a mule, brought the news to the king [and said]: "That prisoner has taken your daughter and is gone. He has also carried away the treasure and all the horses which were at hand."

The armies of this king and that king assembled in one place, and went against Mahmad Hanifa. He saw that an army was arriving. There was a high plateau, to which he brought the cattle and the women and all the riches, and left them there.

He went down to the battle himself and plunged into the fray. He killed a thousand men and became very tired. Then he retired from the battle and went to the woman and said: "I am getting very tired." This woman, who was Mahmad Hanifa's mistress, said: "I shall enter the battle." So she mounted her horse, descended from the plateau, and entered the battle.

Her father saw that his daughter had entered the battle. He said: "Why have you done this? You have disgraced me before the people.

<sup>1</sup> First; lang.



Hanīfa Sāheb kun 'āsuq čhē, mardu'mân-â ma 'mun 'tâna 'dhaitōn.»  
 'Dut-ē ja'ri čē: «Pež 'gap na čhīm. 'Xub-um ku'řō, ha'zâr tu 'dâda  
 tar guda'rēm, 'Mahmad Hanīfa tar 'na, 'jân-um te sar'badal-e  
 'Mahmad Hanīfa'ân kanem.» 'Bâw-ē ja'ri: «Âle'sôr-ē 'mendē 'dut-e  
 ma'nân.»

Laška'rân sôr e'dē ham 'hallâ-n koř, 'ē ham 'jang tar dar 'āya,  
 ma 'sast 'nafar-ē 'mât. 'Āxer-ē ma pāla'wân čē 'nâm-ē Hal'qama bīn  
 ja'ri: «Čhâ, ma 'dut-om 'āleš, 'ēn-ē! 'Nim-e pādšâ'hī-m-a te da'hem.»

Hal'qama 'ōsp-ē su'wâr čhī, se'lâba ghīt, râ'hī čhī, za'hī jang-jâi  
 tar. Ma ka'stī dhē'wī, ja'ri: «Čâ 'he ker-a ku'řō?» 'Jâ'ri: «'Xub-um  
 ku'řō, mu'dâ-a 'če-a? 'Ān 'tō tar ham guda'rēm, 'Mahmad Hanīfa  
 tar 'na.»

Huddinân-ē 'jang koř, men'dē ka'stī 'āle'sī, 'böst-ē, 'bur-ē dâl  
 'pādšâ. 'Pādšâ 'hukm-e čörmixi'ka koř. 'Mendē-an čörmix koř.  
 'Mahmad Hanīfa xa'bar čhī čē: «Ma ma'nân ra'fiq-an bur.» 'Mahmad  
 Hanīfa 'jang tar čhī.

'Bâw-ē 'yus tar 'xōm dhuř čē: Ma'nâ 'puš mēn ba'lâ tar čha'řō.

You have become the mistress of Mahmad Hanifa, and people are mock-  
 ing me." His daughter said: "Do not listen to rumours. I have done  
 well, and I am better than a thousand fathers like you, but not than  
 Mahmad Hanifa, and I will give my life to save him." Her father  
 said: "Seize this daughter of mine."

The soldiers rushed at her, but she also entered the battle and killed  
 sixty men. Finally the king said to a warrior, whose name was Hal-  
 qama: "Go and seize my daughter and bring her here. [If you do,]  
 I will give you half my kingdom."

Halqama mounted his horse, seized his sword and departed. He  
 came to the battlefield, sought out the girl and said to her: "Why  
 have you done this work?" She answered: "I have done well, what  
 do you want? I am better than you, too, but not than Mahmad Ha-  
 nifa."

They both fought; he caught the girl, bound her and brought her  
 to the king. The king ordered that she should be impaled. Then they  
 impaled her. When Mahmad Hanifa heard that they had carried off  
 his comrade, he entered the battle [again].

His father saw in a dream at home, that disaster had befallen his  
 son. He rose from his dream and cried aloud. All the people assembled

Xōmī u'stā, žū nā'ra-i de'hī. Zāi če 'mardum bīn 'jam čhēn, ja'ri: «Čā nā'ra-i bad'kāra de'hī?» Ja'ri: «'Puš-e ma'nā mē ba'lā čha'rō.» Ja'ri: «Ma 'Duldul-om ē'nōr!» 'Duldul-ē-an ānt, 'zin-an koṛ, čel o čōr par'kāla e'rāq-ē ghīt, rā'hī čhī. Jabra'il 'rag-e dharami'ka ba 'hukm-e Xu'dāyā 'kaš-ē koṛ, pa'nā ya'nōkō čhī.

Šā-e Mar'dān za'hī, 'dhuṛ-ē če 'puš-ē 'jang tar 'hā. 'Puš-ē če ma 'bāw-ē 'dhōṛ, 'yala'ba xuš'waxt čhī, 'pušt-e pā'nān-e bāwi'ka čha'ri. 'Bāw-ē uštē'wī, 'sōr-ē ma'čī koṛ. Du'bāra mē laškar Mahmad Hanīfa čhī, az xuš'waxtī bāwi'ka-i če mar'dī 'bāw-ē 'bučha, če ja'ra: «'Puš-um hōwe'ka ho'qūf dēra, za'hī-a ha'zār māneš pen 'jang kantōn. 'Mahmad Hanīfa Sāheb za'hī-a ha'zār 'nafar pen 'dhētōn.» Ma 'bāw-ē ja'ri če: «'Tū ma'nān 'sail bučh, če ān-e pa'ram 'jang tar.»

Ja'ri wō ma 'ōsp-ē dhāwē'wī, čhī, mē 'laškar dar ā'ya, ma 'laškar-ē ham 'yala'ba 'māt. Čhī, sōr 'āšūq-ē za'hī. 'Thārī če 'mende-an čōr'mix ku'rō. Čang-ē de'hī, men'dī hu'pāt, ānt-ē dāl 'bāw-ē. 'Bāw-ē ham xuš'waxt čhī, 'huddī bāwehā dar ā'yēn 'jang tar, da 'dehō čha'pen. Ha'wiqada'ri-an de'hī če bīhi'sāb, as 'kušta kuštā-n koṛ, as 'pušta pušta.

and said: "Why do you make this ill-omened outcry?" He answered: "Disaster has befallen my son." Then he said: "Bring me my horse Duldul." They brought him Duldul and saddled it; he took with him forty-four kinds of arms, and departed. At the command of God Gabriel narrowed the veins of the earth, and the way was shortened.

Shah-i Mardan (= Ali) arrived and saw that his son was engaged in the battle. The son saw his father, felt very glad, and fell down at his father's feet. His father raised him up and kissed his head. Mahmad Hanifa entered the battle a second time in order to please his father, to let him see his courage and say: "My son possesses such strength and he is going into battle alone against a thousand men. Mahmad Hanifa Sahib is fighting alone against a thousand men." He said to his father: "Look at me, I am going to enter the battle."

He spoke and let his horse canter. He went and entered into the army and killed many of the soldiers. Then he went on and arrived where his mistress was. He saw that they had impaled her. He seized her and tore her away and brought her to his father. His father also rejoiced, and both, father and son, entered the battle and plunged into killing. They killed so many that the killed could not be counted, and the slaughter was complete.



‘Āxer ul ‘amr laška‘rân a‘mân ‘dhēwi-an čē: ‘Mā‘khā ‘zūrē wā ‘hudde bāwi‘hā kun na‘za hā, ‘wā ‘yalaba qūwat‘dār-ēr. Ma ‘laškar-ē dilā‘sā koṛ. ‘Mahmad Hanīfa•wo ‘bāw-ē ‘dumb-e ‘hudde pādšā‘āna āle‘ī-an, ma ‘hudde pādšā‘ān-an dest‘gīr koṛ, ‘ānt-an mē ‘laškar. Pa‘nān-an ghīt, ‘āyēn wa‘tan tar-e xu‘kā, ma ‘zāi čē ‘laškar ham ‘bēn, men‘dānān-an ham ‘ānt.

Eke‘stak mē‘mānī ‘dā-en, har ‘khā kun-ē ‘zu ‘zu ‘lungī ‘dā-en, ‘zu ‘zu ‘jāma ‘dā-en. ‘Mendē ‘kaštē-an ‘Mahmad Hanīfa Sāheb kun ne‘kā kuṛ. ‘Laškar rux‘sat čhēn. ‘Mā-am ba mu‘rād, ‘wā ham.

‘Qissa ta‘mām čhī.

VI, b<sup>1</sup>.

Žū ‘ruč ‘Māhmad Ha‘nīfa ‘Sāheb (ma) yu‘sī na‘‘yō, č(h)ī šē‘kār kun ‘yus-tara‘fi. Učen‘dī čār ‘gerde-e Ma‘dīna‘ka-ē ‘daur kō‘e, ‘daur-e šē‘kār-ē na ‘dhōṛ. Učen‘dī rā‘ī č(h)ī, č(h)ī, mar‘yū‘zār tarī za‘bi.

Finally the armies asked for peace and said; "Our strength is poor compared with that of you two, father and son. You are very powerful." He comforted the army, and Mahmad Hanifa and his father tried to seize both kings, captured them and led them to the army. Then they set forth upon the road and arrived at their own country, and brought all the soldiers with them.

There they gave a feast, and they also gave every one a scarf and a dress. They married this girl to Mahmad Hanifa Sahib. Then the soldiers took leave. So we have arrived at our goal, and you, too.

The tale is finished.

VI, b.

One day Mahmad Hanifa Sahib left home; he went out shooting away from home. Then he went four times round Medina, but saw no . . . game. Then he went away, and came to the shooting-ground.

<sup>1</sup> The following is a transcription of two phonograph records, containing the beginning of the preceding tale. The text is in many places uncertain, and several passages could not be unravelled at all. In consequence it has proved impossible to give a complete translation of the text. It should, however, be easy, through a comparison with the preceding tale, to follow the main contents.

I have included this text, in spite of its lacunae, because it gives an example of the style and syntax of uninterrupted narration. Besides, it shows how a tale varies from time to time in the mouth of a non-professional narrator. It will be observed that several episodes are much shorter than in the dictated text, while others have been expanded.



Čhī, za'hī dāl 'pādsā, če 'nām-ē Šā-e Zariŋka'mar bī, . . . puš-e 'pādsā-e Zariŋka'mar bī. Ja'ri če: «Tu čekun 'āyē ma'nān šekār'jāi tar?» Ja'ri: «Šekār'jā-i xu'kān-om-a.» Ja'ri: «Žā gāi 'na žī, če 'sōr-a te čir-ē ka'nem.» Ja'ri če: «Šekār'jā-i ma'nān-a, 'ān-əm mu'dām šekār 'ghī'tō.»

Ečen'di Māmad Ha'nifā Šāheb ma Šā-e Zariŋka'mar hudi'nān-ē gufte'gūi č(h)ī, hudi'nān-ē gufte'gūi č(h)ī. Har če-an kōr pežāte(?) ka'nen, če . . . jela'bā wo šamsērwanā'ika(?) ba'dī-an kōr. Āxer Māmad Ha'nifā Šāheb ba tangī 'āya, Māmad Ha'nifā Šāheb je law-e ōspe'ka-e rhāt, yus wa'nō-r-āya, yus wa'nō rhāt 'āya.

Ečen'di čōrpā(?) . . . pā'nāna, pešti Māmad Ha'nifā Šāhebi'ka ōspika'ī 'alka-n 'yušt. Šā-e Zariŋka'mar āli'sī, 'sōr tar-ē 'daur kōr, č(h)ī dha'ram tar, dha'ram tar-ē č(h)ī. Ōsp-ē rīza rīza čhī, xu'xō-e Māmad Ha'nifā Šāheb 'ōspī sō zi'nī ās'mānwa'nō 'rhāzī, 'phārī-r 'āya.

Čhī, yēlō, čhī ba'dan(?) tar-e Šā-e Zariŋkama'rān. Šā-ē Zariŋkama'rān če . . . 'huddi ma šī(?) ōsp-ē ham . . . Ečen'di 'sōr-e guzār kōr, č(h)ī ma Ma'dīna tar, Ma'dīna tar za'hī. Č(h)ī Ma'dīna yus tar-ē. Šekār-ē če 'burā bō, šekārān-ē ma yus bōr. Huss Haidar Šāheb če šekār-ē ma yus bōr. Učen'di 'kala-i bī, če sō 'bōr-e mahači'ika-i(?) āwēzān kōr.

He went, and came to a king, whose name was Shah-i Zarinkamar, . . . who was the son of king Zarinkamar. He said: "Why have you come to my shooting-ground?" [M. H.] answered: "It is my own shooting-ground." Then he said: "Do not come another time, or I shall split your head." He answered: "It is my shooting-ground, and I have always been shooting here."

Then M. H. S. and Sh. K. started quarrelling. Whatever they did . . . Finally M. H. S. got into a strait, M. H. S. turned his horse (: the bridle of his horse); he went homewards, he turned and went homewards.

Then . . . they ran after M. H. S.'s horse. Sh. Z. seized it, and swung it round his head, and it fell to the ground, to the ground it fell. His horse was smashed to pieces, and M. H. S. himself flew skyward up from the saddle, and came [down] on the other side.

He went, tumbled down, and fell on the body (?) of Sh. Z. When Sh. Z's . . . Then [M. H. S.] cut off [Sh. Z.'s] head, went towards Medina, and arrived there. He went home to Medina. He brought home the game which he had shot. Haidar Sahib brought all his game home (?). Then there was his head, which he hung up over the gate of the . . .

Sa'har čē č(h)I, Šēr-e . . . Sa'har čē č(h)II, Haidar 'āya, mē'mā xūb dē(?);  
dhur-ē čē sōr bōr-e mahačičēka-i(?) šu 'kala-i āwezān-a, 'yalaba pa  
'yaibat-ā(?). Ē k(h)u'jēwī čē: •«Hē kala 'či kala 'hā?» Ē mē'mān  
čē xāndī(?), ō ju'wāb kōr: «Ma 'yārā 'sāheb čē 'mardum bīn 'yax-ē . . .  
Ja'ri čē: «He kker 'kī ku'pō, čē 'kala-e fe'lāna pālawāni kā-ē 'āwupō?»  
Mardu'mān 'huss 'kasam xūr, čē 'mā 'he ker 'na ku'pō.

Ečēndī Māmad Ha'nifa 'Sāheb u'stā, sa'lām-ē ba 'adap-ē bu'r,  
ja'ri: «Yā 'dādā, ha'wī ker 'ān ku'pō.» Sa'lām-ē dha'rēwī(?). Šēr-e  
Xu'dā ja'ri čē: «Žā gāi 'na kan, čē 'mā 'yu'lū dušman'dār-emān. Žā  
gāi 'yu'sī na'p'yē, 'mērem-an tē.»

Māmad Ha'nifa sa'har tī(?) 'yus tar 'nhōst, 'yusi-ē 'hēc na 'nītō.  
Žu 'ruč ha'wā-i šekāri'ka 'zur tar-ē 'āya čē: «Pa'rem sōr 'daur-e 'yusika,  
še'kār kanem, 'čimēm.»

Ečēndī na'p'yō 'yu'sī, 'čār duba'ra-i 'yusi'ka-e še'kār-ē kōr, še'kār-ē  
'ham kōr, 'ja'j tar-ē 'na ppa'ri. Ho'wī 'ōsp-ē čē Šā-e Žari'kama'rān  
su'wār bīn, ab'lāq, mun'dhēk 'ham su'wār 'nhāsta bō. Ečēndī bīxa'bar  
'yā o 'yāphunē šū'ri, gar'dī pai'dā č(h)I. Māmad Ha'nifā . . .

Čārk o 'yāphu'nē bī pa'nān-e 'yusi'ka-ē 'ham harēwī. Ečēndī Māmad

The next morning the Lion [of God = Ali] . . . The next morning  
Haidar came, . . ., he saw three heads hanging over the gate of  
the . . ., it was very much hidden (?). He asked: "What head is  
this?" The guest who . . ., he answered: . . . He said: "Who has  
done this deed, and has brought the head of a certain warrior?" All  
the people swore that they had not done this deed.

Then M. H. S. rose, saluted him politely, and said: "O father,  
I have done this deed." He continued the salutation(?). The Lion of  
God said: "Do not do it another time; we have many enemies. If  
you go out from home another time, I shall kill you."

M. H. stayed at home . . ., he did not move out of the house.  
One day he was overcome by his love of shooting [and thought]: "I  
will go shooting round the house and take a walk."

Then he went out of the house, and walked four times round the  
house shooting; he did some shooting, but did not engage in any fight.  
He rode the piebald horse which Sh. Z. had ridden. Then suddenly  
a strong wind arose, and a dustcloud appeared. M. H. . . .

There was . . . and wind, and he lost his way home. Then M. H. S.'s



Ha'nifā Sāhebi'ka 'ōsp 'sōr 'khū 'kō'r, 'č(h)ī ho'wī 'jaṅgal tarī, 'če 'jaṅg-ē 'kuṛa bō, ho'wī 'jaṅgal tar za'hī.

Ečēn'dī 'thāpī 'če: 'šu llak 'fauj 'čār dūba'rā-i 'jaṅgali'kā 'ham āli'šō. Jā'ri 'če: «'Tu kka-i?» Jā'ri: «'Ān-em 'Māmad Hanī'fā, 'nām-um, 'Šēr-e Xu'dā, 'bāw-um.» Jā'ri 'če: «'Tū ma 'pušika mēmān 'čā'ē tu bu'ṛō?» Jā'ri 'če: «'Har 'āryek(?) 'au bu'ṛō.» Jā'ri 'če: »'Mendē 'ālišōr 'če 'mā-ē ban'dī bareman.»

Ečēn'dī 'čār dubara'i 'šu llak 'fauj 'če dubara'i 'Māmad Hanī'fān 'uštā. 'Māmad Hanī'fā dhōr, 'šam'šēr 'khū-m bōr, 'ṛala'ba-ē 'dehī. As ka'rārī 'dhī, 'če as ku'sta ku'stā, w-as pu'stā pu'stā-ē kōr. Ečēn'dī 'ham 'āxer-ul 'amr ka'mand-an kōr, ha'stōs ka'mand-an sōr 'Māmad Hanī'fa kō'r. Ha'stōs kaman'dī, 'šast ka'mandī dalē'wī, 'šūs ka'mandī 'jān tar-ē 'band xūr. Ečēn'dī 'mendē-an sōr 'ōspī xu 'āwūr, 'bōstun 'bōstun-ē-an(?) bōst.

. . . 'Šār ta mēmān tar-an zahē-wī dāl 'pādsā. 'Pādsā jā'ri 'če: «'Mendē huk'man 'mērōr.» 'Band-e mātōi'ka-an kōr, ma 'jal'lāt-an 'ānt. 'Jal'lāt 'šam'šēr 'nōt, 'če 'Mamad Hanī'fān 'sōr 'kaṭṭeā(?). 'Pāla'wān

horse raised its head and went to the forest where he had fought and arrived there.

Then he saw that an army of three lakhs had occupied the four quarters of the forest. [Their leader] said [to him]: "Who are you?" He answered: "M. H. is my name, the Lion of God is my father." He said: "Why have you carried away my son's . . .". He said: ". . .". He said: "Seize him, and let us take him away as a prisoner."

Then from all four quarters the army of three lakhs, which surrounded M. H., arose. Seeing this, M. H. raised his sword and slew many. He fought without stopping, and made a complete slaughter. Then finally they brought lassos, and threw eighteen lassos at M. H. He tore asunder eighteen lassos, sixty(?) lassos; but they bound his body with thirty lassos. Then they brought him [away] on horseback, and bound him firmly(?).

They brought him to the town to the king . . . The king said: "Kill him at my command(?)." They bound him ready for the execution and fetched the executioner. The executioner raised his sword in order to cut off M. H.'s head. Then the warrior said: "Do not kill me, for your



ja'ri če: «Ma 'mun 'na de'hör, 'puš-e wá'khân 'hām dād 'dāda-m  
ban'dī hā.» Mendi ja'ri: «'Har kār (gā?) če 'puš-e pādšāi'ka ban'dī  
hā, tu 'hām ba 'jā-i 'puš-e pādšāi'ka ban'dī bē. 'Har waxtī če 'puš-e  
pādšāi'ka xa'lās bī, 'tu ham xa'lās pa'rā; 'aga 'ō 'mērī(?), 'tu pa-am  
'mērien pa'rā.»

Ečēn'dī Māmad Ha'nifa 'Sāheb beham xūr(?) taŋ'gī tar . . . taŋ'gī  
tar-ē guda'ri, 'dhu'ē če 'kunj-e mahačiči, 'kunj-e butxānai'ka tar  
'butān sī; zū pa'sš-ē 'khū . . . , ma butān-ē 'ham xa'rāb kōr. Paira'dār  
'āya dāl 'pādšā, ja'ri: «'Ai 'pādšā, ho'wī ban'dī butān-au xa'rāb kōr.»  
Ja'ri: «Ču'mör, 'ēnör-ē. Ma Māmad Hanī'fa pāla'wān-an 'ānt. 'Pādšā  
ja'ri: «Čā 'he kker-a ku'ō?» Ja'ri: «'He kker-e xa'rāp-a, 'čā tō-ē  
'kantō? 'Žā gāi 'he kker-a 'ham na 'kān, butpara'stī na kā, ma  
Xu'dā ā'wē 'kā.»

Māmad Ha'nifa 'pādšā huš kōr, ma jal'lāt če 'dhör-ē, jal'lāt šam'sēr  
wa'khē bu'ri, če mhak 'farq tar-e Māmad Hanī'fa pāla'wānika  
'deha . . .

son, too, is a prisoner with my father." [They] said to him: "As  
long as(?) the king's son is a prisoner, you, too, shall be a prisoner  
in return. Whenever the king's son is released, you, too, will be  
released; if he dies(?), you, too, will be killed."

Then M. H. S. . . . , he passed through a narrow alley(?), he saw  
that there were some idols in the corner of the *mahačiči*, in the corner  
of the temple; he raised an axe, . . . and destroyed the idols. The  
guard came to the king and said: "Oh king, the prisoner has destroyed  
your idols." [The king] said: "Go and fetch him." Then they brought  
the warrior M. H. The king said: "Why have you done this deed?"  
He answered: "This is an evil deed, why are you doing it? Do  
not do it another time, do not worship idols, but remember God."

M. H. admonished(?) the king; but when he looked at the executioner,  
the executioner raised his sword to strike M. H. on the temples . . .

## VII (T).

'Rüz-e čâršam'bē bîn, A'liâ 'zât čhî, 'rüz-e pönju'mî tar 'munde-an ham šî'nâ koṛ. 'Rüz-e dösu'mî tar 'inâčî-ē ma 'bör naṛ'γō, dâl A'li 'Haidar 'čhî wa'lē zu haž'dâr. Haž'dâr 'sör-ē 'rust koṛ. 'Haidar ham 'döst 'γušt 'šunḍ tar-e haždâri'ka, ma haž'dâr-ē 'čir koṛ.

'Mâma-i ma 'γus 'âya, 'dhör-ē čē zu haž'dâr-a, 'γusî ma 'bör naṛ'γō, 'čhî ma 'xâ-ē ja'ri: «Čhâ, čē mâ'khân 'γus tar zu haž'dâr pai'dâ čhō, ma 'puš-um-ē 'qurt ku'pō.» 'Bâw-ē 'âya γus wa'nō, šam'sēr-ē 'luč koṛ, dar 'âya ō 'γus tar, 'čhî čē ma haž'dâr 'deha.

'Dhör-ē čē haž'dâr 'muṛō, puš-e xu'kân-ē 'sail koṛ, puš'i'ka 'zâ na 'čhō bö. Nez'dik-e haždâri'ka 'čhî, wo ō 'sail koṛ, 'dhör-ē čē haž'dâr 'čir-a. 'Bâw-ē xuš'waxt čhî, ba 'Haidar pūs'xand koṛ. 'Bâw-ē ja'ri: «Xu'dâyâ! 'Puš-e ma'nâ zu-mêhin-a, ma haž'dâr-ē xu 'mâtō.»

'Haidar zu-sara čhî, ma 'γussî ma 'bör naṛ'γō, 'dhör-ē zu 'ḍal bälō hēn. 'Mēn tar-an 'Haidar čhî, bâ'lân ja'ri čē: «Ai 'Alî, 'zē čē ku'stî 'gurîman.» 'Alî ham 'luč koṛ, har'kâra tar da 'âya. Ku'stî-ē

## VII

It was on a Wednesday that Ali was born, and on the fifth day they put him in the cradle. On the tenth day his mother went out, and lo! a dragon approached Ali Haidar. The dragon raised its head, but Haidar thrust his hand into the jaws of the dragon and tore it asunder.

When his mother came home she saw that a dragon was there. She went out, sought out her husband and said: "Come, a dragon has appeared in our house and has torn my son to pieces." The father came to the house, unsheathed his sword and entered that house. He went to kill the dragon.

He saw that the dragon was dead, and he looked at his own son [and saw], that nothing had happened to him. He approached the dragon and looked at it, and he saw that it was torn asunder. The father was glad and smiled at Haidar. He said: "Oh God, my son is one month old and he has killed the dragon."

When Haidar was one year old, he went out of the house and saw a party of boys. Haidar went among them and the boys said: "O Ali, come and let us wrestle." Ali also stripped off his clothes and entered the ring. He wrestled with the boys and beat the boys. There



ghit bâ'lân pen, ma bâ'lân-ê ham de'hî. «Čhel 'bâlō un'hāk hōst, 'Alī ma 'čhel-ê dehî, 'heč khîn 'tâb-ê 'n-âwųr bâ'lân 'kušti tar.

'Alī če hōt-sara čhî, 'mēn-e 'xūkân-ê ō 'bōst, šam'sēr-ê ham 'mēn tar 'ghît, rā'hî čhî maidâ wa'nō. 'Čhî, če pen'jâ 'nafar pailāntar-e Alī'â 'â'ġēn. 'Zu wil 'huss-ê ja'ri: «'Mâ ham pāla'wâ, 'zē če kušti gurīman.» 'Zū-e 'ghāṭ pāla'wâ ja'ri če: «'Ō 'bâlō-a.» 'Alī xu nez-dik čhî, ja'ri: «Xu kušti gurīer?» Pāla'wâ ja'ri: «'Hā.»

'Alī 'kâz-ê 'luč koṛ, maidâ tar dar 'â'ya. Pāla'wân-ê 'ghāṇḍ ja'ri: «Činō 'šāgird-om 'uštâ.» 'Alī 'dhōṛ ma 'šāgirt, ja'ri: «Xu'xâu maidân tar 'zē, če kušti 'gurīman.» Pāla'wâ ja'ri: «Ma 'šāgird-um de'he. 'Agar men'dē-a de'hî, ma 'mun ham wâ 'ham ('whām) xo'hād de'hî.»

'Alī čhî nez-dik tar. 'Huddî kušti ghît. 'Alī biland 'rūst koṛ, de'hî dha'ram tar 'puxta. 'Šāgird-e pālawāni'ka 'jâ ba 'jâ un'hāk muṛ. Xu'xu-e pāla'wâ 'jâ 'uštâ, rau 'čhî dâl 'Haidar: «'Čâ hē 'ker-a 'kuṛō, tu? Ma ma'nâ 'šāgird-a 'ham xu de'hō-au, 'muṛō.» 'Alī ja'ri: «'Zē tu!» 'Huddî ba'yal ba ba'yal 'jang u ma'sti-an koṛ. 'Alī zū wil 'nāra jō, men'dî 'dharamî 'rust koṛ, de'hî dha'ram tar wa'lē,

were forty boys; but Ali beat all forty, and not one of the boys defeated him in wrestling.

When Ali was seven years old, he girded his loins and also tied a sword round his waist. He went out towards the plain. While he was on the way fifty fellows came towards Ali. At once they all said: "We, too, are warriors, come and let us wrestle." A big warrior said: "He is but a boy." But Ali approached them and said: "Will you wrestle yourself?" The warrior answered: "Yes."

Ali stripped off his shirt and entered the field. The big warrior said: "My little pupil has risen." Ali looked at the pupil and said: "Come into the field yourself, and let us wrestle." The warrior said: "Beat my pupil! If you beat him, then you will indeed have beaten me, too."

Ali approached him, and they both started wrestling. Ali lifted him high up, and struck him hard against the ground. The pupil of the warrior died on the spot. The warrior himself rose, went quickly towards Haidar and said: "Why have you done this, you there! You have struck my pupil also, and he is dead." Ali said: "Come!" They both grappled and fought madly. Suddenly Ali cried aloud and

'sör-ē dī par'kāla čhī xu pālawānī'ka. Pan'jā nafar-e 'zā-ē mai'dānī čaṭa'kēn.

## VIII (T).

A'mīr 'Hātām 'γus tar 'nhašt-ōst, ha'wā-e šekārī'ka 'sör tar-ē 'āya, ayā'lān tar-ē rux'sat ghīt, ja'ī: «'Ān-e pa'ram šekār kun.»

'γus'sī na'γō, 'ōsp-ē su'wār čhī, 'ōsp-ē mai'dān wanō dhāwē'wī. 'Čhī, zū mai'dān tar-ē za'hī, zī'rež šekār-ē kuṛ, mur'γāwī, bōda'na šekār-ē koṛ, ma 'huss-ē 'jam koṛ, 'bhār ē'čēwī.

Bī'xabar 'laškar paidā čhī, 'laškar ja'ī: «Če-kun 'āyē maryuzār tar?» Ja'ī: «'Ē ma'nā šekārjāy-a.» Pāla'wā, nām-ē 'Maqet bīn, γala'ba zū'rāwar bīn, 'āya dāl A'mīr 'Hātām, ja'ī čē: «'Nām-a 'kā?» Ja'ī: «'Nām-om A'li.» Ja'ī čē: «'Ān-em 'whētōn Makatul'lā peš 'sör-e A'likā.» Ja'ī čē: «A'li ān xu'xu-m-em. Har 'zūrī čē 'dērē, zē, 'bade mālūm kan!»

Huddī'nān-ē gufti'gū čhēn, 'jang-an koṛ. Ma A'mīr 'Hātām-ē de'hī, 'sör-ē ka'ī. Ečēn'dī buṛ dāl Mu'qātel. Ja'ī čē: «'Ā ma 'Haidar de'hī, 'sör-ēm 'āwuṛ.»

lifted him up into the air; and lo! he struck him against the ground. The warrior's head split into two parts. The fifty other men fled from the field.

## VIII.

Amir Hatam was sitting at home, when he was seized with a desire to go out shooting. He took leave of his family and said that he was going out shooting.

He went out of the house, mounted his horse, and let it canter towards the plain. He went on till he came to a plain, where he shot partridges, ducks and quails. He collected all of them and put the bag [on the horse].

Suddenly an army appeared and said: "Why have you come to this meadow?" He answered: "This is my shooting-ground." The warrior, whose name was Maqet, was very fierce, he went towards Amir Hatam and asked: "What is your name?" He answered: "My name is Ali." Maqet said: "I am going to Mekka to fetch Ali's head." He answered: "I myself am Ali. Come now and show whatever strength you possess!"

They both began quarrelling and started fighting. Maqet killed Amir Hatam and cut off his head. Then he brought it to Muqatil and said that he had killed Ali and brought his head.



Ösp-e a'pešt ra'mī, čhī, ma 'γuss-ē za'hī, ma A'li ja'ri če: «Ba hēwaz-e tā sōri'ka A'mir Hāta'mā 'sōr-an ka'ṭi, bu'an 'sār-e Muqāte'lān tar.» 'Gurz-ē, šam'sēr-ē γark-e, hīneka bīn. 'Ali ja'ri če: «Ba tā'qīq če 'mātō-an.»

'Ali 'nāra de'hī, 'zāē če 'mardum bēn 'jam čhēn, 'šus ha'zār 'laškar-ē 'xu pen 'ghīt, rā'hī čhī sōr 'sār-e Muqāte'lān. 'Ösp-ē 'dhōr če 'Ali rā'hī čhī 'laškar pen, 'ösp-ē ham ham'rā-e Haida'rān rā'hī čhī, 'ösp-e A'mir Hāta'mā 'tartar-ē w<sup>a</sup>hētōn öst, 'Haidar 'laškar pen peš'čan-ē.

'Čhē, maryu'zār tar 'zahēn. 'Dhōr-an če maryu'zār ruša'nī-a, malāi'kān huss uz'gēn ba je'nāza-e A'mir Hātami'kā. A'li za'hī sōr 'muḍa-e A'mir Hāta'mā. A'mir 'Hātām ma A'li sa'lām dā, ja'ri: «'Ai biyā, tu če-kā 'γir koṛ, če ma 'mun-an 'māt, 'muḍa-m eke'stak γōšt, sōr-um-an bu 'sār-e Muqāte'lā tar.» 'Ali ma A'mir 'Hātām un'hāk 'gūr koṛ, 'ösp-ē su'wār nhōšt, šus ha'zār 'laškar pen rā'hī čhī, 'sār-e Muqāte'lā tar za'hī. Nez'dik-e sārī'ka-e Muqāte'lā za'hī, ma 'laškar-ē a'peš 'lam dā.

Ali 'apače čhī, 'dhōr-ē če 'čōr dūba'ra-i kālāi'ka-i 'xandak-a. 'Dhōr-ē

His horse turned back, ran, and coming to his house said to Ali: "They have cut off the head of Amir Hatam instead of your head, and they have brought it to the city of Muqatil." His mace and his sword were smeared with blood. Ali said: "They have certainly killed him."

Ali shouted, and all the men who were there assembled. He took an army of thirty thousand men with him and departed towards the city of Muqatil. When his (Amir Hatam's) horse saw that Ali started with an army, it accompanied Haidar (:Ali); Amir Hatam's horse went in front, and Haidar came behind with the army.

They went on and came to the field. They saw that the field was illuminated, and that all the angels were descending for the funeral of Amir Hatam. Ali arrived at Amir Hatam's corpse. Amir Hatam saluted Ali and said: "O my brother, why did you arrive so late? Now they have killed me and have thrown my corpse here; my head they have taken to the city of Muqatil." Ali buried Amir Hatam there, mounted his horse, departed with the thirty thousand warriors and came to the city of Muqatil. He approached the city, but left the army behind.

Ali went forward and saw that there was a moat on all four sides

če 'yalaba 'xandak-e bīa'zīmī-a, 'šast gaz 'bar-e xandaki'kay-a. 'Āya, sō 'xandak 'apā 'čhī.

Sō na'far paira'dār-e bōri'ka bīn, ha'wī paira'dārān 'thārī-an če: «Žu su'wār 'hu bbar-e 'xandak tar a'pā hā.» Paira'dārā 'yax ko' če: «Tu če'kāra ē? Ža'hī su'wār sō 'xandak a'pā hē.» Ja'fī če: «Ā 'qāsed-e 'Zang pādšāi'ka-ēm, 'yulām-e Māmari'ā. 'Xabar 'čhēn če Ma'qet pāla'wā 'sōr-e Haidarān-ē āwu'rō. 'Pādšā ma 'mun xabar-gīrānī wese'jī. 'Ā az xušwax'tī ā'yēm, če ma šā-e<sup>1</sup> Muqāte'lā bu'čhem. 'Gala'ba 'pādšā-e mā'khā xušwax'tī 'čhī, ma 'mun-ē az xušwax'tī wese'jī. 'Eka ō ham ē ku'mak ku zē šus ha'zār 'paltan pen, če 'mardum-e Madīnāi 'mardum-e bīta'mīz-a. Na bādāi če sōr 'tō 'Umar 'laškar 'nera.»

H'awī qāse'dān 'čhēn dāl 'pādšā. Mu'qātel ja'fī če: «Ču'mōr, 'ēnōr-ē.» Ke'stī-an āwu'r, mē ke'stī-an 'nhāt, 'Haidar u 'Duldul-ē xanda'kī 'ke'stī kun guda'rēn. Sōr 'ōspī-an ma 'Haidar 'ūnt, ma 'ōsp-ē-an bu'r, bandī-an ko'r. 'Mendē-an bu'r 'hōt ka'lā da'rūn-tar.

of the castle. He saw that it was a very marvellous moat; its width was sixty ells. He came and halted at the moat.

There were one hundred guards at the gate, and they saw that one horseman had halted at the other side of the moat. They shouted to him: "What are you doing? [Why] do you halt alone on horseback at the moat?" He said: "I am a messenger from King Zang, a slave of [the vizier] Mamar. They heard that Maqet had brought the head of Haidar, and the king sent me to inquire. I come with pleasure, that I might see King Muqatel. Our king rejoiced much, and he sent me on account of his joy. He himself will also come to your(?) assistance" with thirty thousand soldiers, because the people of Medina are lawless people. I hope Umar will not bring out his army against you."

These messengers went to the king. Muqatil said: "Go and bring him." They brought a boat and placed him in the boat. Haidar and his horse Duldul crossed the moat in the boat. They tore Haidar down from the horse, took the horse away, and made him prisoner. They carried him inside seven castles.

<sup>1</sup> šār-e?

<sup>2</sup> ēna ke ū ham kumak-id mēāya. But ē?



Haidar za'hī dāl pādsā-e Mu'qātel, sa'lām-ē dā wu 'nhōšt. Ĵa'ri ċe: «Ēde kun šarāb ā'rōr, ċe ē šarāb 'xara.» Ĵa'ri: «Ā ba 'taxt o 'baxt-e tā 'qasam-um xu'řō, ċe, šarāb-ē 'na xa'rēm.» Ĵa'ri: «Ču'mōr, na'řōn ā'rōr!» Ĵa'ri: «Na'řōn-ē 'am 'na xa'rēm. Xu 'mēhī nā'jōr hastam, 'ā zā xu'řō tar pa'rēz-em. 'Aga xa'rēm, 'jān tar-e 'mā na 'nhintōn, 'fārež na 'dēra.»

B'xabar bin ċe Maqet pāla'wā laškar pen dāl Mu'qātel 'āya. Haidar Ĵa'ri: «Če-kun 'āya ē?» Ĵa'ri ċe: «Ma 'dut-om 'wāda 'dāwō, ba'di te ni'kā kanem, 'dahem-ē te.» Haidar Ĵa'ri ċe: «Če-kun-ē te da'hē? 'Tu xu'xā-w pādsā-ē, žū pāla'wā blīš, 'xub na 'dēra, ċe tu 'ēde kun 'dud da'hē. 'Nām-a te dāl 'zā pādsā'ān tar 'bad pa'ri-a, ċe pādsā ma 'dut-ē žū pālawā'nī kun dā; ma 'tō-ē 'khanan. Ma 'dut-a 'na da!»

Pādsā Ĵa'ri: «Ha'wī pāla'wā 'mu kun 'xūbī ku'řō, 'sōr-e Haida'rān-ē 'āwūřō, ma 'dut-om 'wāda dā'wō, 'badi te ni'kā ka'nem, 'dahem-ē.» Ĵa'ri ċe: «Du'rūy-a 'na bādā'i ċe 'tō pen 'makər ka'na. 'Ali Ĵa'nō bē, wa'tan tar ma 'dut-e tān 'ō ba 'hila ba'ra. Če ma 'Haidar 'ā

Haidar came before King Muqatil, saluted him and sat down. The king said: "Bring him wine, that he may drink it." He answered: "I have sworn by your throne and fortune not to drink wine." The king said: "Go and bring bread!" He answered: "Nor do I eat bread. I was ill for six months, and am forbidden to eat anything. When I eat it does not stay within my body, and does not agree with me."

Suddenly it happened that the warrior Maqet came to Muqatil with his army. Haidar said: "Why has he come?" The king said: "I have promised him my daughter; now I shall arrange the wedding and give her to him." Haidar said: "Why do you give her to him? You are a king yourself, he is a low-born(?) warrior; it is not meet that you should give him your daughter. Your name will be dishonoured among other kings, because a king has given his daughter to a warrior. They will laugh at you. Do not give him your daughter!"

The king said: "This warrior has done me a service, he has brought Haidar's head. I have promised him my daughter, now I shall celebrate the wedding and give her to him." Haidar said: "Take care that he is not lying to you, and trying to deceive you. If Ali is alive, he may carry your daughter away home by some ruse. For I have seen Haidar, he is a great warrior, nobody has such strong arms

dhörö, 'yalaba pāla'wān-e ghānd-a, 'tāb-e dōsti'ka-i u'dā khīn na dēra. Žu 'sar 'ā dāl 'tar-ē sāgir'dī ku'rō, 'qūwat-e e'dān-um dhu'rō.»

Bi'xabar Maqet jāi 'uštā, Ali'ā gim'bān-ē dōst-ē ma'hakam āle'sī. Maqed jā'ri če: «Sör-e Haida'rā ō'kā oke'stak āwēzān-a, 'tō ma mun durū'gūl nertōn, 'qūwat-e ma'nā 'mardum tar 'khīn na dēra, 'nām-um 'Maqed-e pāla'wā-a.» Čör čapi'lāki Haida'rā 'mux tar 'dhī, giri'bān-ē dalē'wī. Haidar 'nāra dē'hī. E'dā 'huddē kālā'jānī āle'sī, e'dān 'dōst-ē nōt, 'dōst-ē ha'wāla koṛ man'dō tar-ē, man'dō-ē durīn rhā'zī.

Muqātel 'hukm koṛ če: «Zāi 'laškar-ē 'žör, ma Haidar 'dehör, če 'ē dāl 'mā nām-e xu'kān-ē ya'lat jā'rō. 'E xu qāsed na bö, 'e Haidar bö.»

### IX (T.)

'Qāsem 'nām-e žū ādami'ka bīn. Mirā'nā 'puš bī, 'ō sau'dāgar bīn. Čör 'šutur dērō bōn, dī 'khör, žū 'ōsp.

Ha'zār rupa'ikā 'čā-ē 'ghīt, ma šutu'rān-ē 'bhār kuṛ, 'yusī na'γō, 'čhī, sō Nāx'tā za'hī. Učen'dī 'kūč koṛ, čhī sō 'Lārum če pa'nān-e

as he has. I have been his pupil for one year, and I have seen his strength."

Suddenly Maqet rose from his place and forcibly seized Ali by the collar with his hand. Maqet said: "Look, Ali's head is hanging there, and you accuse me of lying. No man possesses my strength; my name is Maqet the warrior." He gave Haidar four slaps in the face and tore his collar. Haidar cried aloud. He seized both his upper-arms, pulled his arms, and struck his neck with his hand; his neck (sic!) flew far away.

Then Muqatil commanded: "The whole army shall come and fight with Haidar, because he has told me his name wrongly. He was not a messenger, but Haidar."

### IX.

Qasim was the name of a man. He was the son of Miran<sup>1</sup> and he was a merchant. He had four camels, two asses and one horse.

He bought one thousand rupees' worth of tea, loaded it on the camels, left his home and journeyed till he came to Nakhtan. He

<sup>1</sup> Later on the father is called Qasim and the son Mirza.



šuturi'kā bīn. Lārum tar za'hī, Lārum tar wi'yār dha'ri. Dī ċūr  
pai'dā ċhēn, ma e'dān ċā'iyān, šutu'rān, 'zāhī ċe 'māl hōst, 'bu'ran.  
'Qāsem sau'dagar Lārumī a'pōs ra'mi, 'āya ma 'yus.

Ma 'bāw-ē ja'ri: «Ma 'mun dī ċūr 'luē kuṛ, 'zāhī ċe 'bhār o 'māl-e  
ma'nān ham 'buṛ.» Bāw-ē ja'ri: «Ēnōr ma 'dī puš-e 'zā.» Ma  
'huddē pu'sān-ē-an 'ant dāl 'bāw-ē. 'Žū-i 'kal bīn, 'zū-i 'kōr. Men'dānān  
(Iā) 'bāw-ē ja'ri: «Ċumōr ba sau'dāga'ri ċe ma bi'yā-e 'ghāṇḍ-ōw-an  
'luē kuṛō ċū'rā. Wā ma 'hudde ō'spā 'noḡel 'bhār ka'nōr, ċumōr  
ba sau'dāga'ri. Magam ho'wi ċū'rān sōr 'wā ham 'zēn, 'sōr tar-an  
ċe 'āya, ma 'ċūrān āli'sēr (-ōr?)!»

Iā 'yussī na'ṛyēn, 'huddī bi'yāra rāhī ċhēn. 'Kal-ē 'ghāṇḍ bīn,  
'kōr-ē 'ċinō bīn. Iān rāhī ċhēn. Bi'yā-e 'ghāṇḍ-ē ja'ri ma bi'yā-e  
'ċinō ċe: «'Tu ham 'zū kūča'nōk 'mēn tar 'gure, ċe mā'khān tar  
pai'lā 'xaif 'dēra.» Bi'yā-e 'ċinō ja'ri: «'Tu 'ċhō, 'gure kūča'nōk, ċe  
'tū aq'li ē.» Bi'yā-e 'ghāṇḍ-ē kūča'nōk 'mēn tar de'hī, 'ċhē sōr  
Nāx'tān ċe pa'nān-e Lārumi'kā 'howirang bīn. 'Žā pa'nān na 'dērō bōn.

travelled on from that place and went to the Larum Pass, where  
there was a camel-road. He came to Larum and stayed there for the  
night. Then two thieves appeared, and carried away the tea and the  
camels and the rest of his goods. The merchant Qasim returned  
from Larum and came home.

He said to his father: "Two thieves have stripped me and have  
carried away all my goods and property." His father told him to bring  
his two other sons, and he brought both of them before their father.  
One of them was bald, the other blind. Their father said to them:  
"Go out as merchants, because thieves have stripped your eldest  
brother. You must load both horses with dried fruits and go out  
trading. Those thieves will certainly come upon you too; but when  
they do, you must catch them."

The two brothers went out of the house and departed. The bald-  
headed one was the elder, and the blind one was the younger. When  
they departed, the elder brother said to the younger: "You too must  
take a knife in your belt, in order that wild beasts may keep away  
from us." The younger brother said: "You go and get the knife,  
because you are wise." The elder brother put the knife in his belt,  
and they went to Nakhtan, because the road to Larum goes that  
way. There was no other road.

Sō Nāx'tā iā wi'yār dha'rēn. Bi'yā-e 'čīnō-ē rhī'zī, bi'yā-e 'ghāṇḍ-ē 'paira dā. Bi'yā-e 'čīnō 'xōm-ē buṛ, bi'yā-e 'ghāṇḍ-ē kūča'nōk 'nōt, de'hī mahak xīṭ tar-e bi'yā-e 'kōr-e. •E'dā muṛ.

Učēn'dī 'kūč kuṛ, 'čhī sō 'Lārom, okē'stak ho'wī 'hudde ču'rān pai'dā čhēn. He kkal ma čū'rā du'rīnī dhur čē: «Selā'bān-an 'luč 'āyēn sō 'māl-e ma'nā.» Žū 'gir 'sō bōn, pež 'gir tar 'peṭ čhī, ma 'hudde ō'spān-ē du'rīn 'lam dā 'bhār pen-an. He čū'rān nez'dīk ā'yēn, 'dhuṛan čē: «'Khīn 'na hā, mālā ya'lā-a, 'xāwand-an 'na hā.» Iā čhēn, ma 'hudde ō'spān-an 'bhār kuṛ, ā'yēn 'barr-e girika ku gūda'rēn.

Kal bālō dhur čē: «Ma ma'nā 'māl-ē 'buṛ.» Ma Xu'dā-e xu'kān-ē a'wē koṛ, kūča'nōk-ē 'luč koṛ. Bi'xabar peš 'puṭ-e 'hudde čū'rāna za'hī, kūča'nōk-ē pə 'sāna-i žū'ika-i ha'wāla koṛ. Ō muṛ, ma žū 'zā-e čū'rāna hō'wī 'bālō-e 'kal āli'sī, ja'rī čē: «'Tu ma ma'nā bāwika mālān-a 'či koṛ? Ma 'čāy-a 'či koṛ?» Žū 'jāy-om 'lam dā'wō.»

They passed the night at Nakhtan. The younger brother fell asleep, and the elder kept watch. The younger brother had a dream, and the elder brother drew his knife and stuck it into the belly of his blind brother, who died.<sup>1</sup>

Then he travelled on and came to Larum, where the two thieves made their appearance. The bald-headed boy saw from far off that the thieves were approaching his goods with drawn swords. There was a boulder near by, and he concealed himself behind the boulder and placed the two horses at a distance, together with their burdens. The thieves approached and saw that nobody was there, that the beasts were loose, and that their master was not present. They went and loaded the two horses; then they came and went round the boulder.

The bald-headed boy saw that they were carrying away his goods. He remembered his God, drew his sword, and all at once he was behind the two thieves and thrust his knife into the shoulder of one of them. He died and the boy caught the other thief and said to him: "What have you done with my father's beasts, and what have you done with the tea?" He answered: "I have put them all in one place."

<sup>1</sup> *c'dā* as a subject is curious.



Hö'wī 'bālō-e 'kal mun'dhēk 'čūr-ē 'tar-ē 'yušt, dōs'tān-ē 'böst, peš 'puč-ē 'bāši 'mhākam āli'sī. Ha'wī kal 'bālō 'nēs-e kūčānōki'ka pen ba ma'zāk-ē 'ōst 'dhetōn 'če: •'Magam ha'wī 'čūr 'berkha, bāwika 'māl-om-ē 'če bu'ř, 'magam ni'sān-om daha.' Čūr ja'ri: 'Ma 'mun 'na deh, hö'wī 'māl-e bāwika te da'hem.' Čūr bu'ř sō 'māl-e bāwika-i za'hēwī. He kkal 'bālō 'dhōř 'če: 'Māl-e 'bāwika-m höwī-'rang sī, 'hej bi'jā-ē na 'čhō. Ma čā'yān-ē 'bhār koř, ma 'zāi 'če bhār'gīr bīn 'tarī 'yušt, he 'bālō peš'čhan 'hai kanen 'āya.

Nez'dik-e watani'kā za'hī. Qāsem sau'dāgar 'dhuř 'če: 'Kal 'puš-e ma'nā 'yala'ba 'māl āwu'ř, 'puš-e 'kōr-om 'na hā. Čhī pai'lān tar, 'kal 'bālō dhuř 'če: 'Bāw-om 'āya. Čhī, dāl pā'nān-e bāwika-i 'čha'ri. Bāw-ē ja'ri: 'Hu bbiya 'če kōř? Jā'ri: 'Munde čūrān 'māt. Dāl 'bāw-ē 'drūy ja'ri: 'Dāl 'bāw-om ja'rem: ma bi'yā-om 'ā 'mātō, ma 'mun ham 'ē 'mēra 'dāda-m. Jā'ri: 'Ma bi-yā-e ma'nā čūrān 'mātō, ma 'zū-e čūrāna 'ān ham 'mātō, ma zū 'zāy-om be'žen 'māl o as'bāp-e 'tān pen 'če 'buřa bōn-ē, 'munde-m am 'āwu'ř.

The bald-headed boy drove the thief before him, bound his hands, and tied them tightly behind his back with a rope. He pricked him softly with the point of the knife [and thought]: "Let this thief who has stolen my father's goods be a little afraid, and perhaps he will show them to me." The thief said: "Do not prick me, and I will show you your father's goods." The thief led him, and brought him to his father's goods. The bald-headed boy saw that they were in order, and that nothing was missing. He loaded the tea on the beasts of burden, and drove them before him. The bald-headed boy came behind, whipping them on.

When the boy drew near to his own country, the merchant Qasim saw that his bald-headed son was bringing back much merchandise and that his blind son was not there. He went forward, and the bald-headed boy saw his father coming. Then he went and fell at his father's feet. His father asked: "What has your brother done?" He answered: "Thieves have killed him." He lied to his father [thinking]: "If I tell my father that I have killed my brother, he will kill me in return." [Therefore] he said: "Thieves have killed my brother; I have killed one of the thieves, and I have bound and brought another of them, who had run away with your goods and merchandise."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> If *pen* is correct, *buřa bōn* must mean something like "had run away". But perhaps two constructions: "carried off" and "ran away with" have got mixed up.

'Bâw-ê xuš'waxt čhī. 'Mende 'mâl-ê âwuj ma 'yuss-ê, 'ta-e kor, ma mâ'lân-ê buj, 'hêl-ê kor. 'Tussī bâw-ê na'γō, čhī peš 'puš-e 'kōr-ê čē: «Men'dē-an 'khân jāi 'dēhō(r)?» 'Bâw-ê âya 'yus, ma 'kal 'puš-ê 'ja'ri: «'Â ma biya na 'yunt. Har 'khâ 'jâ-y-om lū'ri, 'na hâ, na 'murda-i na 'zinda-i.» 'Kal 'ja'ri: «'Tu 'dâda-e ma'nâ bī'aql ē.»

'Kal 'tar-ê dâ, 'Qâsem 'bâw-ê peš'chan. 'Un'hâkī mun'dhêk biya-e 'kōr-ê čē 'dēhō bōn, ma 'bâw-ê buj. Ni'sân-ê dâ, 'ja'ri: «'Elkē 'murda-e pušī'kā.» 'Kalika 'pu'ar-ê ma 'murda 'dâ. 'Kal 'tartar-ê, 'Qâsem 'bâw-ê peš'chan. 'Â'γēn, sō 'hī za'hēn. 'Kal pa'ri čē dar'yâ yulū-â. 'Mun'dhêk 'murda-i biyai'ka-i pu'ti dar'yâ tar 'yušt. 'Dâda-ê farq tar-ê 'dhī čē: «'Murda-e pušī'ka-m-a 'čâ dar'yâ tar 'yušt?» 'Ha'wī kal 'puš-ê 'ja'ri čē: «'Murda 'janō čhī, pu'ti-m-ê 'xis kor 'xuxu-ê dar'yâ tar. Ma'nâ gu'nâ 'čē-â, čē 'tu-ê ma 'mōn 'dhētōn,<sup>1</sup> 'kâwanō ča'ka'em?» 'Bâw-ê zâri kor, ma 'puš-e 'kal-ê 'ja'ri: «'Hu 'puš-e 'kōr-um čē čhī, čhī. 'Bade 'tu mu kun 'janō bī.»

His father rejoiced and brought the merchandise into the house and unloaded it; he took the beasts away and let them loose. His father left home and went to search for his blind son, to see where they had killed him. Then he came home again, and said to his bald-headed son: "I have not found your brother. Wherever I searched, he was not there, neither alive nor dead." The baldhead said: "You are a fool, O my father!"

The baldhead went in front and his father Qasim behind. He took his father to the place where he had killed his blind brother. He pointed out the spot and said: "Look, here is your sons's corpse." The father put the corpse on the baldhead's back, [and they went away], the baldhead in front, and his father behind. When they came to a bridge, the baldhead saw that the river was full, and he threw his brother's corpse from his back into the river. Then his father hit him on the temples and asked why he had thrown his son's corpse into the river. The bald-headed son answered: "The corpse came to life, and leapt of its own accord from my back into the river. Is it any fault of mine, that you should beat me? Where shall I flee?" His father lamented and said to his bald-headed son: "My blind son who has gone, has gone [for ever]. Now you must live for me."

<sup>1</sup> Var.: bī'yâ-m dar'yâ tar 'xis kor, tu 'bâw-um ma'mun-ê 'dhētōn.



He 'puš-e 'kal-ē ma-x'sör-ē 'tag γušt, ja'ri: «Ma'nā 'zur-um-ē āli'sō.»  
 'Qāsem 'bāw-ē ja'ri če: «'Ān 'či ka'nem tā?» Jāri: «'Mun 'puť kan.»  
 'Bāw-ē men'dhēk kal-'puš-ē 'puť koř, 'āt-ē sō 'zi, 'zi tar dar 'āya.  
 'Mušt-ē du'rin buř, ha'wāla-ē koř, 'mhak peš 'gūy-e bāwi'ka-i. Hē  
 'bāw-ē bi'huš 'čhi, 'zi tar 'cha'ri. 'Puš-ē 'dhōř če: «'Ā 'či ka'nem?»  
 Har ka'bi bē, 'dāda-m te ma 'mun 'mēra. 'Žē če kâ'sūr-um ba'dhēk  
 dāli gu'rīm.» 'Ghit-ē, dhā'ri-ē hu'pāt, 'sör-ē ham 'γōš koř, a'brōān-ē  
 am 'γōš koř, me'jān-e te'čhāna-i ham hu'pāt. 'Ghit-ē, 'sör-e čōli'ka-i  
 ka'ti.

'Čhi wa'tan tar-ē xa'bar koř: «Ču'mör, ma 'dāda-m 'ēnör, če ma  
 mō čū'rān 'rūf koř. 'Ā 'dāli-an čaťa'kēm, ma 'dāda-m-an āli'si, 'yala'ba  
 'nasak-an udhe'ká ku'řō.»

'Puš-e 'ghāñ-ē, Mirzā 'nām 'dērō bōn, 'ō ham rā'hi 'čhi. 'Āya,  
 ma 'bāw-ē 'dhur, če dhā'ri am hu'pātōi, 'sör-e 'ham 'γōš ku'řōi, a'brō  
 u me'jān-ē ham 'γōš ku'řōi, 'nūk-e čōli'ka-i am ka'tōi. 'Mendi der'zi,  
 'ānt-ē ma 'γus dāl 'jinč-ē. 'Jinč-ē da 'rhintō 'čhi, ja'ri: «Ma ma'nā

Then the bald-headed son feigned to be mad and said: "My heart aches." His father Qasim said: "What can I do for you?"<sup>1</sup> He answered: "Take me on your back." His father took the bald-headed son on his back, carried him to a stream, and entered the stream. The boy raised his fist and struck his father behind the ear. His father was stunned and fell into the stream. His son saw it [and thought]: "What shall I do? My father may kill me any time. Come, let me take my . . . (?)<sup>2</sup> from him." He seized him and pulled out his beard, cut the hair of his head and his eyebrows, and pulled out his eyelashes. Then he took and cut off his penis.

He went to his own country and told [the people]: "Come and fetch my father, for thieves have pursued me."<sup>3</sup> I escaped from them; but they caught my father, and have mutilated him terribly."

Then his eldest son, whose name was Mirza, went away, too. He came and saw his father, [and saw] that his beard had been pulled out, and that the hair of his head, as well as the eyebrows and eyelashes, had been cut off, and that the tip of his penis had been cut off. He took him on his back and brought him home to his wife. His wife started

<sup>1</sup> 'či kunum-it, diga? Is tā = "diga" or = tā?

<sup>2</sup> kâ'sūr, transl. by γōr, I do not understand.

<sup>3</sup> or ma 'mā "us"?

'xâ 'kērangī ku'ṛō? Puš-e 'kal-ē ja'ṛī če: «Čū'rân ma 'dâda-m-an 'herangī ku'ṛō.»

'Kal ja'ṛī ma 'mâma-i: «'Mu kun du ha'zâr rupa'ī da, če 'ân pa'ram ba saudāga'ṛī. 'Tâ 'dâda-m 'jōṛ čema'mâ 'âne (: 'ân na?) 'zīm.» 'Šu ha'zâr rupa'ī 'mâma-i 'dâ, 'ši ham šu'tur dâ, 'dī 'ōsp-ē 'dâ. Ja'ṛī: «Ču saudāga'ṛī.»

He 'puš-e 'kal-ē 'yussī na'ṛō, ma šutu'rân-ē 'bhâr koṛ. Čhī zū mai'dân tar, zū wi'yâr 'sōrī guda'ṛī, 'sārī če 'čhī, šutu'rân-ē 'hai koṛ, čhī sō zū čiš'ma. Hō'wī čiš'ma'ī 'âw-ē 'ghīt, 'šup-ē koṛ. Šu (ši) 'farxam-ē 'ghīt 'sōr tar-ē, ma 'sōr-ē su'nâ, du farxam ma 'mux-ē su'nâ. Hō'wī bâlō-ē 'kal bixabar 'sōr tar-ē 'dōst koṛ, ja'ṛī: «'Wâē! 'Ân 'kal bēm, 'bade ma'nân 'sōr dōš 'naṭō!» 'Âhina jiba'kī 'nōṭ, 'thārī če 'he kkal 'yala'ba 'sâheb-e 'sūrat čhō. 'Ghīt-ē, ma šutu'rân-ē ham ya'lâ koṛ, ja'ṛī: «'Harkī 'bara, 'bara.» 'Âyēn ma šutu'rân am 'bu'an. Ma zū 'ōsp-ē ham xu'dâika 'dâ-ē, zū 'ōsp-ē 'zīm koṛ, sōr 'ōsp su'wâr nhōšt.

'Čhī, zū 'šâr tar za'hī. He 'šâr tar 'dī ha'zâr rupa'ī 'nōṭ, 'tit-ē koṛ, ja'ṛī: «'Har kī 'guria xu'dâi.» Wačha'nē šârīka 'čhī, ma zū

weeping and said: "What have they done to my husband?" Her bald-headed son said: "The thieves have done this to my father."

Then the bald-headed son said to his mother: "Give me two thousand rupees, that I may go out trading. I shall not (?) return till my father has been healed." His mother gave him three thousand rupees, and also three camels and two horses, and said to him: "Go out trading."

The bald-headed son went out of the house and loaded the camels. Then he went to a plain, and one night passed. In the morning he urged on his camels and came to a spring. He took some water from that spring and supped it. He took three handfuls of water for his head and washed it, and washed his face with two handfuls. Suddenly the bald-headed boy put his hand to his head and said: "O, I used to be bald, but now hair has grown on my head." He took a mirror from his pocket and saw that he had become very beautiful. He took his camels and let them loose, saying: "Let anyone take them who wants to." Some people came and took the camels away. Then he gave away one of the horses, too, as alms. He saddled the other horse and mounted it.

He went on and came to a town. In this town he took out two thousand rupees and scattered them, saying: "Let everybody take them



'kury-ē dhur, ha'zār rupaī dā-ē, munde 'kury-ē ghīt. Čhī dāl 'pādsā. Nām-e pādsāī'ka Faruxfāl bīn. Ĵa'ri č: «Ān 'tō kun pīs'kaš 'āwūrō.» Ĵa'ri čē: «Če-ā 'āwūrō?» Ĵa'ri: «Žū 'kury-e 'yalaba 'kāri, 'dum dēra, 'bāl dēra, 'tāj dēra.» He 'pādsā yala'ba xuš'waxt čhī, Ĵa'ri: «Ā 'pādsā, 'tu wa'zīr-um.»

'Ē wa'zīr-ē pādsāī'ka čhī. Ma 'pādsā-ē Ĵa'ri: «'Tu mu 'kun 'du lak 'paltan da, č' ān-ē pa'ram ba 'jang.» He 'pādsā 'du lak 'paltan 'ede kun dā. He wa'zīr 'šārī na'γō, čhī ba 'jang sōr 'Tāmās 'pādsā. 'Tāmās 'pādsā xabar čhī, čē: «Sō 'mun wa'zīr-e Faruxfālā ba 'jang āγō 'du lak laš'kar pen.» Ma čōr lak laš'kar-ē mai'dā tar wese'ji: «Ču'mōr wā, 'jang ka'nōr!»

'He kal ma laška'rā Ĵa'ri: «Wā ke'nāra bōr!» Ma 'paltan-ē du'rīn 'lam dā. Xu'xu-ē čhī 'jang tar. 'Jang tar-ē čhī, šam'sēr-ē 'nōt, da 'dehō čha'ri. Žu 'tečh-e wa'ziri'kā 'kōr ko'γ, 'paltan wanō 'āya, 'paltan dhō'γ čē: «Te'čhī-ā 'hīn 'whētōn.» Ma 'paltan-ē 'hugm ko'γ, Ĵa'ri: «'Tečh-e ma'nā 'kōr čhō, wā 'anus(?) ham pa'ri-ēr!»

as alms." Then he went down into the town, and, seeing a hen, bought it for a thousand rupees. Then he went to the king, whose name was Farukhfal, and said: "I have brought you a present." "What have you brought?" He answered: "I have brought a very good hen; it has a tail and wings and a comb." The king was very pleased and said: "I am the king, and you are my vizier."

He became the king's vizier and said to the king: "Give me two lakhs of soldiers, that I may go to the war." The king gave him two lakhs of soldiers, and the vizier went out of the town to fight with King Tamas. When King Tamas heard it, he said: "Farukhfal's vizier has come to fight me with two lakhs of soldiers." Then he sent an army of four lakhs into the field and said: "Go and fight."

The bald-headed boy said to the soldiers: "Stand aside." And he stationed the army at a distance. Then he himself went to fight, and when he entered the battle, he drew his sword and started fighting. He blinded one eye of their vizier<sup>1</sup>, and [the vizier] went to his army, who saw that blood was running from his eye. He drew up the army and said: "My eye has been blinded, you can all see it."

<sup>1</sup> = *waziri'ka-an*. Grammatically I should prefer the translation: "They (: the enemy) blinded the vizier (: the bald-headed boy)"; but the context renders more probable the translation given above.

Paltan ja'ri: «Mâ 'če 'kaneman?» Ja'ri 'če: «Ču'mör, ha'wi 'laškar pen 'jang ka'nör!» Paltanâ 'hala koṛ, 'paltan-e Kaiku'bād pād'saika 'ham za'hī, kuma'ki wazīr'ika 'čhī. 'Mende pād'saika 'laška'rān-an 'ši'kas dā, 'tān 'čata'kēn, 'čhēn dāl 'pādsā. 'Pādsā ja'ri 'če: «Če'kun 'čata'kēn?» Ja'ri: «'Wa'tan-a wa'tan 'laškar āli'sō.»

Farux'fāl 'pādsā 'čata'ki, ho'wī wa'zīr-ē 'pādsā 'čhī. 'Ā'ya dāl 'pādsā 'če 'kury-ē 'dā bōn. Ja'ri: «Ta'yārī kan 'če 'mun o 'tān 'jang-a.» 'Pādsā [ja'ri]: «'Tu xu wa'zīr-e ma'nā-ē. 'Čā-ē 'mu pen 'jang 'kantō?» Ja'ri: «Bi-bās'xāst ē, a'dālat-ē na 'kantōn, 'yaur-e 'yaribi'ka-i na 'kantōn.» Ečēn'dī hē 'pādsā 'dhuṛ 'če: «'Hē wa'zīr-a 'mu pen 'jang 'kantōn.» 'Hē 'pādsā bi-'jang 'čata'ki. 'Xatt-ē koṛ 'Qāsem 'bāw kun-ē 'če: «'Žē, 'če 'pādsā ān 'čhēm.» Ho'wī 'bāw-ē ja'ri 'če: «'E 'kal 'šaitān-a, ma 'mun-a 'bāzī 'dhaitōn.» 'Xatt kun-ē 'na 'čhī.

Bi'xabar žū turb re'sāla sōr 'yus-e bāwi'ka wese'jī, ja'ri: «Ču'mör, ma 'bāw-om 'kūč pen-ē ē'nör, ma ma'nān 'kūč ham 'ē'nör.» He resā'lān 'hai-an koṛ, 'čhēn, Qāse'mā 'yus tar 'tā 'čhēn, ja'ri: «Ma 'tō

The army said: "What shall we do?" He said: "Go and fight with that army!" The soldiers charged, and the army of King Kaikubad also came to assist the vizier. They defeated the soldiers of this king (: Farukhfal), who fled and went to the king. The king asked why they fled. They said that the [enemy's] army had taken the whole land.

Then King Farukhfal [too] fled, and his vizier became king. He went to the king [Farukhfal], to whom he had given the hen, and said: "Prepare for a fight between you and me." The king said: "But you are my vizier. Why do you want to fight me?" [The bald-headed boy] answered: "You do not reflect and you do not govern with justice or consider the poor." Then the king saw that his vizier was going to fight him, and he fled without fighting. The bald-headed boy wrote a letter to his father Qasim [and said]: "Come, for I have become a king." But his father said: "This bald-head is a devil, and he is only cheating me." So he did not accept his invitation.

Suddenly he sent a troop of cavalymen to his father's house, saying to them: "Go, and bring my father and his family, and also my own family." The cavalry men hurried off, dismounted at Qasim's house, and said: "The king has asked for you." He gave the cavalymen



'pâdsâ 'dhewō. Resâ'lân kun-ē māase'li dâ, re'sâle 'kūč-e e'dân-a<sup>1</sup>  
ghīt, 'âwur-an dâl 'pâdsâ. Jā'ri: «Ma 'bâw-aw-an 'ânt-an.» Jā'ri:  
«E'nör-ē 'dâl tar-om.»

Ma Qāsem-an 'buř dâl 'puš-ē čē 'pâdsâ čhō bōn. Bâw-ē da 'âya,  
zū sâr wân dhurang 'mâwar 'jân tar-ē, ba'zu 'jân tar-ē, tufangi'ka  
'pūs 'sōr tar-ē. 'Pâdsâ 'hukm koř čē «Mende ne'řōr!» Men'dē  
qâpč'iân 'nōř-an, Qāsem ma 'bōr nař'γō(n), 'puš tar-ē 'xešem koř.  
Jā'ri čē: «'Puš-e ma'nâ 'bade 'pâdsâ čhō, da'mâγ-ē be'land čhō. Tâ  
bîn zîr-e dōst-an, 'bade čē 'hukm kana, 'mēran-um te.»

'Bâw-ē ru'hen čhī dâl jīnč-ē, jā'ri: «'Puš-e ma'nâ čē 'pâdsâ čhō,  
ma 'mun-ē de'hen, de'hen darbâ'ri ma 'bōr-an nař-an.» Jīnč-ē jā'ri  
ma Qāsem 'xâ-ē čē: «Žē čē 'mâ u 'tū dâl ha'wī pu'si-an ča'takeman.»  
Huddinân-ē dâl pâdsâ'i 'xešem koř, čhē, zū mai'dân tar-ē za'hēn.  
Žū 'tī 'sō bōn. Bix-e 'tika tar zū čišma-i e'stâwō 'âwo 'sō bōn.  
'Xâ-ē ma 'jīnč-ē jā'ri čē: «Žū ga'ri 'pareman, 'ta-e hō'wī 'tī 'nhineman  
čē 'sēγ-a, 'âwo ham un'hāk sī, na'γōn am 'xareman, zū ga'ri

a present, and they took his family, brought them to the king, saying:  
"We have brought your father." He said: "Bring him into my  
presence."

Then they brought Qasim into the presence of his son who had be-  
come a king. His father entered, [dressed] like a camel-driver. He  
wore a woollen jacket and black trousers (?), and on his head he had  
a musketeer's cap (?). The king ordered them to take him away. Then  
the doorkeepers took him out, and Qasim went, feeling angry with his  
son. He said: "Now my son has become a king and gives himself  
airs. When he was small he was in our power; but now they will  
kill me at his command."

His father went weeping to his wife and said: "My son, who has  
become a king, has beaten me and driven me out of the durbar."<sup>2</sup> "His  
wife said to her husband Qasim: "Come, let us run away from our  
son." Both of them became angry with the king, and they went away  
and came to a plain. There there was a tree, and at the foot of the  
tree was a spring of cold water. The husband said to his wife: "Let  
us go and sit down for a while under that tree. There is shade and

<sup>1</sup> -an?

<sup>2</sup> This sentence is an anacoluthon, starting with -ē "he" as a subject and continu-  
ing with -an "they".

'rhîzeman.» Qâsem na'γōn-ē pu'tī lasē'wī, 'hudde 'xâ wo 'jīnč da 'xūrō čhēn. Na'γōn-an 'xūr 'āwo-an 'thōr. 'Sēγ-e 'tika tar rhî'zēn, 'xōm-an bur.

Pâdsâ ma ardali'ân-ē ja'rī: «Ču'mōr, 'dâda-i ma'nâ 'kū čhī? 'Jīgar-əm 'xūn kor, na'ī čē 'xešem ku'rō bē, zuř-ē 'mō tar 'dařd ku'rō bē.» Ardali'ân čhēn ma 'γus-ē ma 'bâw-ē-an ma 'γus 'na γunt. Ardali'ân a'pešt âγēn dâl 'pâdsâ, ja'rī: «Ma 'bâw-aw-an 'na γunt, ma 'γus 'na hōst.» Jā'rī: «Žē, 'turp-e re'sâla 'ēnōr, čē peš 'dâda-m wese'jēm. 'Dâda-m 'mun tar 'xešem ku'rō.»

Dī sat su'wâr re'sâla dâl 'pâdsâ â'γēn. Jā'rī: «Ču'mōr, ma 'dâda-m ēnōr, čē 'mu pen-ē dâ'wâ ku'rō, 'xešem-ē ku'rō 'mun tar.» Resâ'lân ja'rī: «Yâ 'pâdsâ, 'mâ 'khân jāi 'paraman? 'Kâwanō 'lūrīman? 'Jây-e u'dân-an 'na dhu'rō.» Sōr resâ'lân 'pâdsâ 'khâr čhī, re'sâlân ō'spân-an su'wâr 'nhâstan, 'lūr čhē.

Na'γēn, čhēn, žū mai'dâ tar-ē za'hēn, 'thâri-an čē žū 'ti sī, dâl hō'wī 'ti risâ'lâ za'hēn. 'Dhuř-an čē 'Qâsem u 'jīnč-ē 'zuř ba 'zuř 'rhîzō-ēn, men'dânân re'sâlân 'xōmī čīdē'wī. Hē 'hudde 'xâ wu jīnč

water too, let us eat our food and lie down for a while." Qasim took the food off his back, and husband and wife started eating. They ate their food and drank water. Then they lay down in the shade of the tree and fell asleep.

The king said to his orderlies: "Go [and see], where my father has gone. I am distressed, [fearing] that he may have got angry with me and that his heart may be offended with me." The orderlies went to his [father's] house, but did not find his father at home. They came back to the king and said: "We did not find your father, he was not at home." Then he said: "Go and bring a troop of cavalrymen whom I can send to find my father. He has become angry with me."

Two hundred cavalrymen appeared before the king, who said to them: "Go and fetch my father, for he has quarrelled with me and has become angry with me." The cavalrymen said: "O king, to what place shall we go, and in what direction shall we seek? We have not seen where he is." The king became angry with the cavalrymen, and they mounted their horses and went to search [for his father].

They went away, rode, and came to a plain. There they espied a tree, and the cavalrymen approached it. Then they saw Qasim and his wife sleeping in each others' arms. They awakened them, and



uštāen. Re'sālān ja'ri: «Mu'zōr, 'pareman! Ma 'wā huddi'nān 'pādsā 'dhēwō.» Hō huddi'nān ja'ri-an ēe: «'Mā-ē 'na 'paraman.» Re'sālān ma Qāsem u jīnč-ē am ma huddi'nān-ē-an 'bōst, sōr 'ōsp-an su'wār ku'an, ma huddi'nān-ē-an dāl 'pādsā bu.

Re'sālān ja'ri: «Yā 'pādsā, ma Qāsem u jīnč-ē-an 'ānt.» 'Pādsā ja'ri: «'Ēnōr-ē dāl mun.» Ma Qāsem-an bu dāl 'pādsā, sa'lām-e pādsā'āna-i dā, 'dōst-e rāst tar-e pād'sāika 'nhōst. 'Pādsā ja'ri: «'Tū 'dāda-m-ē, 'ān 'pādsā, tu wa'zir-e rāsti'ka-m 'bē!»

Hō wī resālān ēe ma 'dāda-i pādsāi'kā-n ānta bōn, 'pādsā mun'dhēk kun wese'jī, peš Mirzā biya-ye 'ghānd-ē hē resālān 'ham chēn. Mirzān 'yus tar za'hēn, ma Mirzā-an ja'ri: «Muš, ēe biyā-a 'pādsā chō, 'dādā wa'zir. Ma 'tō 'ham-ē dhē'wō.»

Mirzā dī 'puš gu'rīn-ē re'sālā pen 'āya. Zū 'puš-e Mirzā zū kama'ri chā'ri. 'Ē 'muṣ, men'dī 'gūr kor. Zū 'puš-e 'zā pen-ē dāl 'pādsā biya-ē za'hī. Re'sālān dāl 'pādsā chēn, a'pā chēn, ja'ri: «Yā 'pādsā, ma Merzā biyā-w-an zū 'puš pen-ē 'ānt, zū 'puš-e 'zā-ē kama'ri chā'ri, 'muṣ.» 'Pādsā ja'ri: «Ču'mōr, ma Mirzā biyā-om ē'nōr!»

husband and wife both rose. The cavalymen said: "Come, let us go! The king has called for both of you." They said that they would not go. Then the cavalymen bound Qasim and his wife, put them on horseback and took them to the king.

There they said: "O king, we have brought Qasim and his wife." The king said: "Bring them into my presence." Then they brought Qasim to the king, and he gave him the royal salaam, and sat down at his right hand. The king said: "You are my father; I am king, and you shall be the vizier of my right hand."

The king sent those cavalymen, who had brought his father, to his eldest brother Mirza, and they went to fetch him. They came to Mirza's house and said to him: "Come, your brother has become a king, and your father a vizier. He has called for you, too."

Mirza took his two sons and went with the cavalymen. One of his sons fell down a precipice and was killed. His father buried him, and went with his other son to his brother, the king. The cavalymen approached the king, halted, and said: "O king, we have brought your brother Mirza and one of his sons. His other son fell from a rock and was killed." The king said: "Go, and bring my brother Mirza."

Re'salân ma Mir'zâ bi'yay-an 'bur. 'Pâdsâ 'dhur, u'stâ, Mirzâ'an pî'sânî ma'çi kor, ja'ri: «'Puš-e tâ pa'nân tar 'mur, tu xu'xâ-w 'janô bî.» Čau'ki 'döst-e 'čap tar-ē 'pâdsâ 'lam dâ, ma Mer'zâ-e bi'yâ-ē ja'ri: «'Nhîn!» Mir'zâ 'nhöst. 'Pâdsâ ja'ri: «'Dâda-m wa'zir-e döst-e 'râstika-m, 'tu Mer'zâ bi'ya-om wa'zir-e 'döst-e 'čapika-m.» Ma Mer'zâ-ē ja'ri: «'Tû zâ ho'qûf dērē, čē 'khân jâi la'skar pai'dâ 'pari-a, 'jang ka'nen-ē na'rē?» Jā'ri: «'Nâ, 'ân-e 'na narem.» Zû čapi'lâk-ē 'pâdsâ mahak 'mux tar-e Mir'zâ bi'ya-e 'ghaḥḍika-i 'dhi. Mir'zâ bî-naḥk bîn, 'jâi 'heč na u'stâ. 'Bâw-ē ja'ri: «'Čâ 'dhî?» 'Pâdsâ ja'ri čē: «'Xub-um kor. 'Aga 'mu kun bi'yâ 'bē, 'kâri 'bē, 'nē čē na 'bē, 'kačal bi'yâ 'heč na 'bē.»

Ma 'bâw-ē 'padšâ khuje'wi, ja'ri: «'Zû pa'lang-a Nâr'wâtî'â tar, mun'dî 'ēnen na'rē, yâ 'na-i na'rē?». 'Bâw-ē ja'ri: «'Aga 'ēnen-ē 'na na'rem, xu xa'rem te. 'Ân-ē 'gap-e tu 'pušika-m na 'nim, 'har kû wese'jē, 'param-ē.» 'Bâw-ē čhi ma 'yus. Jî'nč tar-ē rux'sat ghît, ja'ri: «'Puš-um-â ma 'mun we'seštô sô pa'lang, 'â 'žim yâ 'na?» Jî'nč-e 'Qâsem du'wâ dâ, ja'ri: «'Čhō, em'salla 'ēnî te.»

The cavalrymen brought his brother Mirza. When the king saw him, he rose, kissed Mirza's forehead and said: "Your son died on the road, but you remained alive yourself." The king placed a chair on his left hand and bade his brother Mirza sit there. Mirza sat down. The king said: "My father is the vizier of my right hand; you, my brother Mirza, are the vizier of my left hand." And he said further: "Have you got any strength, so that, if an army should appear somewhere, you can fight against it?" Mirza answered: "No, I cannot do so." Then the king gave his eldest brother Mirza a slap on the face. Mirza had no sense of honour and did not rise. But his father asked: "Why did you strike him?" The king answered: "I have done well. If I am to have a brother, he must be brave; if he is not that, and is worthless, it is better that he should not exist at all."

Then the king asked his father, saying: "There is a panther at Narvatiān, can you bring it here or not?" His father answered: "If I cannot bring it, I shall at any rate eat it. I shall not transgress your command, my son, but go wherever you send me." Then his father went home, took leave of his wife and said: "My son is sending me against the panther, shall I go or not?" Qasim's wife prayed and said: "Go, and if it please God, you will bring it back."



Ma Mer'zâ 'pâdsâ dilâ'sâ-ê kor, ja'rî: «Aga 'nâ-w ham na'rî, har ker çe ân ja'rê (?), ja'r: 'narem-ê.» Mer'zâ ja'rî: «Ja'r! 'Khân jâ-y-əm te wese-jê?» Ja'rî: «Çhō, Dâ'lâsang tar zū 'kurri sî, 'mên-ê 'yus dhirang-a, 'mê 'kurri tar zū 'šer hâ. Ma 'šer chu, 'gure, zê! Zū 'tech-e šerikâ 'kōr-a, 'pâ-e 'râst-e šerikâ ham 'šutt-a, 'šâx-e 'râst-e šerikâ-m rhâ'zōy-a.»

Mer'zâ 'jâi u'stâ, bi'yâ 'pâdsâ tar-ê du'wâ ghît, 'mên-e xu'kân-ê 'böst, šam'sēr-ê 'döst-ê ghît, sör 'ösp su'wâr-ê çhî. Çhî, zū mai'dân tar-ê za'hî. 'Uk-ê wi'yâr kor. Sa'hâr çhî, Mer'zâ 'ösp-ê su'wâr 'nhöst, Dâ'lâsang tar za'hî.

Šam'sēr-ê 'luê kor. 'Phârî 'šer 'âya, 'phyârî Mir'zâ šam'sēr-e 'luê ha'la kor sō 'šer. 'Šer ham 'šunđ-ê 'xêi kor, ha'la-i kor, nez'dik-e Mir'zâ'ân za'hî. Mir'zâ 'šer tar ber'khî, 'dehen-ê 'na narî, šam'sēr-e xu'kân-ê Mer'zâ mhak 'šun-tar-e šerikâ dâ. 'Šer çe 'qūwat kor, šam'sēr ka'ten çhî, šunđî 'tâ ba 'dumb-e šerikâ šam'sēr ka'tî. Ma 'šer-ê 'nespe-ê 'çap-ê sör 'ösp Mir'zâ 'bhâr kor, 'ânt-ê dâl 'pâdsâ.

'Pâdsâ 'dhuř çe: «Bi'yâ-e ma'nân 'šer 'ânt, ma laška'rân-ê pailân

The king consoled Mirza, saying: "Whatever task I propose, say that you can do it, even if you cannot." Mirza said: "Tell me where you are going to send me." The king said: "Go to Dalansang; there is a ravine there, and in the middle of it there is something resembling a house, and in that ravine there lives a lion. Go up to the lion, seize it, and come back. The lion is blind in one eye and lame in the right foot, and its right horn (sic!) is broken."

Mirza rose, prayed before his brother the king, girded his loins, and taking a sword in his hand mounted a horse. Then he set out and came to a plain where he spent the night. Next morning Mirza mounted his horse and came to Dalansang.

There he unsheathed his sword. The lion came from the opposite side, and from his side Mirza ran with his naked sword to attack the lion. The lion opened its jaws, ran and drew near to Mirza. Mirza was afraid of the lion and could not kill it; but he struck with his sword at the lion's jaws. Though the lion stood at bay, it was cut open by the sword from the jaws to the tail. Mirza loaded the left half of the lion on his horse, and took it to the king.

When the king saw that his brother had brought the lion, he sent his soldiers to meet him. The soldiers went towards him and saw

tar wesejī. Laška'rân pai'lân tar 'čhēn, laška'rân ham ma 'šēr sōr 'ōsp 'bhâr ku'ŗōi 'dhōŗ. Mer'zâ ma 'šēr sōr 'ōspi mħag 'mēn 'laška'r-ē 'yušt. 'Laška'r ber'khī, 'žu lak 'laška'r bēn, 'huss-ē 'murda-e 'šērika tar čaṭa'kēn.

Mir'zâ 'yax koŗ: «'Na čaṭa'kōŗ, čē ē 'šēr-a mu'ŗō». Palta'nâ nez-dik-e 'šēri'ka 'āyēn, 'munde 'šēr-an dħuŗ, hai'rân ūzâ'hī. Palta'nân mē 'xu ja'ŗi-an čē: «'Hē pādšâi'ka bi'yâ pāla'wân-e 'ghāṇḍ-a. 'Pādšâ 'yala'ba guda'ŗō bōn, 'mende 'šēr 'khīn de'hen 'na narī. 'Bade bi'yā-e pādšâi'ka pāla'wân Mir'zâ dehō, 'nīm-ē 'āwu'ŗō.»

'Pādšâ-e tari'wâl 'du lak la'ška'r sōr 'šēr wesejō bōn, ma 'laška'r-ē 'šēr šikast 'dâ bōn. 'Žu 'tūp pen 'žū 'šâx-e 'šēri'ka tar la'gō bōn, 'šâx-ē 'xâr ku'ŗō bōn. 'Žū sepâi'ka tu'fang 'tečh tar-e 'šēri'ka la'gō bōn, 'tečh-ē 'kōŗ kuŗa bōn. 'Žū resâla 'pâ tar-ē ba tal'wâr dehō bō, 'pâ-ē 'xâr kuŗa bōn. Ma 'hōt ha'zâr 'paltan-e ho'wī 'pādšâ-e ga'inika 'šēr 'mâta bōn, da'nânân pen 'čīr 'čīr 'kuŗa bōn.

'Bade bi'yā-e pādšâi'ka 'čhī, ma 'šēr-ē âli'sō, 'čīr-ē ku'ŗō, 'nesp-ē 'ghītō, 'āwu'ŗō. 'Mende 'šēr am 'buŗ dâl 'pādšâ. Mer'zâ am 'čhī

the lion which he had loaded on his horse. Mirza threw the lion down from the horse among the soldiers, who were terrified. There was one lakh of soldiers; but they all fled from the dead body of the lion.

Mirza shouted: "Do not run away, the lion is dead." The soldiers approached the lion, and when they saw it, they became astonished and said among themselves: "This brother of the king is a great warrior. The king has travelled about much; but [he has not found] anyone who could kill this lion. Now the king's brother, the warrior Mirza, has killed it and brought half of it here."

A former king had sent two lakhs of soldiers against the lion, and the lion had defeated the soldiers. One of the lion's horns had been hit by a cannon, and had been broken. One of the lion's eyes had been hit by a soldier's rifle, and had been blinded. One cavalryman had hit the lion's feet with his sabre, and the foot had been broken. But the lion had killed seven thousand soldiers of that ancient king, and had crushed them with its teeth.

Now the king's brother came, caught the lion and cut it up; and he took half of it and brought it. He also brought the [whole?] lion



dâl 'pâdsâ, sô çau'kî 'nhôšt. Ĵa'ri: «Šâ'bâš, biyâ! 'Tu pâla'wân-e 'ghâñd-ê.»

X (G).

Žū kačō-ârak bin. 'Whētōn ōst 'dhâr tar, zū 'bhâr 'kačō ōst 'ârtōn, 'mundē ōst pha'râtetōn, 'ârtōn ōst, bhây-e kačōi'ka ōst na'γōn 'xartōn.

'Ĉhî 'dhâr tar, du 'bhâr ka'čōi hu'pât, 'zū 'bhâr-ê â'wur, 'zū 'bhâr-ê 'lam dâ. Sa'bâ kun-ê 'γarp o 'γâr uz'gî, ĉi'men 'na na'rî; 'γarp o 'γâr ka'râr koř, ĉhî ĉe ma 'kačō ē 'âra. 'Ĉhî, ĉe kačōi'kân-ê bu'rō, the'wōi. Ĵa'ri ĉe: «Ā zâ ĉi ka'nem, 'kačō 'na sî ĉe ba'rem, pha'râtem, 'wâřōn gu'rîm, na'γōn xa'rem.»

'Thârî ĉe 'bhây-e u'dân 'tilla phe'rō, ma 'huss-ê 'jam koř, dâ'men tar-ê 'ghît, â'ya ma 'γus, daulat'mand ĉhî.

'Ē 'dî 'puš koř, 'nâm-e zūi'ka 'Sâd 'lam dâ, zūi'ka Sâ'hîd. 'Ĉhî bâ'zâr tar, zū 'kury-ê 'ghît, gu'rîn-ê â'ya ma 'γus ĉe: «Pu'sân-om

to the king. Then Mirza went to the king, and sat down on the chair. The king said: "Well done, O brother! You are a great warrior."

X.

There was a furze-gatherer. He used to go to the hills, and bring an armful of furze and sell it, (bring it) and eat bread for the price the furze fetched.

Once he went to the hill, and pulled out two armfuls of furze. One of them he took with him; but the other he left behind. Next day there was a storm of snow and rain, and he could not walk about. When the storm abated, he went to fetch the furze. When he came to take away the furze, it had been set alight. Then he said: "What else can I do? There is no furze for me to take and sell, that I may buy flour and eat bread."

Then he saw that the ash [from the furze] had turned into gold; he collected all of it, took it in the skirt of his robe, and went home. He became a rich man.

He had two sons, and called the one Sad, the other Sahid. Once he went to the bazar and bought a hen. He took it and went home [thinking]: "My sons can play with it." The hen laid an egg, and

'wāṣaran.» Hō'wī 'kury zū 'ēx 'lam dā, 'mende 'ēx-ē 'ghīt, 'chī bā'zār tar, 'mende 'har 'khān jāi 'čimē'wī, 'khīn na 'ghīt.

Zū 'ādam 'thārī, 'če 'dhōr-ē, 'yaṭ-ē kor. Jā'ri: «'Ēx-a 'ār dāl 'mun, 'ān-ē pa 'bhāi gu'rīm.» Jā'ri: «'Bhāy-ē 'či kō?» Jā'ri: «'Ān-em 'na 'fām'tōn.» Jā'ri: «'Ān-em<sup>1</sup> 'yust rupa'i gu'rīm.» Jā'ri: «'Zā-e 'ēx am 'dēre?» Jā'ri: «'Hā, 'kury 'dērem, 'aga 'lam daha, 'ārem-ē.»

'Čel 'ēx buṛ-ē o pharā'tī, 'daulat-e ṣala'ba-i 'ghīt. 'Āṣa dukān'dār, ja'ri ma zū 'kattō za'if: «'Čhā, wa'tan tar 'čim, 'har 'khān jāi 'če 'kury-e ablaq-a 'dhuṛ, ma 'mun 'xabar kan.» 'Kattō za'if 'chī, 'huss-e ṣu'sāna 'chī'mī, 'āṣa kačō-āraki'ka 'yus, 'āṣa 'če en'hāk ma 'kury-e ablaq-ē 'dhōr, a'pēs 'chī, ma dukān'dār-ē xa'bar kor.

Dukān'dār ja'ri ma 'kattō za'if: «'Čhō, ma 'jinč-e 'kačō-āraki'ka 'mun pen 'jōr kan!» 'Daulat-ē dā, 'kattō-e za'if 'āṣa dāl kačō-āraki'ka 'jinč. Jā'ri 'če: «'Zū dukān'dār hā, ma tō'i u'dhek pen 'jōr ka'nem,

he took the egg to the bazar. He walked about with it everywhere; but nobody bought it.

Then a man caught sight of him, and noticing him, shouted and said: "Bring your egg to me, and I will buy it." And he said: "What is the price?" [The furze-gatherer] answered: "I do not know." The man said: "I shall buy it for twenty rupees." And he asked: "Have you got another egg?" He answered: "Yes, I have a hen; if it lays any eggs, I will bring them."

He brought and sold forty eggs, and received much money. The shopkeeper went and said to an old woman: "Go, walk about in the country, and if you see a piebald hen anywhere, tell me." The old woman went and walked about to all the houses. She came to the furze-gatherer's house; she came and saw a piebald hen there; and she returned and told the shopkeeper.

Then the shopkeeper said to the old woman: "Go and make an arrangement for me with the furze-gatherer's wife." He gave her money and the old woman went to the furze-gatherer's wife and said to her: "There is a shopkeeper, and I am to make an arrangement between him and you. He is a good-looking young man, and possesses

<sup>1</sup> 'Ān-ē?



ɣala'ba xūb ju'wân-a, 'daulat ham ɣulū dēra. Ma kury-a mēr,  
če dukân'dâr-ē mhēmân-e tân 'zē.»

Kačō-āraki'ka jīnč 'ghīt, ma •kury-ē māt. Ma katōō za'if-ē ja'ri:  
«Cho ma dukân'dâr 'ēn!» Katōō za'if 'chī pēs dukân'dâr. Ma dukân-  
dâr gu'rīn 'āya, 'ɣūs-e kuryi'kā xūr, mende za'if-ē 'ghīt, 'chī, bu-ē  
ma 'ɣus-ē. Xā o jīnč 'chī, 'ɣuss o bōr-e xukân-ē e'lā koɣ, ma  
dukân'dâr-ē 'ghīt, ma pu'sân-ē ham mai'dân tar lam dā.

# XI (G).

Sul'tân 'Māmūd pādšā bīn, dī 'ōsp dērō bōn, zūika nām-ē fāphō'nē  
bīn, zūika nām-ē A'ir bīn. Ma mhēta'rân-ē ja'ri če: «Men'dânân  
ba'kâr dha'rēwōr, če ēân xūb čak 'paran!» Zū ruč-ē dhōɣ če xa-  
râb chēn; ma mhēta'rân-ē ja'ri če: «'Ōsp-e ma'nân câ xarâb chēn?»  
Mhēta'rân ja'ri če: «Wi'yâr jīnč-aw-â 'zitōn, ma zūi-a su'wâr 'chem-  
tōn; zâ xa'wân-a 'zitōn, ma zâ-ē-a su'wâr 'chemtōn. 'Whēwetōn-a,  
'mā-iman na pântân če 'khân jāy-a 'whēwetōn.»

much wealth. Kill your hen, that the shopkeeper may come as your  
guest.»

The furze-gatherer's wife took and killed the hen, and said to the  
old woman: "Go and bring the shopkeeper." The old woman went  
to fetch the shopkeeper, and brought him back with her. He ate the  
meat of the hen, seized the woman, and carried her away to his house.  
So they became husband and wife. She left her own house and hearth,  
and left her sons also in the plain.

# XI.

Sultan Mahmud was the name of a king; he had two horses, the  
one was called Wind, and the other Cloud.<sup>1</sup> The king said to his  
grooms: "Take good care of these [horses] that they may become nice  
and fat." One day he saw that they looked bad, and he said to the  
grooms: "Why do my horses look so bad?" They answered: "Your  
wife comes one night and rides away on one of them, another night  
she comes and rides away on the back of the other. She goes for a  
ride; but we do not know where she goes."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Semenov: *Materialy dlja izuč. narččija gorn. tadžikov centr. Azii*, II, 36:  
*duṭta asp došt, yaktaš Abr va yakši Boḍ.*

Sultân 'Mâmūd xu'kâ 'zuř tar 'fikər kuř. Ho'wī xa'wân 'xõm-ē 'na buř, 'jīnč-ē 'dālī u'stā, ma'bõr nař'γõ. 'Ē pēs'chan-ē nař'γõ, 'jīnč-ē 'tartar-ē, 'ē pēs'chan-ē 'chī. 'Jīnč-ē xīa Sultân 'Mâmūd na 'dhuř.

'Ē 'chī zū 'jāi 'dhār tar, oke'stāk zū 'khur 'šõ bõn, oke'stāk āšu-qān-ē hastan. Āšu-qān-ē sõr tar-ē 'khār chēn çe: «'Čā 'yīr 'āyē?» 'Jīnč-ē ja'řī çe: «Sultân 'Mâmūdān 'xõm õst na 'bartõn.» Mend-ē'ān u'stē'wī, 'ē da 'wāyār 'chī, 'ē'dānān 'maila 'sur koř, 'ē'dē 'γu'ld 'yīr wāya'ri.

Sultân 'Mâmūd un'hāk pa'pā hõst, 'sāil-ē 'dhõř. Dāl 'ēdē tar zū la'tai 'čār'bī sõ bõn, tēl-e pad'dõ 'dērõ bõn, sõ 'daur ku'řõ tar mend-'hēk pen'dī koř, kālān-e 'jīnčeka tar-ē. 'Wāxt-e ruxsa'tī 'jīnčeka-ē çe 'chī, xu'xu-ē tar-ē 'dā, 'āya, 'jīnč-ē 'mendē 'hēc na 'dhõř. 'Āya, 'jāi tar-ē rhī'zī. 'Pēs tar-ē 'jīnč-ē ham za'hī, ka'rār dāl 'xāē rhī'zī.

Zū 'sāt çe rhī'zī Sultân 'Mâmūd ma'lak xūř, da'gas kuř. 'Jīnj-ē ja'řī çe: «'Čā bī'wār 'chē xu 'sõr-a larzē'wī?» Sultân 'Mâmūd ja'řī: «'Čī (= 'či-ē) 'jartõn, çe 'saxt 'xõm-um 'dhõř.» 'Jā'řī çe: «'Čī 'xõm-a 'dhõř?» 'Jā'řī: «'Xõm-um 'dhõř, çe tū 'γu'sī nař'γē, ma 'õsp-e A'ir-a

Sultan Mahmud considered the matter in his heart. That night he could not fall asleep, and his wife rose from his side and went out. He went after her; his wife went in front, and he behind. But his wife did not see Sultan Mahmud.

She went on and came to a hill where there was a cave, and her lovers were there. Her lovers got angry with her [and said]: "Why have you come so late?" His wife answered: "Sultan Mahmud did not fall asleep." They made her stand up, and she began dancing. They made merry and played music, and she danced till it was very late.

Sultan Mahmud stood there watching her. He had a greasy rag which was full of black oil, and as his wife turned round, he squeezed it on to her clothes. When the time came for his wife to take leave, he went before her and came [home], and she did not see him at all. He came [home], and lay down on his bed. After him his wife also arrived and lay down quietly by her husband's side.

At once when she lay down Sultan Mahmud moved and shook himself. His wife asked: "Why are you so restless, and why did you shake your head?" Sultan Mahmud said: "Why do you ask? I have had a bad dream." She asked: "What did you dream?" He



su'wâr nhöst, 'chē zu 'dhâr tar, oke'stāk zu 'khur 'sō bōn. 'Ān ma 'ōsp-e lāphōnē su'wâr 'nhāstam, 'ān ham un'hak za'hēm. Oke'stak 'čāwâr haba'sī tāt āsu'qān ha'stan. Sōr 'tō-an šanufart koṛ, sōr 'tō yala'ba 'khār 'chēn. 'Tō ma 'mun 'šāb dā, ja'riy-a 'čē: 'Nī xa'wān 'ōst Sultān Māmūdān 'xōm na 'bartōn, ma'nān 'yīr-um 'chī. 'Bete ma 'tō-an uštēwī, tu da wā'yār 'chē. 'Tō wā'yārī; dāl 'mun la'tay-e tēle'kā 'čār'bī sō bōn, munde'hēk-um 'tāt kā'lān tar tu'ri, tāt kā'lān 'čār'bī 'chī.»

'Jīnč-ē ja'ri 'čē: 'Tō-ē du'rūy 'jartōn, 'xōm xi'yāl-a. 'Ja'ri: 'Agar 'xōm xi'yāl-a, 'ān-em du'rūy 'jartōn, ma kā'lān-an 'ār 'čē 'ān rušā'nī tar bu'chēm. 'Agar ma'nān 'sūy 'rāst-a, xu kā'lān-an 'čār'bī-a, agar du'rūy-a, be'dān tāt 'sūy 'rāst-a, 'čē 'xōm xi'yāl-a. 'Ma kā'lān 'jīnč-ē ā'wuṛ, thārī 'čē kā'lā-ē hōst 'čār'bī 'chō, dāl Sultān Māmūd lej'ji.

'Ē zū 'elm a'wē 'dērō bōn, 'čē ma 'māneš 'ōst e'spō phe'rēwtōn. Ha'wī za'if ba 'xirō-ē uštā 'čē ē'dān 'mux 'astara. Hō'wī 'elm-ē xā'nī, Sultān Māmūd-ē e'spō phre'wī. Ma pairadā'rān-ē ja'ri 'čē: 'Mende

answered: "I dreamt that you went out of the house, mounted Cloud, and went to a mountain where there was a cave. I mounted Wind, and went there too. There were some negroes there who were your lovers. They scolded you and became very angry with you. You cursed me and said: 'Tonight Sultan Mahmud did not fall asleep, and that was why I came so late.' After that they made you stand up, and you started dancing. While you were dancing, I took a rag, greasy with oil, which I had brought. I dripped the oil on to your clothes, and they became greasy."

Then his wife said: "You are lying, a dream is only a fancy." He said: "If a dream is only a fancy, and I am lying, bring your clothes that I may look at them in the light. If my word is true, then your clothes will be greasy; if it is a lie, well, then what you say is true, and a dream is only a fancy." His wife brought her clothes, and they saw that her clothes had become greasy, and she felt ashamed before Sultan Mahmud.

She had learned a charm, by which she changed men into dogs. The woman rose in a friendly way to wipe his face. She recited the charm and turned Sultan Mahmud into a dog. Then she said to the guards: "Why have you allowed this dog to enter the king's castle?"

e'spō 'čekun 'lām dāwō, 'če pādśāika 'kāsr tar ā'γō? Pairadā'rān  
'mendē e'spō ma 'bōr 'nōt. Jā'ri 'če: «De'hen, de'hen šā'ri ma 'bōr ka'nōr!»

'Mendē e'spō-e pad'dō ph'rēwō bōq. Šār bā'zār tar-ē 'hukēm koř  
'če: «'Har jây-ō e'spō-ye 'paddō 'yōnt, 'janōr-ē!» 'Har jāi 'astan 'če  
ma e'spō-e 'paddō 'yōntan, 'jantan astan. 'Hē e'spō xu 'māneš bīn,  
'ēde fāmī 'če: «Ma'nān jīnē 'hukēm ku'řō 'če har 'khān jây-ō e'spō-e  
'paddō 'yōnt, 'janōr-ē.»

'Ē huš'yār bīn, žū 'dhār tar ā'zī 'če: «Ma 'mun 'khīn 'na 'yuna.»  
'Čā ruč-ē hō'wī 'dhār tar guzārān kōr, un'hāk-ē žū 'khur 'yōnt, un'hāk  
dar 'āya. Hō'wī 'khur tar 'yu'lū 'daulat sō bōn, 'edē dhōř 'če: «'Bade  
'yīr sōr mu'nī guda'řō.» Sōr 'edē 'yurčā'gī 'yāwe'ri koř, jā'ri 'če:  
'«Pa'ram bā'zār tar, magam mardumi'kā nhā'mōř 'čhō bē, ma 'mun  
'khīn na 'mēra, magam 'zā 'yu'nem 'če xa'rēm.»

Ber'khen, ber'khen 'āya, ma'řōk, ma'řōk 'āya, dāl du'kān-e na'yōn-  
phakōi'kā. Un'hāk rhī'zī, 'žū dī 'řōk-e na'yōni'kā 'thōi u'dhek e'spō kun  
andā'zī, 'ēdē xūr, a'stafi 'sīr 'čhī. 'Mendē 'khīn na 'dhī. 'Čā ruč-ē dāl  
hō'wī na'yōn-pe'čāk dha'ri, har 'rūč 'ōst 'ēdē kun na'yōni'kā 'thōi'yā  
'dhaitōn, 'ē 'ōst 'xartōn.

The guards chased the dog away, and she said: "Beat this dog and drive it out of the town."

She had turned him into a black dog, and in the town and the bazar she ordered that they should kill the black dog, wherever they found it. And in every place where they found the black dog, they [tried to] kill it. But this dog was a man, and he understood that his wife had ordered them to kill the black dog wherever they found it.

He was wise and fled to a mountain, in order that nobody should find him. He stayed for some days on that mountain, and found a cave there which he entered. There was a great treasure in that cave. When he saw that a long time had passed, and when he was much pained by hunger, he said: "I will go to the bazar, people will certainly have forgotten me, and they will not kill me. But I may find something to eat."

Full of fear and slowly, slowly he approached [the bazar], and came to a baker's shop. There he lay down, and they threw one or two bits of burnt bread to the dog. He ate them and filled his belly. Nobody touched him. He stayed for some days with the baker, who gave him every day some bits of burnt bread which he ate.



Čâ 'ruč sör'i guda'ri, pâ'nân tar-ê ha'wî na'yon-pečaki'kâ pa'li, dō'γund (dumb) o 'sör pen-ê öst men'dhëk na'yon-pečäk 'dhëtön, 'tar-ê öst 'dhaitön çe: «Zê!» Hê na'yon-pečäk öst 'pö na 'kantön.

Äxer zû 'ruč-ê ja'ri çe: «Än peš e'dhëk e'spö pa'ram, çe 'ëya ma 'mun 'ëi 'jartön, yâ 'khân jây-â 'whëwetön.» E'spö 'tar-ê 'dá, na'yon-pečäk pëš'chan-ê 'čhi, 'čhi hö'wi 'dhâr tar-ê zahë'wi, hö'wi 'khur tar-ê a'pačë koř. Hödī'nân-ê dar 'âyën, hê na'yon-pečäk dau'lat-e γu'lū 'dhör, hai'rân üzâ, çe: «E 'ëi serra?» Ha'wî e'spö i'sârat koř çe: «Khū kan!» Hê na'yon-pečäk az-ân-çe çe 'zürī-ê öst 'zhaitön der'zi. Ma 'bör na'γö, a'pëšt 'âya, e'spö ham pëš'chan-ê 'âya, 'γus tar-e na'yon-pečaki'kâ za'hën, 'mendë e'spö-ê 'ham mën 'γus-ê 'bör, mendi ma 'γus tar-ê 'böst.

Ma bö'ri 'düt-e na'yon-pečaki'kâ 'âya, men'dhëk e'spö-ê çe 'dhör, 'mux-ê üta'fi. Bâw-ê ma 'sörī 'khâr 'čhi çe: «Mâneš-a 'mâneš tar mux 'ütaftön, 'tö e'spö tar 'čâ mux üta'fi?» Ja'ri çe: «Äi bâw, 'tū sör 'mun tar 'khâr 'na 'čhâ, çe 'mun zû rüč suwâ'ri Sul'tân Mâmū'dân 'dhōra bön, te'čhân-e ha'wî espöi'ka-m ba te'čhân-e

Several days passed, and he used to follow at the heels of the baker; he would brush against him with his tail and his head, and would walk in front of him [as if he wanted him] to follow. But the baker did not understand.

At last one day the baker said: "I will follow the dog [to see], what it is that he wants to tell me, or where he is going." The dog went in front and the baker behind. They went on, and came to the hill, and he sent [the dog] before him into the cave. They both entered it, and when the baker saw the rich treasure, he was astonished [and said]: "What mystery is this?" But the dog made a sign to him that he should pick it up. The baker took as much as he was able to carry on his back. Then he went out, and returned [to town]. The dog followed him, and when they reached the baker's house, the baker took it into the house and tied it up there.

The baker's daughter entered the house, and when she saw the dog, she covered her face. Her father was angry with her [and said]: "A human being covers his face in the presence of another human being; but why did you cover your face in the presence of a dog?" She answered: "O father, do not be angry with me; but one day I saw Sultan Mahmud riding, and I saw the eyes of this dog in the eyes of

Sultân Mâmūdân dhōr, fakat udhe'kân te'chân dhīrang-ēn. Hē e'spō da xušwax'ti kuřō 'chī, sōr-ē čukēwī.

Na'γōn-pečaki'kā jīnč 'ham hōwī, 'elm a'wē dērō bōn, men'dhēk e'spō-ē 'bete 'māneš ph'rē'wī, saī čē ha'wī e'spō Sultân Maha'mūd bīn. Ha'wī na'γōn-pečāk 'bā'zār tar 'chī, ma zū 'mudreb-ē 'ānt, ē'dān 'sōr o tōn-ē ba'kār 'sutra kuř, kâ'lān-e pādšā'ī 'ēde kun āyunē'wī. Zū 'elm 'bete na'γōn-pečaki'kā jīnč ma Sultân Maha'mūd a'wē dā, men'dī ja'ī čē: «Čhē, čē za'hē men'dhēk 'elm 'xānē. Jīnč-a čē dāl tō 'āya, men'dhēk 'elm 'xānē, 'mux tar-ē 'phī kanē, jīnč-au te 'khōr phera. Agar 'na xānē, 'ō-ē ma 'tō zā-e 'zā phe'rēwa, beti Xu'dāi pāna, čē 'ān tāt sar'waxt kun za'hem, yā 'na za'hem.»

Sultân Mhāmūd čē ma 'yus-e xu'kân 'chī, jīnč-ē ō'stā, čē 'beti 'mendē zā phe'rēwa. 'Ēde mun'dhēk 'elm čē na'γōn-pečaki'kā jīnč a'wē dā bōn, xā'nī, jīnč-ē 'mux tar-ē 'phī kor. 'Ē 'khōr ph'rī, ma ma'kân-rūya'kân-ē ja'ī: «Ēdhe'kân zū pālān 'rhēzōr, 'udē tar 'tēz 'tēz, 'tendura 'tendura kū'kân-e āhe'nī tā'bē ka'nōr. 'Har ruč 'wyār o 'rūč sōr 'ēde tār ma'kânān astarōr, 'zān 'har ka'bi čē me'rā.»

Sultan Mahmud; their eyes are exactly alike." Then the dog rejoiced and nodded its head.

The baker's wife, who also knew that charm, changed the dog into a man again, and sure enough this dog was Sultan Mahmud! Then the baker went to the bazar and brought a barber who trimmed his head (: hair and beard) and his body beautifully, and dressed him in a royal robe. Then the baker's wife taught Sultan Mahmud a charm and said to him: "Go, and when you get home, recite this charm. When your wife approaches you, you must recite this charm and breathe into her face; then she will turn into a donkey. If you do not recite it, she will turn you into something else, and God knows if I shall arrive again in time or not."

When Sultan Mahmud came home, his wife rose in order to turn him into something else. But he recited the charm which he had learnt from the baker's wife, and breathed into his wife's face. She was changed into a donkey, and he said to the sweepers: "Make a pack-saddle for her, and pierce it with very sharp and pointed iron nails. Then put the sweepings on her back daily, night and day, until she dies."



Ē ta'mām čī. Sul'tān Mhā'mūd sōr pādsāi xu'kān bar hāl čī, mun'dhēk na'yōn-pe'čak-ē wa'zīr-e xu'kān rāst, xūb mēn xu tar dūst čhēn. Har'ē daulatī čē hōwī dhār tar mēn khur tar dhōra bōn, huss-ē-an ā'wōr. Ba max'sat za'hēn, kīssa ham a'dāt čī.

## XII (G).

### (The Seasons).

Rha'yām-ā čē čhēmtō, yar'pān-a āwə čhēmtōn. Har dhārī čē rux ba rūč-a yar'pī-ā nītōn. Mā-īman u'čēnd zōx ārtan, ma čōrpā'yān-īman un'hak bartan, ča'rēwtan, ma buj o 'gū o ya'rō bartan-īman, ča'rēwtan-īman. Bādaz e'dē hōss yar'pā čē nar'yō, āwə čī, bete gi'hāy-ā nītōn. Hō gi'hāl hōss xara'nē-a, māneš-a ham ō xartōn, buj o 'gū o ya'rō ham-ā xartōn. Agar sāl čē kima'tī bē, hōwī gi'hāy-e dhārīkā pen-ā šu mēhī rha'yām guza'rān-an čhēmtōn. Bete bādaz ōdē ti-ā zhaitōn. Bete ti pen-ā guza'rān-an čhēmtōn. Bete rha'yām-eman zō phīštān. Tī čē za'hī, pēs ōdē-a zō zhaitōn, pēs ōdē čā ruč bād ganum-a zhaitōn. Tī čē nō

This was done. Sultan Mahmud came back to his kingdom, made the baker his vizier, and they became great friends. They brought away all the treasures which they had seen in the cave in that hill. They attained the object of their wishes, and the tale is finished, too.

## XII.

### (The Seasons).

When spring comes, the snows melt. The snow disappears from every mountain which faces the sun. We fetch fire-wood from there, and bring out the cattle there for grazing — goats, cows and sheep. Afterwards, when all the snow has disappeared and melted, then the herbs come out. All these herbs are edible; both men and goats, cows and sheep eat them. If it should be a year of dearth, we live on these mountain herbs during the three months of spring.

Then the mulberries ripen, and we feed on them. Then we sow barley in spring, and when the mulberries have ripened, the barley ripens, and some days afterwards the wheat also ripens. When the mulberries are newly ripened, we plough for the maize. The mulberries

za'hī, jōwā'ri-iman me'lēwtān. Šu me'hī-yā 'tī 'bītōn, šu me'hī 'bād-ā 'lhās 'chemtō, 'šū me'hī 'bād-ā jōwā'ri ham 'zhaitōn.

'Bāzē mardume'kā-n 'če 'māl 'dēra, '•bu'j yā 'gū, men'dānān gu'rīn-ā 'dhār tar 'whēwetōn. Ho'wī dhārān tar-ā 'whētōn, 'če mu'dām oke'stak 'γarp sī, 'če 'hēc 'āw-ā na 'chemtōn, 'hē sa'fī 'zā sa'f 'kun-ā ūzētōn. Un'hāk-a 'whētōn, 'če 'liwōn, ku'rūt-ā γulū 'kantōn, γulū 'kāri<sup>1</sup> ham-a 'zītōn.

'Ē xāsia'tān-e xāraī'kā 'čhī, 'bete 'sāmū-a 'chemtōn. 'Hē mardu'mī 'če 'dhār hā, 'kūč-ā 'kantōn, 'sāt kun-ā 'zītōn. Eke'stak 'če 'āya, 'agar 'phōr γulū 'dērō bōn, 'ō xu'kān hāse'li γulū 'āwūa bōn, 'pāntōn 'če 'hēwyak zu 'sa'f-ē 'bas-um te ka'na. 'Xūb, wa 'agar 'na, 'phōr-ā pa 'bāi gu'rītōn.

Sari'sta-e zēmāi'kāy-ā ba'rābar 'kantōn. 'Zōx-ā 'jam 'kantōn, 'γīrānī-yān-e γusi'kāy-ā 'adel 'kantōn. 'Agar 'khīn 'če 'xāč-e 'jīnč bē'rōika 'dērō bē, sari'stā-e mēmāni'kāy-ā ba'rābar 'kantōn, 'jīnč-a 'bartōn.

'Sāmūi'kā ham a'dāt 'čhī, 'bete zēmā 'če 'chemtōn, 'γarp-ā 'γārtōn, 'pōnč xa'wān, yā 'hōt xa'wān, yā 'ōst xa'wān. 'Harči 'če 'γāra, ba

last three months, then they are finished. Three months after that the maize also gets ripe.

Now those people who have cattle, goats or cows, take them and go to the mountains. They go to those mountains where there is always snow, which never melts, and which remains from one year to another. There they go to prepare plenty of ghee, and dried curds. It is very agreeable, too.

This was the nature of summer. Then comes autumn. The people who are in the mountains make for home, and come to the village. When they arrive there, if they have much grain, and their own fields have yielded much, they understand that it will be enough for one year, and it is well. But, if not, they have to buy grain.

They make all sorts of preparations for the winter, collect fire-wood, and repair the damages to their houses. If anybody should wish to take a wife, he makes all sorts of preparations for a feast, and then he marries.

When the autumn is finished, and winter comes, it begins to snow, for five, or seven, or eight nights. However much it snows, it snows according to the will of God. At one time he gives snow up to the

<sup>1</sup> First *ba'kār*, afterwards declared to be a *Nijran* form.



xudrat-e Xu'dāyān 'γārtōn-a. Bāz-ē 'waxtiy-a 'zū qadd 'γarp 'dhaitōn,  
bāz-ē 'waxtiy-a 'zū 'mēn 'dhaitōn, bāz-ē 'waxtiy-a 'zū 'zānū 'dhaitōn.  
'Bete 'čā ruč 'če ha'wā-e 'sāf kuṛ, hō'wī 'dhārān 'če mux-ē ba 'rūč-a  
u para'tāf-a, učen'dānī-ān 'nītōn, 'dhārī 'če nī'sōr-a wā 'sēy-a, u'čend-ā  
zān 'če Ha'mal 'na pa'rī, 'γarpi-ā 'āwə 'na 'čhemtōn, 'na 'nītōn.

### XIII (T).

Γu'sī ā'γēn 'Jābul Sa'rā, učen'dī ā'γēn Čārīkār, učen'dī ā'γēn Kāla-  
'bāy, učen'dī ā'γēn 'Kābul. Eki'stak A'mīr 'Sāeb 'hukm-e jangi'kā  
kuṛ. Ečen'dī ō'stāima, 'čhēma ma 'Jalālā'bād. 'Jalālā'bād za'hēma sō  
'jang. Oke'stak 'hōd ruč 'jang-an kuṛ. Učen'dī 'bādaz 'hōd ruč az  
'jang xa'lās 'čhēma, 'āyeman 'beti 'Kābul. A'mīr 'Sāheb 'yala'ba  
dilā'sāi dā, ja'ri 'če: «Ču'mōr, 'harkī ma 'watan-ē! 'Har ka'bī-m 'če  
'dhēwē, 'hāzer en'hāki 'žīr!»

height of a man, at another time up to the waist, at another time up  
to the knee. Later on, when the air has been clear for some days,  
the snow begins to disappear from those mountains which face the  
sun and the south. But from those mountains which lie in the shade,  
towards the north, the snow does not melt and disappear, till the  
month of the Ram (March-April) comes.

### XIII.

They (: we) came from home to Jabl-us-Siraj, from there to Charikar,  
from there to Kalabagh and from there to Kabul. Here the Emir  
Sahib ordered us to go to the war. Then we rose, and went to  
Jalalabad. We came to Jalalabad on account of the war. There we  
fought for seven days. Then, after seven days, we finished fighting  
and came to Kabul again. The Emir Sahib encouraged us and said:  
"Go, everyone to his home! And whenever I call for you, you must  
come here and be ready."

## XIV (T).

Šutu'li čhēman mēn Au'ŷā. Oke'stak ha'zār tufan'dār 'sōr tar-an 'āya. 'Edē pen-an ŷala'ba ŷang-e 'saxt kuṛ. Učen'di ma Au'ŷā ba 'zūr-an ūnt, 'āyeman Pen'jīr.

Pen'jīrī ja'ī: «Čā hē 'ker-a kuṛ?» «'Ān 'āya bēm čē e'dān 'māl ba'rēm. 'Tū kuma'ki e'dān-a kuṛ. Mē 'mā o 'tō dušma'nī čhī, 'jān-au ete'āt kān! Žū 'sīr-am 'surb gu're! Du 'sīr-am 'dārū gu're! Hō tufang-am gu'rē, 'č-ān o 'tū 'dhēman-ē; ŷā 'tū 'merē, ŷā 'ān.»

Ausa'kāl 'āya, mē 'mān o 'tō 'sulu-an 'dahiman. Žā gāhī 'ān o tū gufta'gūī na 'kaniman. 'Aga žā 'gāhī 'č-ān o 'tō gufta'gūī koṛ, hōt ha'zār rupa'ī 'jurm bī. Ausa'kālān čhēn ma ŷu'sān-an. Hē 'gap-an dāl a'ŷāle-ŷusikā na ja'rē čē mā 'čhē bēman ba ausa'kālī, ma Au'ŷān-an ba ausa'kālī ūnt.

Au'ŷān ŷala'ba xušwaxt čhī, čē: «Tū 'kōm-e ma'nān ē.» Učen'di 'āya Au'ŷān, Palawā-'saṅk tā čhī. 'Bixabar Au'ŷā mē xō gufto'gūī

## XIV.

We went from Shutul and came among the Afghans. There one thousand riflemen came against us. We fought very hard with them. Then we brought the Afghans (down?) by force, and came to Panjshir.

The Panjshiris said: "Why have you done this?" "I had come to carry away his goods. You brought him assistance. Enmity arose between us and you; take care of yourself. Take one ounce of lead and two ounces of gunpowder. And take this rifle, and let us fight. And either you or I shall die."

"The headman has come, let us make peace between us. Let us not quarrel another time. If some other time you and I have quarrelled, the fine shall be 7000 rupees." The headmen went to their houses. We did not tell our families at home,<sup>1</sup> that we had gone to the headman, and [that?] we had brought the Afghans down to the headman.

The Afghans were very pleased and said: "You are of our tribe." Then the Afghans came, and went as far as Pahlavansang. Suddenly the Afghans began to quarrel among themselves and then they fought

<sup>1</sup> i gap dušwār šud meāne-i mardum.



kor. Eke'stak tu'fang-jaŋ'gī čhēn. Žū 'ādam muṛ, badu'čām-an 'dā  
mē xō, wa'khō čhē mē 'xō.

XV (G).

Žū wa'tan bīn, žū za'if bīn. Hō'wī za'if āšuq'bāz bīn, ja'ri čē:  
«'Ān za'nēng ma 'xā-m 'gum ka'nem, čē 'kā-wa'nō pa'ri-a, xu'xu-m  
'āšuq pen-om sāat'tēr ka'nem?» Ja'ri: «'Dhār, čē žū 'čal-ē ka'nem.»

'Xā-ē 'mullā bīn, wi'yār čē 'γus tar 'āya, ja'ri čē: «'Wō 'xā-e  
ma'nā, 'pādsā ma 'kull 'mullān 'dhēwō. 'Har ke čē tar'yāk-e 'bēd  
'pāna, dha'rēwtōn-ē-a; 'agar 'na 'pāna, 'mērtōn-ē-a.» Hē 'mullā ja'ri  
čē: «'Ā za'nēng ka'nem?» Ja'ri čē: «'Tu wyāra'wyār kā-wa'nō a'ūz,  
'khāin wa'tan-e 'zā tar, čē ma'gam dā'ninda-e panjbēdi'ka γu'nē,  
sa'ba'x gu'ri, 'bite 'zī.»

Hē 'mullā pa'nā ghīt, wyāra'wyār na'γ'ō, hē sā'ri ča'ka'ki (a'ūzi).  
'Ē 'čhī, žū 'sār-e zā tar-ē za'hī, žū 'jāi sōr žū 'hauz tar 'nhōšt. Hō'wī  
hau'zī astan za'fān-e hō'wī sā'rikā 'āwo 'bartan, 'čōr, 'pōnj za'if

with rifles. One man fell. They paid the fine and made peace among  
themselves.

XV.

In a certain country there was a woman. The woman had a lover,  
and she said: "How can I get my husband out of the way, making  
him go somewhere, while I amuse myself with my lover." And she  
said: "Just wait, and I will play him a trick."

Her husband was a mulla, and at night, when he came home, she  
said to him: "O my husband, the king has called for all the mullas.  
He spares everyone who knows the *bēd*-antidote<sup>1</sup>; if anyone does  
not know it, he kills him." The mulla said: "What shall I do?"  
She said: "Run away this very night somewhere, to some other  
country. Perhaps you may find somebody who knows the *panjbēd*,  
and you can learn it and come back."

So this mulla took to the road; that very night he went out, and  
fled from the town. He journeyed and came to another town, and  
sat down in a place near a tank. The women of that town used to  
take water from the tank, and now four or five women came there.

<sup>1</sup> *tar'yāk-e bēd*, *panjbēd* v. Voc.

zu 'jái â'yên. 'Dhōr'an çe un'hāk zū 'māneš 'nhaštō-a, 'dhōr'an çe 'hē 'māneš 'mullā-a, 'xūb 'māneš-(âdam-)a, wa'lē 'yussa'mand 'nhaštō.

'Hē zaifā 'ja'ri çe: «'Wō 'māneš! Tu 'čâ eke'stak 'heqa peri'sân, 'yussa'mand 'nhaštē?» 'Ja'ri çe: «'Wō xī'ân-om! Ma 'mun na khu'jōr, çe 'gap-e sax'ti ma'nâ 'pače-tar 'âγō, 'zâe çe e'lâj-um ka'nen 'na na'rēr, 'ker-um ijrâ 'na parī. 'Čâ m-ēr khu'jēwtan?» 'Ja'ri çe: «'Magam na'ri-an 'kir-aw-an ijrâ kur.» 'Ja'ri çe: «Tu 'ja' çe 'čī kir 'sōr tar-au 'ča'γō, 'čī 'sūγ tar 'band u'zâē?»

'Ja'ri çe: «Zū wi'yâr ma 'mun 'jīnē-um 'ja'ri çe: 'Wō 'mēr, 'pādsâ ma 'mullâ 'dhēwō. 'Har ke 'elm-e panjbēdi'ka 'pāna, dha'rēwtōn-ē-a, 'baxsīs-ē 'ham-â 'dhaitōn (dahetōn); 'agar 'na pāna, 'mērtōn-ē-a.' 'Mun 'ja'ri çe: «'Ân za'nēγ ka'nem? 'Ân-em xu 'na 'pāntōn.' 'Jīnē-om 'ja'ri çe: «'Čhâ! 'Magam 'khâin wa'tan tar 'yu'nē, az 'bar ka'nē, 'bite 'zī.' 'Ēka 'ân 'yus'sī na'γēm. 'Paes 'ruča, yâ 'yušt 'ruča pa'nân â'yēm, ba 'jân-e xu'kâ hai'rân u'zâhem, ma 'har ki-m khu'jēwtōn, 'jartōn-â çe: 'Ân 'elm-e panjbēd a'wē na 'dērem, 'na-em 'pāntōn.»

'Hē zaifân kha'nī, mē 'xu tar-an 'ja'ri çe: «'Hē māneši'kā jīnē

They saw a man sitting there, and they saw that he was a mulla and a good-looking man; but that he was sitting there [looking] dejected.

These women said: "O man, why are you sitting here so sad and angry?" He answered: "O my sisters, do not ask me, for I am faced by a difficult matter. You cannot find any way out for me, and my task will not be accomplished. Why do you ask me?" They said: "Perhaps we can accomplish your task." They said: "Tell us what task you are faced by. In what matter are you at a loss?"

He said: "One night my wife said to me: 'O my husband, the king has called for all the mullas. Whoever knows the *panjbēd*-charm, that man he spares and gives a present; but if anybody does not know it, he kills him.' I said: 'What shall I do? I do not know it.' Then my wife said: 'Go, perhaps you may find it in some country, if so, you must learn it by heart and come home.' Afterwards I went out of the house. I have travelled for fifteen or twenty days; but I have remained perplexed in mind, for everyone I ask says that he has not learnt the *panjbēd*-charm, and does not know anything about it."

Then these women laughed and said among themselves: "The wife



âsuq' bâz-a, 'mendi-a 'gum kantõn çe xu'xu-ê ra'fiq pen-ê 'aiş ka'nen bē wa'tan tar. 'Žõr çe 'mâ 'hu ppõnj-an men'dhēk 'mâneş a'wē 'daheman çe he'wyak yu'lū sargardân çhç.

'Hu ppõn-ê ja'ri çe: «'Xūb-a, a'wē te 'daheman.» 'Žū-i ja'ri çe: «'Awwal 'nūbat-e ma'nâ.» Men'di bur, ma 'yuss-ê ni'sâ dâ, ja'ri: «'Ekwi'yak 'yuss-um-a. 'Tus tar ja'rem dâl 'xâ-m te çe zu xīyurõk-um mhē'mân-om â'ğõ. 'Xūb pa'law-ê ham pe'çem, lī'wõn-ê te ham yu'lū ka'nem. 'Žū 'yuss-e za'hī jâ-y-a te 'rhēzem, un<sup>a</sup>'hāk-ê huddi'nân-an te 'nhīneman. 'Har çe çe 'mun ja'ri, 'tū ba 'harf-e ma'nâ kanē, ma'nâ 'sūy gur'î!»

'Hē 'mullâ ja'ri çe: «'Xūb». 'Hawī 'ât-an kuṛ. 'Hē za'if 'âwo gur'īn ma 'yus çhī, ja'ri çe: «'Ân 'žū xīyurõk-um â'ğõ, mhē'mân-om hâ.» Ma 'xâ-ê wese'jī, ra'hõ wo lī'wõn az-'ân-çe ma'sâla-e dastikâ bīn, gur'īn 'âya, 'yūs-ê ham 'âwuṛ. Men'di 'xūb ba kâri'gī 'phõk.

Ne'mâz-e 'şâm çe çhī, 'jâi ham alâhī'da 'yus tar 'rhâst kuṛ, ma rra'hõ-ê ham da'stī 'nõt, 'majma tar men'dhēk 'mullâ-ê, çe ja'ğõ bõn

of this man has a lover, and she has got him out of the way in order to dally with her lover at home. Come, we five must teach this man, for he is very miserable."

All five of them said: "Very well, let us teach him." Then one of them said: "It is my turn first." She took him away, showed him her house and said: "This is my house. I will tell my husband in the house that my sister's son has come as my guest. I will cook a good pillau and prepare much *ghee* for him. Then I will get ready a separate house for you, where you and I can sit. Whatever I may say, you must do as I tell you and obey my word."

"Very well," said the mulla. And they made this agreement. The woman took the water and went home and said [to her husband]: "My sister's son has come,<sup>1</sup> and he is my guest." She sent her husband out, and he came back bringing rice and *ghee* and all that pertains to the ingredients of the cooking-pot. He also brought meat, and she cooked it well and carefully.

When the evening came, she prepared a room for him in a separate house. She took the rice out of the cooking-pot, and placed it on a

<sup>1</sup> There is an anacoluthon in this sentence. Literally: "I, my sister's son has come." Probably the narrator intended to say something like: "I have seen..." but changed his mind.

če xīyū'řök-um-a, alâhe'dī 'γus tar 'nhânt, ma 'xâ-ē ja'řī če: «Wâ 'hē 'γus tar bē'ör! 'Ân-ē ža'hī xīyū'řök kun-um te na'γōn ba'rem, xu'xu-m te ža'hī 'xu pen-ē te hō'wī • 'γus tar na'γōn xa'rem, če ma'nâ xīyū'řök lejja'nâk-a. Na'ī če 'wâ tar 'lejja, na'γōn 'na xara, un'hâk ža'hī bē, če na'γōn xara, če 'ezzat-ē pa'řī.»

Dâl 'xâ-ē 'hewezail ja'řī, na'γōn-ē 'ghīt, 'čhī, na'γōn-an 'pačetar 'lam dâ. Hō'wī za'řif o hō'wī 'mullâ, če ja'řō bōn-ē: xīyū'řök-um-a, ža'hī 'nhaštan, da na'γōn 'xūřō čhēn.

Žū dī te'ka na'γōn-an če 'xūr, mun'dhēk 'mullâ-ī če ja'řō bōn: xīyū'řök-um-a, ja'řī če: «'Ušte, 'mun pen ker-e ba'dī kan, agar 'na-ī kanē, ba mē'řō-au te da'hem.»

Ha'wī 'mullâ ja'řī če: «'Ân-e 'ker-e ba'dī 'na ka'nem. Ma 'mun-au 'tartar-ē ja'řī če: 'ē xīyū'řök-um-a. Za'nēng 'ân 'tō kun ker-e ba'dī ka'nem? 'Ân-e guna'gâr pa'ram. 'Nâteq mun ker-e ba'dī 'na ku'řō, 'na-ī ka'nem.» Hō'wī za'řif ja'řī če: «'Na kanē, 'γax kanem če 'mēran-au.» Ja'řī: «'Sabre ma'nâ ba Xu'dâe, 'ân-ē 'ker-e ba'dī 'na kanem.»

tray before the mulla, whom she had said was her sister's son, in the separate house. To her husband she said: "You must stay in this house. I will take the food alone to my sister's son, and alone I will eat the food together with him in that house, because he is very shy. Lest he should feel shy before you and not eat his food, let him be alone there and eat his food, in order that his honour may be saved."

When she had spoken to her husband in this manner, she took the food, and went and placed it before him. The woman and the mulla, whom she had said to be her sister's son, sat down alone and began to eat.

When they had eaten one or two mouthfuls, she said to the mulla whom she had called her sister's son: "Rise and do evil (: commit adultery) with me; if you will not do it, I will have you killed."

The mulla answered: "I will not do evil. You have called me your sister's son in the presence of your husband, how can I do evil with you? I should become a sinner. Never, indeed, have I done evil and I will not do it." The woman said: "If you don't, I shall call people to come and kill you." He answered: "I trust in God, and I will not do evil with you."



'Howēzail-ē čē ja'ri, čiq-ē jō, 'xā-ē ham 'āya hō'wī 'yus tar, hamsā'yān-ē nez'dikī ham 'āyēn, ja'ri-an čē: «Tō čā čiq jō?» Hē hamsā'yān-ē čē za'hēn, ha'wī 'mullā bī'huš čhī, hō'wī za'if ja'ri: «Mun e'dhēk 'sāen čiq jō, čē bī'xabar sō na'yōn 'xūrō tar ha'wī xīyūrōk-um bī'huš čhī; 'mun 'pānt čē 'muṣ, čiq-um jō.»

'E'dān 'mux tar-an 'āwō 'dhī, xuz'būi-an 'ta-i da'māy-ē buṣ, ba 'huš āya, ja'ri: «Šukur yē 'badē, 'jōr čhī. 'Wā yē ču'mōr ma yus'sān-ōu, ma 'mun o men'dhēk xīyūrōk-um za'hī 'lam da'hōr.» Ja'ri: «Ha'wī ker-e ba'dī 'mun pen ka'nē yā 'na? 'Agar 'na-ē ka'nē, 'biti 'yax ka'nem čē 'mēran-au.» Ja'ri: «'Agar 'bad-e guna'gār ham 'čhēm, 'kanem-ē.» Ja'ri: «'Xūb.»

'Hē 'mullā 'uštā, hē za'if pen-ē ker-e ba'dī koṣ, 'wyār ham un'hāk 'rhizī, subhōda'mī 'rhīnē čhī, ja'ri: «'Ušte, 'čhu yē! Sōr ha'wī 'hauz tar 'bē, čē niyat-e 'khāin za'if-e 'zā mhēmān 'bara.» Ja'ri: «'Elm-e pa'jbed-a xu 'mun kun a'wē na 'dā.» Ja'ri: «'Hu ppōnj za'ifān čē mhēmān ku'r-a, 'bitē 'bādaz u'dē-a te a'wē 'daheman.»

When he spoke in this manner, she shouted, and her husband came to the house, and the neighbours, too, came from near by and said: "Why did you cry out?" When the neighbours arrived, the mulla fainted, and the woman said: "I called because, having eaten his food, my sister's son suddenly fainted. I thought he was dead, and cried aloud."

They sprinkled his face with water, and put some scent to his nostrils, and when he regained consciousness she said: "Thank God, he has recovered now. Now you can go home, and leave me and my sister's son alone." Then she said to him: "Will you do evil with me, or not? If you will not, I shall call the people again, and let them kill you." He answered: "I will do it, even though I shall become a great sinner." She said: "It is well."

Then the mulla rose and committed adultery with the woman. She lay there for the night, and at dawn, when it got light, she said to him: "Rise and go! Wait at the tank to see which of the other women intends to take you as a guest."<sup>1</sup> He said: "You have not taught me the *pa'jbed*-charm." She answered: "When all five women have had you as a guest, then, after that we will teach you."

<sup>1</sup> Literally: "be at that tank, that the intention of which other woman will carry (you) as a guest."

Žá ruč kun žū žā za'if ja'ri čē: «Mun pen paraman, wa'lē har čē čē 'mun ja'ri, tu ka'būl kan!» Ja'ri: «Xūb, wa'lē ma 'mun 'awal 'elm-e panjbēdi'ka a'wē đā!» Ja'ri: «Zān 'har čē čē 'mun ja'ri, tu 'kan, 'bite 'ān-a te a'wē da'hem.» Ja'ri: «Xūb.»

Mendē 'mullā gur'in čhī 'rux ba 'yuss-ē. Ja'ri: «Ān-e dāl 'xā-m te ja'rem čē: 'Ma 'mun žū za'if 'tāna dā, čē ma'nā 'xā-ā ma 'gū tečhpētakā'i 'dūčētōn, 'tān 'xā na 'nartōn.' Ān-e ja'rem čē: 'Eke mun'dhēk 'māneš-om mu-maiz 'āntō čē dāl 'ude-m ja'rō čē: Ma'nā 'xā 'ham-ā ma 'gū tečhpētakā'i dūčen 'nartōn, čē 'žū čak 'pī-ā kiza'rē tar ma 'bōr 'na čaketōn.' Mun čē 'hezail ja'ri, 'xā-m te 'jara čē: 'Tu 'heweqad'r 'sūy kun dar ū'zāhē, 'ār! Ma'nān te'čhān ham 'bēž, čē 'ān ham 'dūčem, ha'wī māne'sī čē mu'maiz-au 'āntō bu'čha čē 'ān-e ham na'rem yā 'na.' Mun čē u'dān te'čhān bōst, ō da 'gū dū'čō čhī, un'hāk dāl hō'wī 'xā tar-om tu 'ušte, 'mun kun 'ker-e ba'dī kan.

Ede az 'xāterī čē ma 'mun 'elm-e panjbēdi'ka a'wē d'ha, 'edē kā'būl koṛ, ja'ri: «Xūb.» Ha'wī 'sūy-an bando'bast koṛ, 'čhēn 'yus tar-e hō'wī za'ifkā.

Next day another woman said: "Come with me; but you must agree to whatever I say." He said: "Very well; but first you must teach me the *panjbēd*-charm." She answered: "You must do whatever I tell you, and afterwards I will teach you." He said: "Very well."

She took the mulla with her and walked towards her house. Then she said: "I shall say to my husband: 'There is one woman who has mocked me, saying that her husband used to milk a cow blindfold; but that my husband could not do it.' I shall say to him: 'I have brought this very man as an umpire, because I have said to her that my husband is also able to milk a cow blindfold, without spilling a drop of milk outside the milk-pail.' When I have talked like that, my husband will say: 'You have quite been left behind (: come off worst) in this matter. Bring [the man], and blindfold me; then I will milk, and this man whom you have brought as an umpire, shall see whether I can do it or not.' When I have blindfolded his eyes, and he has started milking, you must rise in the presence of my husband and do evil with me."

Thinking that she would teach him the *panjbēd*-charm, he assented and said: "Very well." They arranged the matter and went to the woman's house.



Ĵa'pī ĉe: «Wō 'xā-m, ma 'mun žū za'if 'tāna dā, ma 'mun-ē kha'nī ĉe: Tān 'xā 'gū teĉpeṭa'kā dū'ĉen na 'nartōn.» Xā-ē ja'pī ĉe: «Tu 'hewəqad'r kun dar u'zābē.» Ĵa'pī ĉe: «Ma 'mun-ē xu 'tāna dā, 'mun ja'pī ĉe: 'Ma'nā xā 'ham-ā 'nartōn.' Žē yē ĉe 'ān tān te'ĉhān be'žem, tu 'gū 'dū'ĉ, ĉe ha'wī 'māneš ĉe 'hō za'if-wanōi muba'iz āyō, bu'ĉha, pa'ri-a, dāl 'ude ja'ra ĉe: 'Mun 'dhōr ĉe 'gūy-ē teĉpeṭa'kāi dū'ĉi, 'žū ĉak 'pī ham kīza'rē tar ma 'bōr na 'ĉa'kī' — ĉe 'ān dāl 'ude tar na 'lejjem.»

Xā-ē ja'pī ĉe: «Žē, ma'nā te'ĉhān 'bež! Te'ĉhān-ē 'bōst, da 'gū dū'ĉō ĉhī. Xā-ē ĉe da 'gū dū'ĉō ĉhī, men'dhēk 'māneš-ē ĉe 'ānta bōn mu'bayez, ba du'rūy-ē dāl 'xā-ē ja'pī mu'bāyez-a. Tam'bān-ē 'nōt, 'mhak dāl 'xā tar-ē len'gān-ē pa wa'khē koṛ.

Mullā mun'dhēk za'if ker-e ba'dī koṛ ba 'haqq-ē. Edē ĉe 'ker-ē ta'mām koṛ, hē 'xā-ē ham ma 'gū dū'ĉi, xa'lās-ē kuṛ, te'ĉhān-ē lasēwī, ma 'xā-ē ja'pī ĉe: «Šā'bās! Xūb 'ker-a koṛ ĉe ma 'mun-au dāl hō'wī za'ifi ĉe ma 'mun-ē kha'nō bōn, 'tāna-ē 'dā bōn, ma 'mun-a sarfe'rāz koṛ.»

Then she said: "O my husband, there is a woman who has mocked me and laughed at me, because my husband could not milk a cow blindfold." Her husband said: "You have quite been left behind (: come off worst) in this matter." Then she said: "She mocked me, but I answered: 'My husband can do it, too.' Come now, let me blindfold your eyes. Then you shall milk [the cow], so that this man, who has come as an umpire from the other woman, can see it, and go and say to her: 'I have seen him milking the cow blindfold, and not a drop of milk fell outside the milk-pail.' — Then I shall not feel ashamed before her."

Her husband said: "Come, blindfold my eyes." Then she blindfolded his eyes, and he started milking. When her husband had started milking, she lied to her husband and said, that the man whom she had brought as an umpire, [really] was the umpire. She untied her trousers, and, in the very presence of her husband, she lifted up her legs.

Then, indeed, the mulla committed adultery with that woman. When she had finished, and her husband too had milked the cow, she set her husband free, uncovered his eyes and said to him: "Bravo! You have done well and have asserted my reputation against that woman who laughed and jeered at me."

Ha'wī 'mullā wa'nō phe'rī če mu'baiz 'ānta bōn, ja'rī če: «Wō māneš, 'ēka 'xūb 'tečh pen-au 'dhōr če ma'nā 'xā za'nēng ba kārī'gī ma 'gū dū'čī? Te'čhān-am ham xu 'bōst, 'dhōr-au če 'žū čak 'pī ham kī'zapē tar ma 'bōr 'hāγ na koγ. Tu γē 'chā dāl hō'wī za'ifī če ma 'mun-ē kha'nō bōn, 'jaγ če: 'E'dān 'xā ham 'xub ba kārī'gī ma 'gū tečhpeṭa'kā dū'čī.»

Mu'dā hē ga'pān-ē dāl 'xā-ē ba du'rūy ja'ō bōn, ha'wī za'if 'haweqaḍ\*ri koγ če ma xu'sōr-ē hō'wī 'mullā pen gēwōwī.<sup>1</sup>

Then she turned to the mulla whom she had brought as an umpire, and said. "O man, you have seen then, clearly with your own eyes how well my husband milked the cow? I blindfolded his eyes, and you saw that not one drop of milk was spilt outside the milk-pail. Now you can go to the woman who laughed at me, and tell her that my husband milked the cow blindfold without any mistake."

When she had lied and said these words to her husband, this woman had achieved as much as to have had intercourse with the mulla.<sup>2</sup>

#### XVI.

The verses are only occasionally rhymed. The metre depends — as also among the neighbouring tribes — on stress, not on quantity. In several cases the stress which I have noted, does not fit in with the expected rhythm of the verse. Probably the stress has been put in a wrong place. This is very easily done when writing down a consecutive text quickly.

The metre is very irregular, the number of syllables in a line varying considerably in the same song. In some cases only the number of stressed syllables seems to be counted, and sometimes the lines appeared to me to run into each other without any definite break. In some of the songs it is possible to detect a kind of ideal metrical scheme which however, is subject to constant variation. E. g. — u u — u — u | — u u — u — u (XXII, XXV, XXIX, XLII); u — u — u u — | — u u — u u — (XVI); — u — u — u — | — u — u — u — (XXXII); — u u — u u — u u | — u u — u u — u u — (XXXIII). Occasionally longer lines without caesura occur. The only quatrain I heard was XXV. But the metrical system of the Par. songs would probably have to be studied in connexion with that of the popular Prs. poetry of Afghanistan.

<sup>1</sup> The tale was left unfinished.

<sup>2</sup> The construction and translation of this sentence are uncertain. Can mu'dā mean "with the intention (that)", or is it to be taken as a temporal conjunction: "at the time when" (Prs. *muddah*, *muddaf*)?



XVI (T).

Ba'yair az 'Alī Hai'dār    'kīy āra 'zī-e Xai'bār,  
 Ba'yair az 'Alī Hai'dār    'kīy āra 'band-e Bar'bār?  
 Su'wāra<sup>1</sup> 'čhī rā'hī 'čhī,    žū 'jangali tar-ē za'hī,  
 'Dhōr-ē čē žū 'šēr-e 'nar,    'šēr xu 'arras 'jō.  
<sup>5</sup> 'Haidar šam'šēr 'nōt,    'šēr-wa'nō-ē 'hala kōr,  
 'Šēr ham 'āya wa'lē,    'Haidar pen 'jāng 'čhī.  
 'Jāng o 'čangāu 'čhēn,    'khūy-ē koṛ 'Alī Hai'dār,

Par. poetry is completely dependent on Prs. models and probably many songs are simply translated from Prs. The vocabulary of the songs is more than usually persianized, and stereotype Prs. metaphors abound. The songs about Ali and Amir Hamza were said to be taken from the only Par. book in existence. Ballads treating of local traditions or events seem to be rare, and the specimen given (XVIII) is very much inferior to the Pashai *hananis*, or "killing-songs", which show some originality and often have a pointed and pathetic dialogue. Nor do the love-poems compare favorably with some of the passionate Pashto poetry, or with the simple, pretty little Chitrali songs. The Parachi Muse is rather pedestrian, in spite of the boasts of my friend Tabakkal (v. XIX, XLII). Nor is humour much in evidence, although the last line of XXIV is satirical. The love-songs are often in the form of a dialogue. A few of the poems seem so incoherent that one suspects that different songs have been mixed up in the memory of the reciters (cf. XXVII).

As mentioned in the introduction (p. 6) a number of songs were written down in Prs. letters and given to me. They are marked with an asterisk. Variants of the recited texts have been given in the notes, and a facsimile of XLII is shown in Plate II.

Except Ali Haidar, who can build the canal of Khaibar?  
 Except Ali Haidar, who can build the dam of Barbar?  
 He mounted his horse and started, he came to a forest,  
 There he saw a male lion; the lion roared.

<sup>5</sup> Haidar drew his sword and ran towards the lion;  
 And lo! The lion also came, it started fighting with Haidar.  
 They started fighting and grappling, Ali Haidar lifted the lion.

- Ma'rok-ē 'dharam tar 'ūnt, 'šēr xu ja'ri Hai'dār:  
 «Ma 'mun na 'mērē, huš 'kā!» Hai'dar ma 'šēr uštē'wī.  
 10 Jāngal tar 'ham dar ā'ya, šam'sēr-ē 'ham luč 'kōr,  
 Ma jaŋga'lān-ē ka'tī, 'bhār-ē ku' 'mendē 'šēr,  
 'Du xer'wāra girāŋ'gī, 'āya xū 'mēen ma'dām.  
 'Ma'dumān 'dhōr čē šēr-ā, 'Haidar 'pešchan-ē 'bā,  
 'Bhār-ē ku'ro žōx-e 'phyō. 'Ma'dumān čē 'mendē 'dhōr,  
 15 'Šēr tar 'huss ča'akēn. 'Haidar wa'lē 'yax 'kōr:  
 «'Na ča'akōr čē ān-'em, ma 'šēr čē 'wā dhu'ro,  
 Ō ham tāb-ē manān 'ā.» 'Šēr za'hī dāl ma'dām.  
 'Ma'dum ja'ri: «'Xub ker-ā, 'šābāš, šā'bāš, 'ai A'li!  
 'Ker-a ku'ro, 'xub ker-ā, žu 'ker-a ba 'jāi ku'ro.  
 20 Ū'zāw-ē 'ši ker-e 'žā, 'para hō'wī 'kamar 'tār,  
 'Ēnē xu 'žū haž'dār!» 'Ali mai'dān tar čha'ri,  
 'Šam'sēr-ē 'ham luč 'koj, 'čhī xu 'dāl kamar, 'ai.  
 'Žū fe'yan-ē ō 'koj. Bi'xabar haž'dār na'yo.  
 'Haž'dār čē 'dhōr-ē sa'lām dā, huddinān-ē jaŋg 'kōr.

He laid it slowly down on the ground. But the lion said to Haidar:  
 "Do not kill me, take care!" Haidar made the lion rise.

- 10 He also entered a forest and drew his sword.  
 He felled trees and loaded them on this lion,  
 Two ass-loads in weight. Then he came among men.  
 The men saw that it was a lion, and that Haidar came behind it,  
 And had made a load of green wood. When the men saw the lion,  
 15 They all fled from it. But Ali said, however:  
 "Do not flee, it is I! Moreover the lion which you have seen  
 Is in my power." The lion came to the men,  
 The men said: "It is well done. Bravo, bravo, O Ali!  
 Thou hast accomplished a good deed, thou hast done it in the  
 right way."  
 20 Three other labours remain: «Thou shalt go to that rock  
 And bring a dragon here." Ali went into the field,  
 He unsheathed his sword, and went to the rock.  
 He shouted, then suddenly the dragon came forth.  
 When the dragon saw him, it saluted, and they started fighting.



- 25 A'li ċe 'pušt-e sō'rī žu 'tazma 'bārik-ē 'nōt,  
Ma 'ggir-ē 'xō 'bhār 'kōr 'laškar wa'nō ā'γā.  
Ma'dām 'dhōr žu haž'dār, 'huss-ē žu 'wil ča'fa'kēn.  
'A'li sa'dā xu ham 'jō: «Na ber'khōr ċe ān'em!»  
'Bhār-ē ku'ṛā bōn žu (xu) 'gir ba 'tūl 'zū xer'wār 'bīn,  
30 Dāl 'maḍdum-ē zahē'wī, 'maḍdum xuš'waxt 'čī:  
«Sāl-ē ōst ma 'mā 'ham 'dōs 'nafar ōst 'qurt kan'tō,  
'Bīm-e γa'laba 'bīn, 'hoqūf-an ōst na zhai'tōn,  
Če para'man 'dhēman-ē. 'Šābāš 'šābāš, 'ai 'Ali!  
'Dī ker-a ba 'jāi ku'ṛō. ūzā'wō dī 'ker-e 'zā.  
35 Para'man xu 'sō band 'mā, āre'man 'band-e žī'ka.»  
'Alī čī 'dāl āhe'γār, 'rāst-ē 'koṛ 'phī-e šaš'pār.  
'Čī ham 'sō 'band tar, žu 'phī-ē de'hī, zā 'phī  
'Āwo 'ālešī Xai'bār.  
'Haidar čī 'band-e Bar'bār, be'žen čī 'band-e Xai'bār.  
40 Ba'γair az 'Alī Hai'dār 'kiy āra 'žī-e Xai'bār?

- 25 Ali, drawing forth a thin strap from behind his neck,  
Loaded a stone [on the dragon] and came towards the army.  
The men saw a dragon, and they all fled at once.  
But Ali shouted: "Do not fear, it is I!"  
He had made a load of the stone, in weight equal to an ass-load.  
30 He brought it to the men, and they rejoiced:  
"Every year it used to tear ten of us to pieces,  
We feared much, and we were not sufficiently strong  
To go and kill it. Bravo, bravo, O Ali!  
Thou hast accomplished two labours rightly; but two more remain.  
35 Let us go to the dam, and let us build a dam across the stream.»  
Ali went to the smith and had a hoe made.  
He also went to the dam, and struck with the hoe once.  
When he struck the second time, Khaibar was filled with water.  
Haidar went to the dam of Barbar, the dam of Khaibar was  
constructed.  
40 Except Ali Haidar, who can build the canal of Khaibar?

Ba'γair az 'Alī Hai'dār 'kiy âra 'dī šēr-e 'nâr?  
 Ba'γair az 'Alī Hai'dār 'kiy âra 'hažda'hâr?

## XVII (T).

Žu ruč A'mīr Ham'zā 'nhaštō 'hōst γus 'tar.  
 'Kaif-e 'xōmaika 'āya, 'tā ba 'šām 'ō rhī'zō hōst.  
 'Xōmī 'rau u'stā 'wō, 'dhōr-ē čē 'žū za'if hā.  
 'Ja'ri za'if: «'Khân jā-ī?» 'Ja'ri čē: «'Ān en'hāki-m.»  
 \* 'Za'if xu jā'dūgar 'bī, 'jādū γulū ōst 'kantōn.  
 'Qast 'dērō 'bōn sō 'Amīr čē ma A'mīr gum ka'na.  
 A'mīr ja'ri: «'Āi za'if, čēkun ā'γē tu dāl 'mō»  
 'Ja'ri čē: «'Žū bāx'čā ham 'ān xu 'dērem wa'lē.  
 'Sēb u 'šaftālū 'ham, a'nār u nāšpā'tī ham

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Except Ali Haidar, who can bring the two male lions?  
 Except Ali Haidar, who can bring the dragon?<sup>1</sup>

## XVII.

One day Amir Hamza was sitting in his house.  
 He was taken prisoner by sleep and lay down till the evening.  
 Quickly he rose from his sleep and saw a woman.  
 He said to the woman: "From where art thou." She answered:  
 "I am from this place."  
 \* But the woman was a sorceress and used to practise much magic.  
 She intended to destroy the Amir.  
 The Amir said: "O woman, why didst thou come to me?"  
 She answered: "Verily, I have a garden;  
 Apples and peaches, pomegranates and pears

<sup>1</sup> A similar legend is told by Burnes (Cabool 232): "In the time when Balkh (etc.) . . . was under a Hindoo king called Burbur, . . . he bought a thousand Huzara (slaves), to throw a dam across the river which passed his city of Burbur, which is said to have been fed by 72 streams; but all his dams were carried away. Aly . . . one Friday . . . was accosted by a beggar, asking him for alms in the name of God; Aly answered he had no money, but requested the beggar to sell him. . . . Aly requested him to place his foot on his, and shut his eyes; in a moment the beggar was transported by the Iman to the city . . . of Burbur. The beggar took him before the king for sale, who consented to buy him for his weight in gold provided he would perform three acts: 1. Build a dam over the river; 2. Kill a dragon that infested the country; 3. Bring Aly . . . bound before him," etc.



- <sup>10</sup> Ğulū xu 'sī mē bâx'čā-m. Har 'rūz-en 'čūrân zī'tan,  
Ma 'bâxčā-m-en xu bar'tan. Â'γēm dāl tō, pāla'wân,  
'Čhō, ma bâx'čā tu huš 'kan. Če 'nī čūrân na ba'ra.»  
A'mīr ĵa'ri: «Para'm-ē!» Pīra'kī γus-wa'nō 'čhī.  
A'mīr Ham'zā 'ĵāi u'stā, 'mēn-e xu'kâ-ē ham 'böst.  
<sup>15</sup> Šam'sēr-ē 'mēn tar-ē 'dhī, 'gūrz-ē 'ham 'döst-ar-ē.  
'Nesp-e xa'wānika 'čhī, rā'hī 'čhī 'bâxčā 'tar,  
Dar 'āya mē 'bâxčā 'ō, 'dhōr-ē čē ghaṇḍ 'bâxčā-a.  
Be'nā-ē koγ mēwa'ī, hu'pēra 'ō 'ham xa'ra.  
Ĵa'ri: «Walē xu geš-'a bīre'zā-em 'na xar'tōn.»  
<sup>20</sup> Pīra'kī 'dhōr ma Ham'zā, 'čhī mēn 'bâxčā tar 'ō,  
'Čhī dāl 'Šā-e Mar'dān, ĵa'ri: «Tu 'čhā 'bâxčā-m am  
'Nī wyār, ēte'hād kan.» 'Alī ĵa'ri: «Ai ka'tō!  
Nī 'wyār-e 'ān pa'ram. A'gar tā bâxčā'ī  
'Žū phōr 'zā ham ha'ra, ĵu'wāp-a te 'ā da'hem.»  
<sup>25</sup> Ĵa'ri čē: «Ğus tar-au 'ham bī'γam 'nhīn 'khanen 'tō,  
Harče čē 'zur tar-a 'sī 'bade xu 'ĵaγ tu rā'stī.»

- <sup>10</sup> Are in abundance in my garden. Every day thieves come  
And carry away [the fruits of] my garden. I came to thee, O hero,  
Come and guard my garden, that thieves may not steal today."  
The Amir said: "I shall come." The old woman went home.  
Amir Hamza rose from his seat and girded his loins;  
<sup>15</sup> He buckled his sword and took the mace in his hand.  
Midnight came and he went to the garden.  
He entered it and saw that it was a big garden.  
He desired the fruits, to pick them and to eat them.  
[But] he said: "Verily, it is wrong, I shall not eat them without  
permission."  
<sup>20</sup> The old woman saw Hamza, and she went into the garden.  
She went to Shah-i Mardan (Ali) and said: "Come thou also to  
my garden,  
And guard it this night." Ali said: "O old woman,  
Tonight I shall come. If from thy garden  
A single fruit is lost, I will be responsible to thee."  
<sup>25</sup> He said [to her]: "Sit thou free from care in thy house, laughing,  
And tell me now truthfully whatever is in thy heart."

- Ĵa'ri: «Ma 'bāxča-am 'ham rū'zī-ā 'čūrā bartōn.»  
 A'li ĵa'ri: «Xō pa'ram 'mēn bāx'čā-e tām 'am,  
 'Huš-ē ka'nem tā sa'hār. 'Har ke nī 'wyār čē 'žē  
 30 'Ale'sem-ē te maha'kām, 'pā wo 'dōst-e u'dān am  
 Be'žem-ē te 'xu maha'kām.» 'Ali ĵā'ī u'stā,  
 'Bāxča-wa'nō rā'hī 'čhī, nez'dik-e 'bāxča'ika 'čhī,  
 'Mēn 'bāxča 'ham dar ā'ya. 'Dhōr-ē žū 'čūr 'hā,  
 'Phyārī šam'sēr-ē nōt. 'A'mīr Ham'zā wa'lē  
 35 'Dhōr-ē žū 'ādam ā'ya 'gurz-ē 'ham dōst 'tar.  
 Pa'nān-ē ham āle'sī. 'Dī pāla'wā-e ja'ngī  
 Hud'dī xu 'rū ba rū 'čhēn, šam'sēr 'dōst tar-ē 'ham.  
 Hawā'la-i ko' A'li 'farq tar-e 'pālawā'nā,  
 'Radd-ē ku' 'Āmīr Ham'zā. 'A'mīr Ham'zā 'gurz pen 'am  
 40 Ha'wāla-i ko' 'farq tar-ē. Wa'lē Šā-e Mardān  
 'Rēw-ē dā 'na-i la'gī. 'Huddī 'čangan 'čhēn,  
 'Qūwat-e 'yulū-an 'kōf. 'Na-ē čha'ī wo na 'ō.  
 'Qūwatān'-an xu 'žū 'bīn, 'qūwat kun 'ham xu na 'čhī.  
 'Dōst-am<sup>1</sup> 'bu' ne'hāl kun, 'ē mun'dē ni'hāl pen

She said: "Every day thieves steal from my garden."

Ali said: "I, too, will certainly go to thy garden,  
 I will guard it till dawn. Whoever comes tonight,

30 I will seize forcibly, and his hands and feet

I will firmly bind. Ali rose from his seat,

And went towards the garden. He approached the garden

And also entered it, and saw that a thief was there.

He, on his part, drew his sword. And lo! Amir Hamza

35 Saw a man coming with a mace in his hand.

He also advanced and the two heroes of war

Met each other face ty face, with swords in their hands.

Ali struck at the temples of the hero;

But Amir Hamza parried the blow. Amir Hamza also with his mace

40 Struck at his temples. Shah-i Marden, however,

Dodged him and was not hit. The two grappled

and displayed great strength. But neither the one nor the other fell.

They were of equal strength, and neither of them was superior.

They grasped the trees with their hands and struck each other

<sup>1</sup> = dōst-an.



- 45 *Ūrī*, wo 'ō 'mende 'ham. 'Bāxča-e 'kattōi'kā  
 Har mēwa'ī čē sō 'bōn 'čāng-e 'dhī pāla'wā.  
 Ne'hālān 'hupēren 'čhī. Kə'ttō za'if 'āya 'xō,  
 'Dhōr-ē čē: «'Bāxča-m han'wār 'na mēwa 'sī na ne'hāl.»  
 'Arras-ē 'jō 'pīra 'zāl.

XVIII (T).

- E'stāluf-e 'mā hōt ha'zār 'γuss-a,  
 Xur'rāk-e 'huss-ē ma'iz o 'pīst, 'ai.  
 E'stāluf 'ām ja'nad-e mā'khā.  
 Har 'mēwa xu ai 'uk ferī'mān-a.  
 5 Šaftālū u 'sēw nāš'pātī sī,  
 An'gūr o be'hī am fe'rimā sī.  
 'Rūz-e ju'ba tar 'sail ferī'mā sī.  
 «'Āxer čē mu'dā 'dērēy-āi bā'lō?»  
 Bā'lō x-bīn 'ham Sān'jet Darra'ī.

- 45 With the trees. Whatever fruits were  
 In the old woman's garden, the heroes seized,  
 And the trees were uprooted. The old woman came  
 And saw that her garden was razed to the ground, neither fruit  
 nor trees were left.  
 The old woman uttered a cry.

XVIII.

- In our Istalif there are seven thousand houses,  
 The food of all is dried mulberries and mulberry-flour, ai.  
 Istalif is also our paradise,  
 All kinds of fruit are there in abundance.  
 5 There are peaches and apples and pears,  
 Grapes and quinces abound.  
 On Fridays there are many people walking about there.  
 [The girl says to her lover:]  
 "And now, what is thy intention, O boy?"  
 But the boy came from Senjet Darra,

- 10 'Āya E'stāluf ham mē'mân, ai.  
 'Mōnde ka'stī dhōr, 'zur-ē xu 'ō 'dā.  
 'Nesp-e wyāri'ka 'munde xu 'bur' ai.  
 'Biyārān u'stāē ē: «'Xī-an 'na hā.  
 'Munde xu bu'rō xu'kâ 'čūr, ai.»
- 15 'Mendī zahē'wī xu Sān'jet 'Darra,  
 'Šī (šu) sat kamâ'dâr pai'lân tar-ē čhēn.  
 'Žū (žā) wīl xu fe'γān 'u'stā ka'stī'ka.  
 'Bālō xu ja'rī: «'Xair-a, wō 'ka'stē?»  
 'Ka'stē xu ja'rī: «'Watan-om 'šūr xūr,  
 20 'Zāhī 'mardum bēn peš'čhan-an ā'γēn.  
 'Mēran-an tey'-ai, wō 'bālō 'jān!»  
 'Bālō xu ja'rī: «Na 'berkh, wō ka'stē!»  
 'Bāw o biyārān-om, 'huss-e 'xīšān-om  
 'Ā'γēn peš 'mā, na 'berkh, ai ka'stē.»
- 25 'Ka'stē ham za'hī dāl 'bō-e xāi'ka-i,  
 'Munde-an xu 'bur darūn-e 'γus tar,  
 'Munde-an xu 'nhānt peš 'taxt tar, ai.
- 
- 10 He came as a guest to Istalif, ai,  
 He saw that girl and gave her his heart,  
 At midnight he carried her off, ai.  
 Her brothers rose [and said]: "Our sister is not [here],  
 Her own thief has carried her off, ai."
- 15 He brought her to Senjet Darra.  
 Three hundred bowmen came against him.  
 Suddenly the girl cried aloud.  
 But the boy said: "Art thou [not] well, O girl?"  
 The girl said: "My country is in an uproar,  
 20 All the people there have come in pursuit of us,  
 They will kill thee, ai! O boy, my soul!"  
 The boy said: "Fear not, O girl,  
 My father and my brothers, all my kinsmen  
 Have come to help me, fear not, O girl."  
 25 The girl also came to her husband's door,  
 They brought her into the house,  
 They placed her behind the curtain, ai.<sup>1</sup>
- <sup>1</sup> *taxt* was explained by *parda*.



- Mardum nar'γō xu γus'sī u'dân,  
 Šā wo â'rūs xu za'hī ha'stan.  
 30 Šām-am guda'rī, 'nīm-e 'xāwân čhī.  
 Gūgird-ē de'hī čirāy-ē dar 'dā.  
 Dōst-ē buṛ walē xu e'zārband 'tar:  
 «'Āxer če mu'dā 'dērey-ai bālō?»  
 Bālō xu ja'ṛī: «Na 'berkh, 'ai ka'stē!  
 35 Tō pen xu mu'dā 'dērem, wō ka'stē!  
 Harče-m če ku'ra, exti'yâr dē'rem,  
 'Āxer ba mu'dā-m pa'rī, wō ka'stē!»  
 Ka'stē xu ja'ṛī: «Taraz-um 'na ka,  
 'Ān am nāwa'lât tân 'γus tar-em.  
 40 Nī-m am 'mūlat dā, sa'bā 'harče ka,  
 Xud-exti'yâr wāla-ē, ai 'bālō!»  
 Nī guda'rī 'sōr-e â'rūsika,  
 Sa'bā če 'čhī 'wāda ba'rābar čhī, 'ai.  
 Nīmrōz-e rūzika tar bālō am  
 45 U'stā sōr 'ka'stē ja'ṛī: «'Ušte, 'ai!»

- People went out of his house,  
 And bridegroom and bride were left alone.  
 30 The evening passed, and midnight came,  
 He struck a match and lighted the lamp.  
 He put his hand to her belt,  
 [She said]: "And now, what is thy intention, O boy?"  
 The boy said: "Fear not, O girl.  
 35 I intend to do something with thee, O girl.  
 I am at liberty to do whatever I have done,  
 And now, at last, my wish will be fulfilled, O girl."  
 The girl said: "Do not ask this of me,  
 I am friendless in thy house,  
 40 Give me a respite to day, then do what thou likest to morrow.  
 Thou art at liberty to do what thou wilt, O boy."  
 That day passed for the bride,  
 When the next day came the marriage union was due, ai.  
 In the middle of the day the boy  
 45 Rose and said to the girl: "Rise, ai."

- 'Kaštē du'zânū ka'nen u'stâ rau,  
 'Bâlō ba'yal âle'si 'munde, 'ai.  
 Ba'yal gurîa'mânî čha'ri ō,  
 'Bâlō sō 'siz-ē su'wâr čhî.  
 50 J'a'ri: «Žū ma'či-m da mu'xî-au!»  
 'Dōst-ē bur sō 'xiṭ-ē bâlō, ai.  
 'Kaštē j'a'ri: «'Har če ka'nē, 'rau kan!»  
 'Bâlō ka'lam ghîd de'wet tar-ē,  
 'Sōr-e kalami'ka čhî 'apače.  
 55 De'wet bi'xabar 'xâṛ čhî xu, ai.  
 'Nimrōz bîn, 'sâm čhî, 'bâw-ē xa'bar 'ghîṭ, ai.  
 Ma 'puš-ē j'a'ri če: «'Ai 'puš-e ma'nâ!»  
 'Ârūs-au 'khâjâi hâ, rau 'jaṛ, ai!»  
 'Bâlō j'a'ri: «'Â'rūs-om xu mu'ṛō.»  
 60 'Bâw-ē 'mux tar de'hî, 'dhâṛē tar,  
 'Bamča-e dhâri'ka 'bâw-ē hu'pâṭ.  
 Dâl 'puš-ē 'khâr ka'nen naṛ'γō, ai,  
 'Čhî ma 'γus dâl 'jînč-e xu'kân-ē.

- The girl rose quickly on her knees,  
 The boy embraced her, ai.  
 Being seized in his arms she fell down,  
 The boy sat astride on her bosom.  
 50 He said: "Give me one kiss with your mouth."  
 He put his hand on her belly, ai.  
 The girl said: "Do quickly whatever thou desirest!"  
 The boy put the pen into her ink-bottle,  
 The tip of the pen went forward,  
 55 But suddenly the ink-bottle broke, ai.  
 It was midday, evening came, his father became aware of it, ai.  
 He said to his son: "O my son,  
 Where is thy bride? Tell me quickly!"  
 The boy said: "My bride is dead."  
 60 His father smote his [own] face and his beard,  
 He pulled out a handful of his beard.  
 Angered with his son he went out, ai,  
 And returned home to his wife.



- Ja'ri: «'Suw-a 'nī mu'řō, ai.»  
 65 Jīnč-ē 'āya xu dāl 'su tar-ē.  
 'Dhōr-ē čē 'su-e u'dān 'muřa, bō.  
 'Arras-ē jō bī'huš-am čha'ri.  
 Ba 'huš āya mā'či-e bālōi'ka-i.  
 Mā'či ma 'puš-ē ja'ri: «Čē 'hāl-a?»  
 70 Ma 'keḡālā-u čēkō 'mātō, ai?»  
 'Puš-ē ja'ri čē: «'Ā na 'mātō,  
 'Hukm-e Xudāi'kā xu 'čhī 'sōr tar-ē.  
 'Ō čē mu'řō čē ka'nem 'ān, ai?»  
 'Māči xu 'arras jō. Mardu'mān 'huss 'xabar čhēn,  
 75 'Mēr o za'if 'hala koř, 'dāl mā'čiy-ē za'hēn.  
 'Mařdum ja'ri ma mā'či-ē: «Čēkun-a 'arras de'hī?»  
 Mā'či-e bālōika 'ham ja'ri: «'Wō mařdu'mā!  
 Jīnč-e puše'ka-m mu'řō, žū wiyār sō'ri čhī.»  
 Mařdu'mān huss 'jam čhī, 'mařdum-e 'Senje Dar'ra,  
 80 'Ghāṇḍ o čī'nō ā'ya, 'malek o 'xān o ra'his,

- He said: "Thy daughter-in-law died today, ai."  
 65 His wife went to her daughter-in-law,  
 And saw that she was dead.  
 She cried aloud and fell down unconscious.  
 The mother of the boy regained consciousness,  
 And said to her son: "What is the matter?"  
 70 Why hast thou killed thy bride, ai?"  
 Her son said: "I have not killed her,  
 But the command of God has brought this upon her.  
 How can I help her having died, ai?"  
 The mother cried aloud, and all the people heard it.  
 75 Men and women ran and came to his mother.  
 People said to her: "Why didst thou utter a cry?"  
 The boy's mother said: "O people,  
 My son's wife is dead after one night."  
 All the people assembled, the people of Senjet Darra,  
 80 Great and small came, headmen and khans and chiefs

- Piča'dâr o kâku'li, huss-ê 'hōki bēn.  
 Â'γēn 'dâl male'kâ. Malekâ 'ham hukm 'kor:  
 «Ču'mōr, 'mēn-ōu be'zōr!»
- Mardu'mâ 'γus wanō 'čhēn, huss-ê 'mēn-an 'bōst,  
 85 Huss-ê â'γēn dōbārā 'dâl male'kân a'pâ 'čhēn.  
 Male'kân-an 'hugm kor: «'Nī be'nâ-e 'jang-â.»  
 Ma mul'lâ-an ta'lab kōr, hi'sâb-e 'mardumi'kâ  
 Mul'lâ ham a'yâ 'kōr: Šī ha'zâr ō šū sa'd-â,  
 'Mardum-e 'Senje Dar'râ, huss-ê râ'hī 'čhēn.  
 90 Za'hēn 'Kala-i Qâzi tar. Estâlufi 'xabar 'čhī,  
 'Dhōr-ən ēe 'mardum â'γâ, 'mardum-e 'Senje Dar'râ,  
 Šō hazâr-â o 'šī 'sat, huss-ê tufang'dâr-ən.  
 «Mâ pen ba 'jang â'γēn. 'Mēn-ōu be'zōr, mardu'mân!»  
 'Mardum-e Estâlufi 'narγō 'γus'sī 'dī na'far.  
 95 'Husse-an 'čhē, jam de'hī 'xullas ča'dōs ha'zâr,  
 'Malek o 'xâ o ra'hīs, 'n-âya 'bēn šu'mâr tar.  
 Male'kân-an 'tar-ē 'dâ, as'sâmīân pešča'n-ē.

Wearing short curls or long locks, they were all of them noble.  
 They came to the headmen. The headmen, too, commanded:  
 "Go, and gird up your loins!"

- The men went home; they all girded up their loins,  
 85 They all came back and mustered before the headmen.  
 Their headmen commanded: "Today we intend to fight."  
 They called for the mulla, and the mulla counted  
 The number of the men: There were three thousand and three  
 hundred  
 Men from Senjet Darra, and all of them set forth.  
 90 They arrived at Qala-i Qazi. The Istâlifis heard the news,  
 They saw people coming, people from Senjet Darra,  
 Three thousand and three hundred, all carrying rifles.  
 "They come to fight with us. Gird your loins, O men!"  
 The men of Istâlif went out, two from each house,  
 95 They all went and assembled, fourteen thousand in all.  
 Headmen and khans and chiefs, they could not be numbered.  
 The headmen went first, the common people followed them.



- 'Āyēn mai'dān tar, 'dhuṣ-an ma 'Senje Dar'rā.  
 'Peš mūrca/lān-an čha'rēn, Estālu'fī 'tar-ē dā,  
 100 Ma 'zū ha'zār-ē-an d'e'hī, 'ū'zā-ē 'šedōs ha'zār.  
 'Īān-am 'jāṅ 'kōr 'sō nafar 'Senje Dar'rā.  
 'Īān hus'sē 'dehen čhēn, 'malek o 'xā mōta'bār.  
 'Īā 'ham 'mēren 'čhēn 'Estālu'fī maṛdu'mā.  
 'Sōr na 'dēran wa'lē, 'sōr-e ud'ānān-an 'mur.  
 105 'Bānō-e 'tufangi'kā 'tečh o 'farq tar-an la'gī.  
 'Īā bī'sōr 'čhēn, mai'dā 'xālī ū'zā.  
 'Estālu'fī čaṭa'kī 'Senje Dar'rāi maṛdum,  
 'Peščan-an 'hala 'kōr 'mēn yus'sān-an xa'zēn.  
 'Estālu'fī maṛdu'mān. 'Zū bu'zurg 'paidā 'čhī,  
 110 'Nām-e 'Wāliyād 'bī ma (huss) 'mardum-e 'Senje Dar'rā  
 'Ja'rī: 'Ā'stīī ka'nōr, 'šūr o 'yau'yā na ka'nōr.  
 'Mē zā 'mardumā 'tar 'ruz wāē 'parama 'mā.  
 'Dūst o 'duzman-an 'huss 'sōr tar-an te 'yuman 'rā.  
 'Harče čē 'pīr-an 'ja'rī, ka'būl-an koṛ 'dī fer'kā.

They came to the battlefield, and saw Senjet Darra.

They lay down behind the *sangars*, the Istálifs advanced against them,

- 100 They killed one thousand of them; but thirteen thousand were left.  
 They, too, fought, one hundred men from Senjet Darra.  
 They were all wounded, headmen and noble khans.  
 They, too, were killed, the men of Istálif.  
 No chief had they, indeed, for their chief died.  
 105 They rifle-bullets hit their eyes and temples.  
 They were left without a leader, and the field was left empty.  
 The Istálifs fled, and the men from Senjet Darra  
 Ran after them. They hid in their houses.  
 Did the men of Istálif. A holy man appeared  
 110 His name was Wali Ad. To the men of Senjet Darra  
 He said: "Make peace, do not make trouble and noise!  
 Among other men we shall become ill-famed.  
 All our friends and enemies will find their way to us."  
 Whatever their saint said, both parties accepted.

- 115 'Iušt 'sīr 'bizeka dā 'mē tar-an 'radd o badd 'chī.  
 Su'lō-an 'koṛ 'ī'ān, ā'stī 'chēn 'huss-ē.  
 'Sāher-e Bā'γ-e A'lam 'bī wa'lē 'Tabak'kal,  
 'Qissa 'huss-ē ta'mām 'chī, az 'nēk o 'bad ba'yān 'chī.

## XIX (T).

- 'Mullā A'mīr ja'fī: «Wō 'bāw-e ma'nān,  
 'Ān o 'tō ba 'har 'ker-an 'sāda-e'man.  
 'Bareman pōsta'kī, a'pež 'daheman,  
 'Bhay-e paisa'ka na 'dēra 'Bāqī-ai.»  
 5 'Mullā A'mīr ja'fī: «Wō 'bāw-e ma'nān,  
 'Žē, če 'mā o 'tō pa'raman Santux'mānd,  
 'Balak o 'γān deheman, ferī'mān de'he-man.»  
 'Mullā 'mīr ja'fī: «Wō 'bāw-e ma'nā,  
 'Žē, če 'mā ma 'balakā 'bhār kaneman,  
 10 'Žū 'jāī 'sar ba 'sar 'ham kanema.»

- 115 [The Istāfīs] gave twenty seers of grain, and they discussed the  
 matter between them.  
 They made peace, and all became quiet.  
 Tabakkal was certainly [like] the poet of Bagh-i Alam<sup>1</sup>  
 The whole of his tale is ended, right and wrong have been made  
 plain.

## XIX.

- Mulla Amir said: "O my father,  
 You and I are foolish in all our actions.  
 Let us two take the fur coats and give them back,  
 Baqi is not worth a pice (?)."<sup>2</sup>  
 5 Mulla Amir said: "O my father,  
 Come, let us two go to [the hill of] Santokhmand;  
 Let us cut down *balak* shrubs and oaks, let us cut down plenty."  
 Mulla Amir said: "O my father,  
 Come, let us make a load of *balak* shrubs,  
 10 And let us pile them up in one place."

<sup>1</sup> The World?<sup>2</sup> Baqi was said to be the name of a man.



- Huddī'nān-ē čas'pī ba'lak tār,  
 'Zāhī ce ba'lak bīn hu'pāṭa.  
 'Mundey-an am 'ār koṛ, 'mundey-an am 'gul kōṛ,  
 'Mundey-an am 'yār koṛ, 'mundey-an 'āwur Čārīkār,  
 15 Pha'rātiy-an šī qirā.  
 Čārīkārī čhēn a'pešt, za'hēn Pad'dō-khandī tar.  
 Ōkes'tak-an 'yan de'hī, ma 'huss-ēy-an 'bhār kōṛ,  
 Sōr ōs'pān-an 'āwur.  
 Žū 'yuss-an am 'dār dā, ba ham'rāi 'yanika.  
 20 'Mullā 'mīr ja'ī: «Ai 'bāw,  
 'Tuxm-e ba'lākika na 'ūzā wa'tan tār.  
 'Žē čē sō 'xenjak mā 'yaur 'kaneman,  
 Pašā'wān-an 'barema, 'tēz 'kanema,  
 'Bhay-e pašōika na 'dēra 'Bāqī-ai.»  
 25 Pašā'wān 'tēz koṛ, a'pēž ra'mē.  
 Huddī'nān-an sō 'xenjak 'xīs koṛ.  
 'Šāx-e 'ghāṇḍ 'Mullā 'mīr āli'šī,

- Both of them set to work upon the *balak* shrubs  
 And dug up all that there were of them.  
 They set fire to them and extinguished the fire,  
 They made them into charcoal and brought them to Charikar,  
 15 And sold them for three kraus.  
 Returning from Charikar they came to Paddōkhandi.  
 There they cut down oaks, loaded them on their horses  
 And brought them with them.  
 With the oak-wood they also set fire to an [enemy's] house.  
 20 Mulla Amir said: "O father,  
 Not a seed of *balak* is left in the country.  
 Com let us search for *khenjak*.  
 Let us take our axes and sharpen them  
 Baqi(?) is not worth an axe."  
 25 They sharpened their axes and returned.  
 Both of them ran jumped at the *khenjak* shrubs.  
 Mulla Amir seized a big branch,

- Xenjak am bī'xī hu'pāt bā'lō. -  
 Dāl bāw-ē pa'sō sī, 'xenjakika 'γīx tar-ē  
 30 Pa'sō-ē ha'wāla koṛ, 'xenjak tar, 'na za'hī,  
 Pā-e bāwe'ka-i ka'ṭi. 'Mullā A'mīr a'peš ra'mī,  
 Chī nez'dik-e bāw-ē, ma bāw-ē dhōṛ ċe mu'ṛō.  
 Muṛda-ē der'zī ō, āwur-ē ma 'γus ō.  
 Xīs u 'kōm-ē 'huss 'jām ċhēn 'žū wīl 'huss.  
 35 Mu'xān tar-an 'huss 'dhī, 'jīnč-ē xu bī'del ċhī.  
 Pa'sō-e 'žāy-ē 'ghīt ha'wāla-i koṛ 'puš wa'nō.  
 Ma 'puš-ē ham 'jīnč-ē 'māt. Mīr Asa'nā 'γus tar 'khīn  
 Na 'ūzā 'heč khīn, ba'γair-e nawā'γār-ē.  
 Mardu'mā tag'bīr kōṛ: «Čāždā'nī 'daheman,  
 40 'Xārč-e 'čōr 'rūč-ai 'ham 'nī mā 'ham 'neṛeman.»  
 Fāteha'xānī γulū ā'γō nī ma 'γus-ē  
 Mardu'mān mā'mūr ċhēn 'γūs u pulāu 'kurma tar.  
 Šāhe'rī kōṛ Ta'bakkal, 'šāhe-e zū'rāwar-a,  
 'Hēč khīn mai'dān tar qessa'xā xū na hā.

- And the boy pulled out the *khenjak* from the root.  
 His father had the axe; at the root of the *khenjak*  
 80 He aimed a blow with his axe, but did not hit it.  
 He cut his father's foot. Mulla Amir turned,  
 Approached his father and saw that he was dead.  
 He took the corpse on his back and brought it home.  
 At once the whole of his clan and family assembled.  
 35 They beat their faces, and his wife fainted.  
 She seized another axe and aimed a blow at her son.  
 Mir Asan's wife killed her son, too, and in his house  
 Nobody was left, not a soul except his grandson.  
 The men made a plan: "Let us give a burial-feast,  
 40 Let us also take out today [enough money to pay] the expenses  
 for four days."  
 Many reciters of prayers also came to his house on that day.  
 The people set to [and eat] meat and pillau and hash.  
 Tabakkal composed the poem, he is a mighty poet,  
 Nobody else in the plain is a reciter of tales [like him].



XX (T).

- Žē šār-e Kābul 'paraman, če 'sail u sāmāna, ai!  
 Na'āra kūbī ba 'nām-e A'mānulla Xāna, ai!  
 Ma 'burj-e Šārārā pa'ri ka, če 'nesp-e ās'mān tar-a!  
 'Ajab če sāmāna, ai!
- <sup>5</sup> Na'āra kūbī etc., če 'sail u sāmāna, ai!  
 Žu lak 'fauj-e jaŋgī Kābul tar-a, če 'sail u sāmāna, ai!  
 Šu lak-e fauji-ka-i ham 'Mangal u Jād'rāna-a.  
 Če 'sur u sāmāna, ai!  
 'Mangal u Jād'rā o Jā'jī, Wa'zīr o 'laz'nī 'sōr 'nōt.
- <sup>10</sup> Če-an kuṛ, 'āxer max'sōr-an xa'rāb kuṛ, ai!  
 Če 'hāl-an kuṛ, ai! Fau'jān huss čha'rō-en,  
 'Tā če 'hukm-ē 'na pa'rī, a'pež na zēn Kābul tar.  
 'Huss-ē xu 'čemšē, ai nai!
- <sup>15</sup> 'Sō na'far za'if-e 'Mangal u Jād'rāni-ka dāl sepā'yān hā.

XX.

- Come let us go to Kabul town. What a sight and what treasures, ai!  
 They beat the drum in the name of Amanullah Khan, ai!  
 Observe the tower of Shahrara, which reaches to the centre of  
 the sky.
- What wonderful treasures, ai!
- <sup>5</sup> They beat the drum etc. What a sight etc.  
 An army of one lakh of warriors is in Kabul. What a sight etc.  
 Another army of three lakhs is among the Mangals and Jadrans.<sup>1</sup>  
 What a feast and what treasures, ai!  
 Mangals and Jadrans and Jajis, Wazirs and Ghaznawis raised  
 their head.
- <sup>10</sup> Whatever they did, they finally destroyed themselves, ai.  
 What a pass they have brought themselves to, ai! All the armies  
 threw themselves [into the war].  
 They did not return to Kabul till they were commanded.  
 But they all felt ashamed, ai nai!<sup>2</sup>
- <sup>15</sup> A hundred women of the Mangals and Jadrans are with the soldiers;

<sup>1</sup> Frontier tribes, which rebelled in 1924.

<sup>2</sup> Because they were beaten by the rebels.

Palta'nân 'ta-i koṛ, ul'jân-an γulū koṛ.  
 Kā'lân-an γī'râ koṛ, na 'jangal ūzâ na 'būta.  
 'Hussē xu Tūdga'i čhī, ai! Če 'sur o sâ'mâna, ai!  
 Na'γâra 'kūbī ba 'nâm-e A'mânullâ 'xâna, ai!

## XXI (G).

Pâdsâ 'kâγaz 'koṛ, 'kâγaz-ē za'hī Par'wân.  
 'Mirzâ'ân uz'gēn, 'mundē 'kâγaz 'xânan.  
 'Mirzâ'ân a'peč ra'mēn, 'čhēn harke 'γus tar-ē.  
 'Sahar â'wâz-a(n) čha'ri: 'Dōz lak se'pâi pa'ri,  
<sup>5</sup> 'Hussē 'zū jāi 'jam pa'ri! Maṛdu'mân am 'jam čhēn,  
 Mullâ'ân ham 'jam 'čhēn, far'mân-an xâ'nī.  
 'Dhōr-an čē 'jang-'ā, 'jang-e Au'γânikâ.  
 'Maṛdum-e Ša'mâlī huss 'jam čhēn γuš 'lak.  
 'Malek o 'xân o ra'his 'āγēn Čâri'kâr tar.  
<sup>10</sup> Du 'ruč-an u'drâk 'koṛ, 'sīm tar-an d'hi, wa'lē.  
 Au'hâlâ-n 'pâdsâ kun 'dâ, ja'ri: 'Tuž lak 'fauj 'hâ.

The regiments have conquered them and got much booty.  
 They have destroyed their villages, neither forest nor brushwood  
 is left.

They all went to Tudgai, ai! What a feast etc.  
 They beat the drum etc.

## XXI.

The king wrote a letter, his letter arrived at Parwan.  
 The mirzas went down to read the letter.  
 They returned and went each to his house.  
 In the morning they gave the word: "Ten lakhs of soldiers shall go,  
<sup>5</sup> They shall all assemble in one place." The men assembled,  
 The mullas also assembled and read the proclamation.  
 They saw that it was war, an Afghan war.<sup>1</sup>  
 All the men from the North assembled, twenty lakhs in number.  
 Headmen and khans and chiefs came to Charikar.  
<sup>10</sup> They waited for two days, then they rang up on the telephone,  
 And told the king the news. They said: "Here is an army of  
 twenty lakhs."

<sup>1</sup> A war with the Pathan tribes.



- 'Pâdsâ ka'bûl na 'kôr, ja'ri: «'Dôz ha'zâr-ê 'ên!»  
 'Hussê xî'sân-an 'bên, 'zâ mar'dum a'peš ra'ma.  
 'Fauj ham yulû xu 'chô, mardu'mân a'pež ra'mên.  
 15 'Malek o 'xân o ra'hîs, 'ântan ma bi'yâyu'rök.  
 He'sâb-an 'koř hus'sê. Nar'yô 'dô's ha'zâr,  
 Râ'hî čhên Kâ'bul, za'hên Šêrpur tar 'huss.  
 Mhê'mânî-ê 'dâ jar'nêl Ma'hammad A'li.  
 Mardu'mân zû 'wil ha'ri, 'dhör-ê če šu ha'zâr-â.  
 20 'Zâe 'hussê čaťa'kê 'šu ha'zâr tan'xâxûr 'hâ.  
 'Pâdsâ-an xušway'dî, xušway'dî kha'nen 'âya.  
 Ja'ri: «Wa'tan ta'i čhî 'fata 'wâ kun â'ya.»  
 Mardu'mân ham â'yên, 'kêftan 'ô kâr'nail,  
 'Hussey-am 'hažnafa'ri. 'Küč-e Pax'mânî'kâ 'čhî.  
 25 'Î palta'nâ za'hê Pax'mâ. Šarša'ra-i â'wēika sî,  
 Wa'lê uk ham 'xunuk-â. 'Jang-i Ru'stam o Sû'râp  
 Kan'tôn-â 'hu palta'nâ. 'Bade far'mân-e 'zâ čhî:  
 «'Tušt sa'râ, ča'dô's sa'râ 'huss-e mē'r-ê 'jam pa'ri.»

The king did not accept it; he said: "Bring ten thousand of them!"  
 These were all relations [of the chiefs], the other men were to return.  
 The army had become numerous; [but] the men returned.

- 15 Headmen and khans and chiefs brought their nephews.  
 They counted them all: Ten thousand went away,  
 They started for Kabul, and all arrived at Sherpur.  
 The general Mahammad Ali received them as guests.  
 The men suddenly disappeared. he saw that there were only three  
 thousand left.  
 20 All the rest fled, three thousand hirelings [were left].  
 Our king was pleased, and came pleased and laughing.  
 He said: "The country has been subdued, the victory has come  
 to you."

The men also came, captains and colonels,  
 All conscripts. They moved to Paghman.

- 25 These regiments came to Paghman. Cascades are there,  
 It is also very cold there. The battle of Rustam and Suhrab  
 is being fought by those regiments. Then came another command:  
 "All men, from fourteen to twenty years, shall assemble."

- Mardu'mân ham 'jam čhēn, Pār'wân tar â'yēn.  
<sup>20</sup> Mundey-an hi'sâb koṛ: Čel lak šu'mâr čhēn,  
 'mardum-e 'ham Ša'mâlî, 'hussē-ēn 'ham šamšē'ri.  
 'Tars u ber'khō na 'dēran, 'hussēy-ā 'xub ju'wâ'nân.

XXII (G).<sup>4</sup>

- Mardu'mân, wâ thâ'rōr! Pa'ram-ē Â'stâna.  
 Dhu'rō-m zū 'yâr-e 'kârî, 'maṇḍō tar 'ghana 'dēra.  
 'Qadd-e wak'hē 'dēra, 'lauč-e kha'nōi 'dēra.  
 Mun kun ō 'zuṛ 'dâwō, wō 'hâ ō Â'stâna.  
<sup>5</sup> Ma Â'stâna gu'zar kan, 'kârîân kun na'zar kan,<sup>1</sup>  
 Dî sūy 'radd o ba'dal kan ma 'mēn-e Â'stâna!  
 Ma 'mun-en na lam 'dhaitan če 'param Â'stâna:  
 'Za'ifân-e 'kârî 'hâ xu 'mēn Â'stâna,  
 Či'lem-e 'čars-en 'dhetan, 'bēč par'wâ na 'dēran.  
<sup>10</sup> 'Har če ka'nân xu ka'nân da'rūn-e Â'stâna.

- The men assembled; they came to Parwan.  
<sup>20</sup> They counted them: They were forty lakhs in number,  
 Also men of the North, all of them swordsmen.  
 They know neither fear nor fright, all of them are brave youths.

## XXII.

- O men, look you! I shall go to Astana.  
 I have seen a beautiful friend [there], who wears a necklace of  
 silver rupees.  
 She is tall of stature, she has laughing lips.  
 She has given me her heart, and she lives in Astana.  
<sup>5</sup> Go to Astana, and look at her beauty,  
 And speak two words to her in conversation in Astana.  
 They do not allow me to go to Astana.  
 [They say:] 'There are good women in Astana,  
 They smoke pipes of *bhang* and they are without shame.  
<sup>10</sup> Let them do whatever they like in Astana.

<sup>1</sup> *ba xūbhā nazar kun*, cf. Andreev p. 17: *ba Ostona gīzar kun*, *ba xubonjā nazar kun*.



- Hâkim o qâzî na hâ ma xâân-an pand dhâ.  
 Har çe ka'nan kantan-en ba exti'yâr-e xu'kân.  
 Har ke çe un'hâk pa'rî mun'dî-n 'mhâkam âleştan,  
 Šarm o ha'yâ na dēran, tars-e Xu'dâ na dēran.  
<sup>15</sup> 'Agar 'mun tar-ē 'harwē, na čhâ 'tū Â'stâna.  
 Pa'nân gure 'wō a'ūz, dha'rēw 'dîn o 'imân-au.  
 'Agar 'mēr-e huš'yâr-ē, 'huš kan, na 'čhâ ma Pen'jîr.  
 Pen'jîrî 'âdam'kuš-a wō 'hussē 'yar u 'čūr-a.  
 Fa'kat čhō-au ra'wâ nâ ma 'mēn hōt ha'zâr 'yus tar.  
<sup>20</sup> Ju'wânân-e kârî-a to'fang-e Ĵarma'nî-a.  
 'Mardum-e bîwe'sâ-a, walē 'kull-e Pen'jîr-a.  
 'Rhammî zuṛ tar na 'dēran har kî-an 'yunt 'mértan-en,  
 Har çe 'mâneš 'uzər ka'na, 'ĵartan-en u 'khtantan-en.  
 Humar'zî-â za'hēwtōn, Ferâ'jî-â gurītōn.  
<sup>25</sup> 'Mardum-e xud'rūya-en, xân o ma'lek na 'dēran,

There is no governor or judge who can advise their husbands,  
 whatever they wish they do, according to their own will.

Every person who goes there, they seize forcibly.

They have no shame or bashfulness, they have no fear of God.

<sup>15</sup> If thou wilt listen to me, thou wilt not go to Astana,

Take the road and flee, save thy religion and faith.

If thou art a wise man, take care and go not to Panjshir.

The Panjshiris are murderers, they are all adulterers and thieves.

It is very inexpedient to go among the seven thousand houses.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>20</sup> They are strong lads and have German rifles.

They are faithless men, in sooth, all the Panjshiris.

They have no compassion in their hearts, they kill everyone they find.

However much a man entreats, they only talk and laugh.

They bring a man from Humarz, they seize a man from Feraj

[and rob him?].<sup>2</sup>

<sup>25</sup> They are undisciplined men, they have no khan or headman.

<sup>1</sup> Acc. to Andreev, p. 10, there were formerly 7—8000 houses in Panjshir, at present there are about 15000 houses.

<sup>2</sup> Humarz (Andreev: Vomarz) is bālâ-i Panjîr. The people of Ferâj are said to be cruel and wild (jangâlî).

Har 'sūy če pai'dā pa'rī 'ghaṇḍ o čī'nō na 'dēran.  
 'Mardum-ē-ā musul'mān, ū'bāl xa'bar na 'dēran.'

## XXIII (T).

- «Allā, Naj'mā pa'ram qur'bān-e 'nām-au,  
 Če 'dī ka'stē dē'rem 'nōš-e 'jān-au,  
 Če 'dī ka'stē dē'rem hu'dī sar-qand,  
 Har 'qandī če čū'sē 'nōš-e 'jān-au.»  
<sup>5</sup> 'Hudde ka'stēān-en par'čāl ku 'whētān,  
 'Žūy-ē 'tartarē 'žūy-ā peš'čān 'whētō.  
 'Ā qur'bān-e hō'wī tariwālī'ka-i,  
 Peš'tīna-i 'hām haž'dār dhī'rang 'whētōn.  
 Dī 'ka'stē 'ham lab-e 'zī tar 'nhašta hēn,  
<sup>10</sup> ba te'čhān 'dhuṛ, 'zuṛ tar-um 'ā' ka'sēwī.  
 'Ja'pī-m če: «'Kāla-e 'kā mē'pī'ka-ā?»

Whatever word is said, nobody is great or small among them.<sup>1</sup>  
 They are muslims; [but] they know not [right and] wrong.'

## XXIII.

- "O God, Najman, may I be the sacrifice of thy name!"  
 For I have two daughters who are like a sweet draught for thy soul;  
 I have two daughters, both of them like sugar.<sup>2</sup>  
 All the sugar that thou kissest is a sweet draught for thy soul."  
<sup>5</sup> The two girls are walking on the top of the wall,  
 One of them is walking in front, and the other behind.  
 I am the victim of the foremost one.  
 The one behind moves like a snake.<sup>4</sup>  
 The two girls are sitting on the bank of the stream [washing clothes].  
<sup>10</sup> I saw them with my eyes, and sighed 'Oh' in my heart.  
 I said: "The clothes of what man are these?"

<sup>1</sup> Everybody may say what he likes, there is no authority.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to T Kalbacha, the father of the girls, was talking to Najman, the lover of one of the girls. (*Najmān āsuq, Kalbacha nām-e padar-e duxtarā*).

<sup>3</sup> *Sar qand?*

<sup>4</sup> This expression was said to mean that she was fairly pretty.



Ĵa'ri ĉe: «Kā'lān-e xāi'ka-m-en, ai.»

Ĵa'ri-m: «Tu āšu'qī mā 'pen be'nā kan,

Ĉe rūpū'sē pa'ra, 'γus tar-ē 'nhīnē.

<sup>15</sup> Ĵu'wāb-ē dā ka'stē: «Ai bālō,

'Tu-ē sefla-e nā'dān wa'lē!

'Na dērē 'γus tar-au na 'māl u 'zar tū.

Ma 'mun ba'rē, 'ēi dahē, bālō?

A'gar ā'suq pa'ra, āšu'qī 'saxt a.

<sup>20</sup> Ga'hī bu'ĉhē, ga'hī na 'buĉhē, 'saxt-a.

Zu'r-a te tal'wasa pež'mā kana.

'Dūst, ĉe ma'γgīr-em, 'nāi zīm 'γus tar-'au, 'dūst.»

#### XXIV (T).

Sur'sur-e āw-ā 'zītō, 'būy-e pa'lāw-ā 'zītō.

«Ma kōš'xāna 'rāst ka'nōr, 'bālō-e nō-a 'zītō.

'Bālō mu 'kun zur 'dēra, wa'lē xub 'sūrat 'dēra.

'Mardum ĉe 'ker 'dēra? Kōš'xānay-om 'rāst ka'nōr!

She answered: "They are the clothes of my husband, ai!"

I said: "Thou must try to love me,

That thou mayst cover thy face and sit [quietly] at home (?)."

<sup>15</sup> The girl answered him: "O boy,

Thou art indeed a self-conceited fool!

Thou hast neither goods nor gold in thy house;

If thou weddest me, what wilt thou give me, O boy?

If thou wilt be my lover, love will be hard.

Sometimes thou wilt see me, and sometimes not; it will be hard.

Thy heart will quickly repent,

Friend, for I am busy and cannot come to thy house, my friend."

#### XXIV.<sup>1</sup>

"The murmur of water is coming, the smell of the pillau is coming.

Prepare the guest-room, the young boy is coming.

The boy gives me his heart, verily, he is beautiful.

What does it concern other people? Prepare my guest-room!

<sup>1</sup> A satire on a disappointed *baĉabāz*.





- Rū ba rū 'mâ pen 'nhîn 'mē dâ'lân, kâri-a.  
 Paraman 'döst ba 'döst huddi'nân-an 'sail-e ma'zâr.  
 6 Mušk o 'ambar-a 'dehō sör 'mux-e a'nâr.  
 Huddi dö'stân-um 'mē gîrî'bân-a, 'kâri-a.  
 Za'if-e Kanda'hâr o Hērât ēlā'hî o 'kačala.  
 Na gu'rî za'if-e 'Kâbul, me'zâz-ē 'xunuk-a.  
 Gu'rî za'if-e Kōhe'stân 'kâz-ē 'tunuk-a.  
 10 Ân çe cî'mēm wa'tan tar, za'if-e Nîz'rau 'kâri-a.  
 Tu dî 'mux-e 'čačō, 'lab-e kha'nō 'dērē.  
 Mun har'wî 'gel-a, ma'nâ 'döstî 'yalaba 'dērē.  
 Râz jaṣ 'har çe-a 'hatō, 'tu ba qu'rân 'dērē.

## XXVII (G).

«Gūs kan çe ja'rem zū 'gap az 'yâr-i ga'hîna!  
 Dâd'xâ pa'ram 'tân döstî 'dâl Xu'dâ-e Jâ'bâr.

- Sit face to face with me in the vestibule, it is good.  
 Let us walk together hand in hand to visit the saint's tomb.  
 5 Thou hast put musk and ambergris on thy pomegranate-face.  
 Both my arms are round thy neck, it is good.  
 The women of Kandahar and Herat are dissolute and bad.  
 Do not take a woman of Kabul, her pulse is cold.  
 Take a woman from Kohistan, her shirt is delicate.  
 10 Why should I leave my country (?), the women of Nijrau are good.  
 Thou hast two white cheeks and laughing lips.  
 I have heard about thy distress (?); [but] thou possessest my love  
 in full.  
 Tell me truthfully whatever thou hast heard: thou hast sworn on  
 the Koran (?).

XXVII.<sup>2</sup>

[The girl:] "Listen, I shall say a word about my former friend.  
 I shall request it from thy hand<sup>3</sup> in the presence of God the All-  
 powerful (?).

<sup>1</sup> *gel* (= Pers. *gil*?) was translated: *dil-i dard it* "thy heart of pain."

<sup>2</sup> The translation of this poem is in many places very uncertain, and the whole poem seems more than usually incoherent.

<sup>3</sup> *arz bukunam az dest-i tû*.

- Daš'wâr ku'řö 'ker-e ma'nâ 'mardum-e šai'tân.  
 'Huž bē (kan), tu 'xabar dā (bē)! 'Ĵa'ri: 'Na kanē 'nirx-a tu  
 ar'zân.
- 5 'Ān-em gurīa'gar, da'hem-ē 'zar ū dun'yâ,  
 Az nu'ra o 'tilla o. 'Kan ma 'boŷra wa'khē!  
 Az 'mušk o 'gul o 'lāla o lāl'tāq o ka'lāfâr,  
 Az 'ambar o 'tâtāra-i.  
 Dun'yâ ân 'na 'dērem, ka'nem 'töl-e tân az 'zār.
- 10 Han'dam-e 'ĵāni, 'čör rŭč-a duni'yâ.  
 'Na da'hē 'umre xu'kâ 'xâr da 'ain-i ĵu'wānī.  
 Angušta'rī dōsti'ka tu 'mu kun 'da!  
 Dāl 'mun bē nī'sānī ar'mân-ē tân, ka'stō!  
 Wō 'tečh ba'râbar!
- 15 Ma'stāna pa'nân čhâ, če bu'čhem ân ba 'mur-e 'tân.  
 Ĵa'stān-a-â bur'yâl.  
 Har 'khîn če 'čhī ra'fiq-e zaifi'ka.  
 'Hâl-e xa'râb-a, 'zur-e ka'bâp-a.  
 'Zur-ē 'dam ku'řī, 'huss-e ra'gāna-i-â 'thitōn.

Envious people have dishonoured my work.

Be wise and take care:" He said: "Do not make thyself cheap.

- 5 I am a purchaser and I shall give treasures and riches  
 Of silver and gold. Lift thy veil.  
 With musk and roses and tulips and *laltaqs* and gilly flowers,  
 With ambergris and musk of Tartary.  
 I have no riches, that I may pay thy weight in gold.
- 10 O my soul's intimate friend, the world's riches last but for four days.  
 Do not give yourself up to cares during the time of the youth.  
 Give me the ring from thy finger,  
 Let me have it as a sign of thy desire, O girl!  
 O [thou who art] like [my own] eyes!<sup>1</sup>
- 15 Walk coquettishly on the road, that I may look at thy face,  
 Thy shoes are made of Russia leather.  
 Everyone who becomes the friend of a woman,  
 His condition is bad, his heart like roast meat,  
 His heart is made to glow, and all his veins are burning.

<sup>1</sup> *faqat ččsm-om-et.*



- <sup>20</sup> Tâ'rân-e ru'bâb 'dhîr.  
 Har 'ād kanē ham'râ-i kaštî'kâ maza 'dēra  
 'Mastî u ma'zâkâ-u.  
 A'peš phe'rî 'yax-ē kor.  
 Âşu'qî binâ kor, 'câ ma'cî sa'lâ kor.  
<sup>25</sup> Ĵa'rî çe: «'Gurē ma'cî, na 'ūzehâ dâl 'tō az 'daur-e lau'cân-au».  
 Ĵâlân-ē pōnz'bâf ku'rō, sō kai'tâ za'rî, 'zîr-ē dî a'nâr-a.  
 'Mūlat ma'zâr kun-â, az 'jōrm-e gu'nâ bax'sē,  
 Az 'yârate šai'tân 'ân-em xu umîd'wâr.  
 Pa'nân-e Xudâi'ka tar 'râst çhu, 'heç 'xatarî 'nâ,  
<sup>30</sup> Tâ ba 'rûz-ē âxer šai'tân-e la'in  
 Ma 'huss mar'dum-ē 'bu'rō pa'nânî.  
 'Bî xu 'tû sa'lâmat, 'umr ta xu wa'fâ nâ.  
 'Ghâḡ o cî'nō ham 'nâ.  
 'Xâja 'Māmad az dar'gâ-i 'tu u'mîd-e ḡala'ba 'dēra.

- <sup>20</sup> Like guitar strings.  
 Whatever engagement thou makest with a girl,  
 Thy jesting and merrymaking is agreeable. (?)  
 [The girl had teased him; but now] she turned back and called him  
 She intended to love him, and gave him advice with some kisses (?).  
<sup>25</sup> She said: "Take a kiss, and do not let  
 [Any place] on the circle of thy lips be left out." (?)<sup>1</sup>  
 She had braided her hair in five braids, above  
 The band of her smock there is gold, and below it are two  
 pomegranates.  
 There is delay at the saint's tomb, (?), forgive me the crime of  
 my sins.  
 But I am hoping [to escape?] from Satan's malice.  
 Walk straight on the road of God, and there will be no danger,  
<sup>30</sup> That, on the last day, Satan the accursed  
 Will have led all men astray. (?)  
 Mayest thou be safe, but life is not to be relied on.  
 There are neither great nor small (?).  
 Khwaja Mahmād is hoping for [mercy] from Thy Court.

<sup>1</sup> az daur-e labhâ-it na bubâna.





- Ba 'mesl-e 'ḡunča-e 'gul 'fazl-e rha'ḡâm-om 'âḡa.  
<sup>5</sup> Ō 'yâr-e nâza'nîn-om 'šarm o ha'yâ na 'dêrê.  
 'Âxer sa'bap-au 'či-â? Par,wâ-e ma'nân na 'dêrê.  
 'Â'yâ mu'dâ če 'dêrê? 'Tars-e Xudâ'yâ na 'dêrê,  
 'Rahmî ba 'zuḡ na 'dêrê, 'â'yâ če xa'bar na 'dêrê?  
 'Jabr u si'tam tû 'dêrê, 'râst jaḡ: Mu'dâ če 'dêrê?  
<sup>10</sup> 'Mux-e Xu'dâyâ 'dêrê, 'hâd o wa'fâ kan 'mun pen.

XXX (T).

- 'Xirō ra'fiq-om 'muš pa'reman 'tâ 'ḡus tar!  
 'Kî na 'bê ma 'ḡus, če 'ân o 'tû 'nhineman žû 'jâi.  
 Huddinân-an 'ta-i 'žû lēf 'rhizeman žû 'jâi.  
 'Tâ ba sa'hâr 'hēc kî xu na 'bê dâl 'mun o 'tō!  
<sup>5</sup> 'Šai'tânî pai'dâ na pa'rî pa'rî-a dâl 'mâcî 'bâw-a ja'râ,  
 'Mun o 'tō tar-ēn 'hussin-a 'fâmta.  
 'Huš kan če 'ân o 'tû du'čâr na 'pareman,

Like a rosebud came the ornament of my spring.

- <sup>5</sup> O my delicate friend, thou hast neither shame nor shyness.  
 Say now, what is thy reason? Thou payest no heed to me.  
 Or what is thy intention? Thou hast no fear of God,  
 Thou hast no compassion in thy heart, or possibly thou dost not  
 know [about my love]?  
 Thou hast power and strength, tell the truth: What is thy intention?  
<sup>10</sup> Thou hast sworn by God, make promise and fidelity to me.<sup>1</sup>

XXX.

Sweet comrade, let us go to thy house.

May nobody be at home, that I and thou can sit down together.

Let us lie down together under one blanket.

And may nobody come near us till the morning!

- <sup>5</sup> Let no envious person appear to go and tell thy father and  
 mother,

Causing them all to understand about me and thee.

Take care that we do not get surprised by anyone.

<sup>1</sup> *kat-i mā dil basta ku.*

- Duš'man-e ham pēš'chan xu 'dēreman;  
 Nigā'wān-e māk'hān Xu'dā-a.  
 10 Har 'kir-a koṛ, 'huš kan, 'kir-e xu'kâ ba mu'dâ kan!  
 Râz-e zurî'kâ-u dâl 'kî na ja'rē,  
 Će 'ân o 'tō ruz'wâ 'pareman.

## XXXI (T).

- 'Ân ka'nem 'târif-e te'chân-â, šî'rîn 'yâr âi!  
 Az ha'wâ-e lau'čâ da'nân-â, 'xîrō 'yâr âi!  
 Na 'ūṭafē 'mux-au, te'chân-au, sat'k-a pa'ram,  
 'Mux-e čha'čōe tar-au ma'čî da, 'tâza pa'ram.  
 5 Ki Xu'dâ bē re'zâ, 'tō pen 'ân 'pâdsâ pa'ram.  
 'Će ka'nem? Ma-x'sōr watan'dâr-au, 'Xânēm, 'jân ai!  
 Nha'stō a'stām dâ'lânî-an, ma-x'sōr nemâ'yâ ku'rō,  
 Âhi'nâ 'dōst-e čha'čō-e tar-au, sur'mâ te'chân tar ku'rō.  
 'Će ka'nem e'lâj-e dar'mân-au, 'Bēgum 'jân ai?

---

We have an enemy who is after us;  
 But God is our protector.

- 10 Whatever thou doest, take care, do thy work heedfully.  
 Do not tell the secret of thy heart to anyone,  
 Lest I and thou be disgraced.

## XXXI.

- I will praise thy eyes, O my sweet friend,  
 Desiring thy lips and teeth, O my sweet friend!  
 Do not cover thy face and thy eyes, let me be thy sacrifice.  
 Let me kiss thy white face, and I shall be healed.  
 5 If God permits, I shall be a king together with thee.  
 What shall I do? I am thy countryman myself,<sup>1</sup> O my princess,  
 my soul!  
 I was sitting on our veranda, [thou] madest a sign to me<sup>2</sup> (?),  
 Thou didst hold the mirror in thy white hand and put collyrium  
 in thine eyes.  
 What remedy and medicine shall I use against thee, O my queen,  
 my soul?

<sup>1</sup> *ma-x'sōr*: "*xud-e mā*".

<sup>2</sup> *nemâ'yâ ku'rō*: "*mâlum kat*".



- <sup>10</sup> 'Huss dö'sân-au yafö'iy-a 'pöñč pöñč pēš 'pōt.  
 'Kadd-e bâri'kōk-au, 'nēšt-e be'land-a ma 'mun 'mât.  
 Sör tö'sak ma ra'fik-a 'dehe 'taxta ba 'pōt,  
 (G:sör tö'sak žū 'wīl ma 'tō de'hem 'taxta ba 'put).  
 Na 'ūzēha 'zuṛ tar-om ar'mân-a, 'Bēgum 'jân ai!  
 'Huss 'dōst o rafi'qâ tar-om bī'gâna ku'ṛō,  
<sup>15</sup> Hēč xū'biy-aw-om na 'dhōṛ, 'zuṛ-um dī'wâna ku'ṛō.  
 'Če ka'nem e'lâje dar'mân-au, 'xīrō 'yârai?

## XXXII (G).\*

- Ō Ab'dulla 'jân-om ai, 'nūr-e 'dī te'čhân-om ai!  
 Ka'bī pa'rā mhe'mân-om ai, 'šēr-e lâlai'ka-i!  
 Ab'dulla jân 'tau ku'ṛō, 'dāl 'dâda-i 'xōm ku'ṛō,  
 Sa'far-au koṛ ma 'Dâka, ma 'dī 'mōṭar ke'râ kan.  
<sup>5</sup> Ma 'mun ham ham'râ-a kan, 'yurṛ-e dâdâi'ka-i!  
 Sör 'Taxta-hī tū 'hē, Pâ'inda- Gulân 'puš tū'-ē,  


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<sup>10</sup> All thy hair is plaited behind thy back, five braids together.  
 Thy slender shape and high (!) nose have slain me.  
 On the bed beat thy friend on the top of the back.<sup>1</sup>  
 Let no longing for thee be left in my heart, O my queen, my soul!<sup>2</sup>  
 I have put thee apart from<sup>3</sup> (= above) all my friends and companions.  
<sup>15</sup> I have not seen any good in thee, thou hast maddened my heart.  
 What remedy and medicine shall I use against thee, O my sweet  
 friend

## XXXII.

- O Abdulla my soul, the light of my two eyes,  
 When wilt thou come as my guest, O lion of the lover?  
 Abdulla has a fever, he is sleeping near his father.<sup>4</sup>  
 Thou didst travel to Dacca; hire two motor cars!  
<sup>5</sup> Take me as thy companion, O wolf of the uncle.  
 Thou art at Takhtapul and thou art Payinda Gul's son,

<sup>1</sup> G. . . . "I shall beat thee once . . ."

<sup>2</sup> *dā dīl-i mā armân na bubāna.*

<sup>3</sup> *judâ kadam.*

<sup>4</sup> *tau kadas, najōr šudas; pēš-i padariš xau kadas*

- Fâ'nūs-e ru'sân tū-ē, 'šēr-e lālai'ka-i!  
 Kara'bâ'iy-â 'kūē koṛ, zul'fân-a pēš 'gū koṛ,  
 Ma 'mun-a ham 'nhāmoṛ koṛ, 'šēr-e lālai'ka-i.  
 10 'Žē pa'raman ma 'Kābul, e'čēw tū 'yūza 'kākul,  
 Xu 'sōr-au sarkā'rī kōṛ, 'šēr-e lālai'ka-i.  
 'Žē če ma 'tō-e 'gap ja'nem, 'dāl-a te 'nūkar dha'rem,  
 Bī 'tō-e 'dharen 'na na'rem, 'šēr-e dādāi'ka-i!  
 'Ōsp-a te gu'rīm jē'ran, ma 'mun ma 'sōr-a 'mēran,  
 15 Ar'mān na 'dēreman, 'yury-e lālai'ka-i.  
 'Kadd-au xu tā'rānī-a, hul'bar-au au'yānī-a,  
 'Kir-au ba ā'sānī-a, 'šēr-e dādāi'ka-i!  
 'Māci-a pa'rī-a 'kōṛ, mā'ci-om da 'ši o 'čōṛ,  
 Du'rīn na 'kan ma xu'sōr, 'šēr-e lālai'ka-i!  
 20 'Žē pa'raman ma bā'zār, 'rōng-a phe'rō lāla'zār,  
 'mardum-e 'tān xarī'dār, 'yury-e dādāi'ka-i!  
 'Žē pa'raman 'yus tar-au, khu'jēweman 'bāw tar-au,

Thou art a brilliant lamp, O lion etc.

Thou didst travel to Karabagh, thou hast curls behind thine ears,  
 But thou hast forgotten me, O lion etc.

- 10 Come let us go to Kabul, let thy long curls hang loose.<sup>1</sup>

Thou hast taken service with the government, O lion.

Come, let me speak a word to thee, let me stay as thy servant.<sup>2</sup>

I cannot stay without thee, O lion etc.

I shall buy thee a red horse, let them kill me on account of thee;<sup>3</sup>

- 15 But we do not long for it, O wolf etc.

Thy shape is like the wild rose, thy front-hair is arranged in  
 Afghan fashion,

Thou workest with ease, O lion etc.

May thy mother become blind, give me three or four kisses,

Do not keep away from me, O lion etc.

- 20 Come let us go to the bazar; thy colour has become like a tulip-bed.

People desire thee,<sup>4</sup> O wolf etc.

Come let us go to thy house, and let us ask thy father,

<sup>1</sup> *bubān tu zulf dirāz.*

<sup>2</sup> *biyā ki ba tu gap mēzanam, mā pēšit nūkar mēpācm.*

<sup>3</sup> *ba tu asp-e surx mēgirom, mara sar-i tu bukušan.*

<sup>4</sup> *šauk-i tura dāran.*



- khār na pa'ri 'sōr tar-au, 'γury-e lālai'ka-i!  
 Muž če pa'raman žu 'jāi, 'xareman dī pi'āla 'čāi,  
 25 A'pēšte 'žīman žū 'jāi, 'γury-e lālai'ka-i!  
 'Magam 'tū bi'bāw pa'ra, \*če pa'raman Guldar'ra,  
 'mēwa-e 'xīrō 'tha-a, 'šēr-e lālai'ka-i!  
 'Paraman 'Senje-Da'ra, 'khāin-(n)an te mhē'mā ba'ra,  
 'hūr o pa'ri 'ham tha-a, 'šēr-e lālai'ka-i!

XXXIII (G).\*

- «Ān guda'rēm 'ta-i 'γus kun-a 'tū nhašta 'bē mēn-e 'bōr-e xu'kân.  
 Bânō-e 'ēšk-au ma 'mun la'gō, 'na-em 'γuntōn dar'mân-e xu'kân.  
 'Magam tu pa'ra ta'bīp-e ma-nā, 'zaxm-e ma'nā dar'mā ka'nē, 'ō  
 kaštē'ōk ai!»  
 'Kaštē ja'rī: 'T'u xu rus'wā-ē, ma 'mun ham rus'wā tu na 'kan!  
 5 Biyā'rân-e ma'nân xa'bar xu pa'ran, 'jân-e xu'kân-au ham 'huš kan!  
 'Huš kanē žā 'wīl hē sū'γân-au na ja'rē,  
 Če ma 'mun o 'tō-e 'mēran, 'ō 'bālō ai!»

- May he not be angry with thee, O wolf etc.  
 Come let us go to some place, and drink two cups of tea;  
 25 And let us then go back together, O wolf etc.  
 Mayst thou become fatherless, that we may go to Gul Darra  
 There is plenty of fruit, O lion etc.  
 Let us go to Senjet Darra, and somebody will invite us as guests.<sup>1</sup>  
 There are plenty of houris and fairies, O lion etc.

XXXIII.

- "I passed below thy house, thou wast sitting in the doorway.  
 The arrow of thy love hit me, and I cannot find any remedy for  
 myself.  
 But thou must be my doctor and heal my wound, O girl."  
 The girl said: "Thou art disgraced, do not disgrace me, too.  
 5 My brothers may find out, take care of thyself!  
 Take care not to say such words another time,  
 For they may kill me and thee, O boy!"

<sup>1</sup> *kašī mā o tura mēmān mēbara.*

- 'Bálō ma 'kaštē ja'ri: «Ešq tar-au-em 'thītōn 'mesl-e ka'báb,  
 'kārī hō'wyak-a če 'magam biyā'rān-au ma 'mun 'mēran zū de'wās,  
 10 Az 'yam-e 'tān ešqī'kā 'magam pa'ram ān xu xa'lās, 'ō kaštē 'ai!  
 'Kaštē xu'kā 'zuṛ tar-ē 'fikər koṛ 'ē: «Ma 'mun ma'zāk na ka'na,  
 'na če ra'mūz-e ešqī'kā na 'pāna, ma 'mun ham rus'wā na ka'na.»  
 'Čā ruč-e 'zāi ham 'thāl dā; če e'dī pēšti či ka'na.  
 'Har če-ē 'kōṛ, 'pēšte xu 'ēlā na 'dā bālō, ai.  
 15 'Agar 'ān 'tō pen āsu'qī ka'nem, xīra'i-um te 'či da'hē?  
 'Bálō ja'ri: «'Ā xu 'heč zā na 'dērem 'lāyəq-e 'tān,  
 'Či ja'rē če 'ān-a da'hem?  
 'Umr-e kama'i-om-a te da'hem, če rū'zly-a ka'nē, 'ō ka'štē ai!»  
 'Kaštē ja'ri bālō kun: «Huš kanē 'zā wīl!  
 20 Tu xu'xā-u 'mun pen 'mux ba 'mux na pa'ra!  
 'Mardum-a huš'yār, 'ān o 'tō-e rus'wā(r) 'paraman bī 'gap o 'sūy.  
 'Na če be'te 'mēn xu 'tar dərīn 'čəpəman, 'ō bālō ai!»

The boy said to the girl: "I am burning for love of thee like roast meat,  
 It is better that thy brothers should kill me one day,

- 10 If I can but escape from the pain of thy love, O girl."

The girl thought in her heart: "Would that he were not jesting  
 with me,

And that he understood (?) the mystery of love, so that he would not  
 disgrace me!"

She waited for a few days more [to see] what he would do afterwards.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever she did, the boy did not leave her alone.

- 15 [She said:] "If I love thee, what sweet things wilt thou give me?"

The boy said: "I do not possess anything worthy of thee,

Why dost thou say that I must give thee [something]?<sup>2</sup>

I will give thee the life of my throat, that thou mayst make it thy  
 daily food, O girl."

The girl said to the boy: "Be careful another time,

- 20 Do not come face to face with me.

People are wise, and we may become disgraced without saying a word.

May we not part from each other again, O boy<sup>3</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> čand rūz-i digar ham matal kat, ce az i pas . . . V. Voc. s. v. thāl.

<sup>2</sup> Or: "What shall I say (read ja'rēm) that I can give thee?" (či mēgom či bedom-et).

<sup>3</sup> na ki bāz mābain-e xud dūr bēftim.<sup>1</sup>



XXXIV (G).\*

- 'Zuṣbar-om 'γusi naṣ'γō, lau'čân-ē kha'nōi, 'magam ai.  
 'Qadd-ē mi'sâl-e 'ālef-a čī'mō-i xirâmâ'nī, 'magam ai.  
 'Ān-em fa'qīr dāl 'bōr-au \*kantōn-em bōrwâ'nī, 'magam ai.  
 'Dāl 'bōri-aw-om 'thārī, jul'wâ dâ sōr 'kō-e xu'kâ.  
 5 'Mux-aw-om 'dhōr, xūb 'xâl u xi'tâb,  
 'Rōng-aw-om 'dhōr, 'nuqra-e 'xâm.  
 Ka'bī žīm 'dâl tar-au? 'Zuṣ tar-um na 'ūzēhā ar'mân-au, 'magam ai.  
 'Ān-em na 'pântōn 'tab-au, pērai'sân-a če, â'yâ če sabap-â?  
 'Rōng-e he'lâl-au 'zitō čhō, 'ân param 'pēs tâ'wiz dâl mul'lâ.  
 10 'Mīm mu'bâarak bē tâ'wis tar-au sōr pī'sânī, 'magam ai.  
 Pa'nân-aw-um na 'lam dâ 'rust u wa'čhan,  
 Bham'bi-(u)m ghīt, lha'nō-m kōr.  
 Tu'yânâ-w-um ka'tī, 'kull rupa'ī nāxt.  
 'Jân-e xu'kân-um 'xâr koṛ.  
 15 'Pâ-m re'kâb tar-e ōspi'kâ 'lam da'hem, 'dut-e xâwâni'kâ, 'magam ai!

XXXIV.

- My beloved came out of her house with laughing lips, yea verily.  
 Her shape is like the letter *alif*, her walk is graceful, yea verily.  
 I am a mendicant at thy door, I am begging, yea verily.  
 I saw thee near thy door, thou didst shed thy brilliance on thine own roof.  
 5 I saw thy face, thy beautiful mole and manner of conversation,  
 I saw thy colour like pure silver.  
 When shall I come to thee? Let the longing for thee depart from  
 my heart, yea verily.  
 I do not understand thy mood, why art thou (: is it) angry; what  
 is the reason?  
 Thy new-moon colour has become pale; I go to fetch an amulet  
 from the mulla.  
 10 May the letter *mīm* in the amulet be auspicious on thy forehead,  
 yea verily.  
 I did not leave anything high and low (: uneven, rough) on thy path;  
 But took a spade and smoothed it.  
 I have paid the price for thee, all in cash rupees;  
 I took great pains.  
 15 I put my foot in the horse's stirrup, O thou the khan's daughter,  
 yea verily.

## XXXV (G).\*

- 'Hō zurba'r-om, ai 'sabr-e zur'ka-u ba Xu'dāi kan!  
 Har 'ker-a če koṛ, 'ker-e zur'e'kā •ba mu'dā kan!  
 Ân 'rūč na hēm, 'sōr har 'sabza xu tā'bem.  
 'Mai bē wo ma mai'nā har 'jāi če ân yu'nem.  
 5 'Sō 'āhū fe'yan ka'nem: Raft'qōk-e ma'nā kū,  
 Ba hō'wī 'nāzūk-e xēri'mān če 'whētōn sō zī'nā?  
 'Kū dā'lāl-e zur'thō če mā 'mun dāl tō 'nhēnā?  
 Tū 'bānō-e to'fangikā u 'ân 'said u ni'sān-a.  
 Hur'sī wa'khēi tar 'paraman 'sīz ba sīz-au.  
 10 'Fu'lū zah'mat u xā'ri-um ku'rō, ma 'mun a'wē kan!  
 Žu 'lāza ma 'dāl-um 'nhīn, žū 'bhām-e be'hešt-a.  
 'Ân 'čhēra xu 'čhēm, 'emsar 'nām-um xu ma 'pešk-a,  
 Ruxsa'ti na dērēm, če â 'žīm ma 'dāl-a.  
 'Ō zurba'r-om žu me'hī guda'rō, ma 'mun a'wē kan!

## XXXV.

- O my beloved, be patient in thy heart, by God.  
 Whatever thou dost, do the work of thy heart with a purpose.  
 I am not the sun that I should heat all herbs.  
 Let there be wine, and may I find my starling (: beloved) everywhere.  
 5 I give a hundred sighs and groans: Where is my little comrade,  
 Who walks up the stairs with such graceful steps?<sup>1</sup>  
 Where is the ardent go-between who puts me to sit near thee?  
 Thou art the rifle-bullet, and I am the game and the target.  
 Let us walk on the high terrace heart to heart.  
 10 I have had much trouble and pain, oh remember me!  
 Sit for a moment at my side, a fragrance from Paradise.  
 I shall be enlisted, and this year my name is on the roll,  
 I shall not get leave to come to thee.  
 O my beloved, [when?] one month has passed, remember me!  
<sup>1</sup> *ba hamī nāz xarimān kī tu mēri sar-i zīna.*



XXXVI (G).\*

- Bälö ja'ri: «Ö 'kaštē, 'ânə pa'ram 'yâr-e 'tân,<sup>1</sup>  
 Zul'fân-e 'bištō e'čēw, te'čhân tar-au 'surma kan.  
 Maḡḡ-e 'čhačō 'dērē, da'nânân-au ma'hîn-a,  
 Nēst-au 'ham be'land-a, ā'brōân-au ka'mand-a.  
 5 Mux-e 'kārī tū 'dērē, gū'ân tar-au 'jumkī sī,  
 Na'ti te'lāi 'dērē, 'kaštē 'mun kun wa'fâ kan!  
 'Qadd-e wa'khē tū 'dērē, 'mēn-e bâ'rik tu 'dērē,  
 'Xâl-u xi'tâb tu 'dērē, sē'bân-e 'kārī 'dērē.  
 Zu'bân-e 'xirō 'dērē, 'kaštē 'mun kun wa'fâ kan!  
 10 Dō'stân tar-au ču'rī sī, pâ'nân tar-au ma'sī sī.  
 'Tōn tar-au ta'wâr sī, 'sōr tar-au 'bu'ra sī.  
 'Čimō-au 'zerēzi'kâ, 'kaštē 'mun kun wa'fâ kan!»  
 'Kaštē ja'ri: «Ö 'bälö, 'nai param 'ân 'yâr-e 'tân,  
 Sū'yân-e bi'jâi 'na 'jaḡ, 'šunḡ tar-au te 'dehem 'ân.  
 15 Bâw-om te 'xabar pa'rī, ma 'mun-ē ha'lâl ka'na,

XXXVI.

- The boy said: "O girl, I will become thy friend,  
 Let loose thy long curls and put collyrium in thine eyes.  
 Thou hast a white neck, thy teeth are dainty,  
 And thy nose is high, thine eyebrows are a snare.  
 5 Thou hast a beautiful face; in thine ears are ear-rings.  
 Thou hast a golden nose-ring; O girl, be faithful to me!  
 Thou hast a tall figure, thou hast a slender waist.  
 Thou hast a mole and [fine] conversation, thou hast beautiful apples.  
 Thou hast a sweet tongue; O girl, be faithful to me!  
 10 There are bracelets on thine arms, and anklets on thine feet.  
 There is a woman's dress on thy body and a veil on thy head.  
 Thy gait is like a partridge's; O girl, be faithful to me!"  
 The girl said: "O boy, I shall not become thy friend,  
 Say no words out of season, [or] I shall strike thee on thy mouth.  
 15 My father might hear it, then he would kill me,

<sup>1</sup> The written text adds at the beginning: کشته جری او بالو آن سور ترو (Kāste jārī: Ō bälö, ân sōr tar-au āšūq čēm. «O boy I have fallen in love with thee»).

- Yā 'nēst u 'gū-m te ka'ta,    γu'sī-m te fa'rār ka'na.  
 'Kaštē ja'rī: «'Ö 'bālō,    γu'lū tū 'bila'γām-ē,  
 Az 'aql u 'huš u xirāt    dhō'r-om če bīgāna-ē.  
 'Ešq-au heč 'zuř tar 'na sī,    'ād u wafā na 'dērē.»  
 20 'Bālō ja'rī: «'Ö 'kaštē,    gī'rī-m te 'khān 'jāi pa'ra?  
 'Magam če ma'sō 'pherē (pa'ra),    ma 'khār-e dar'yā pa'rā,  
 'Yā če ka'būtar 'pherē,    ma 'nesp-e ās'mā pa'rā,  
 'Yā če magam 'ān me'rem,    mehe'r-ā zu'rī-m 'gum pa'rī.  
 Te'la wu 'nuqra 'dērem,    'sēher u jādū'yē kanem,  
 25 'Yā ma 'bāw-a te 'mērem,    bī'bāw-a te ka'nem,  
 'Yā če dī 'ōsp-ē gu'rīm,    'kā-wa'nō-a te ba'rem.  
 'Mux-e Xu'dāikā 'dērē,    'ād u wa'fā kan 'mu kun,  
 'Ešq-au ba 'mesl-e bā'nō,    'jāi 'ghītō 'sīs tar-om.  
 Du'rīn na 'kan ma xu'sōr,    'zu ga'rī zē ma 'dāl-om.»  
 30 «'Ān-e na 'žīm ma 'dāl-au,    'ān če 'ker 'dērem,  
 'Āxir mu'dā tu 'jař,    mad'lab u max'sūd-a 'jař!»

Or cut off my nose and ears and turn me out of the house."  
 The girl said: "O boy, thou art very unrestrained,  
 I have seen that thou art without wisdom or sense or understanding.  
 There is no love in thy heart, and thou dost not keep thy promise  
 and faith."

- 20 The boy said: "O girl, where wilt thou go to escape from my  
 clutch?  
 Perhaps thou wilt turn into a fish and plunge into the river,  
 Or turn into a pigeon and fly in the middle of the sky,  
 Or, perhaps, I shall die, and the love of thee will vanish from  
 my heart.  
 I have gold and silver, and I practice sorcery and magic,  
 25 I shall either kill thy father and make thee fatherless,  
 Or take two horses and carry thee away somewhere,  
 Thou hast sworn by the face of God, keep thy promise and faith  
 to me.  
 Like an arrow thy love has fixed itself in my breast.  
 Do not keep away from me, but come for a while to me."  
 30 [The girl said:] "I will not come to thee, I have work to do,  
 And now, tell me thy intention, tell me thy purpose and aim."



## XXXVII (G).\*

- Bâl'lo ma 'kašte ja'rî çe: «'Ân-e 'žim 'dâl tar-au,  
 'Jâ-e ma'nâ 'râst kanē alâhe'dî 'γus tar-au.  
 Dha'ram tar-ē na 'rhîzem ba'γair-e sō 'zuř tar-au.  
 'Khîn 'xabar 'na pa'rî, 'huš kanē biyā'rân tar-au.  
 5 Pa'nân-um 'sâf 'lam dahē, ka'lâ[-e?] 'bör-au 'xē kanē.  
 'Khîn tar-ē xu 'na ber'khem ba'γair-e biyā'rân tar-au.  
 'Ân çe â'γēm 'huš ka'nē, tu biwa'har 'na pa'ra.  
 Tu 'pânē 'khâin-e 'žâ-a, halapa'ta 'na pa'ra.  
 Huddi'nân-an 'zuř ba 'zuř 'rhîzeman tâ sa'har.  
 10 Žū 'ruč-e 'žâ 'âya bēm, 'tu na 'hasta 'γus tar-au.  
 'Hâl-e zuř'ka-m ja'rî 'dâl mâ'endar tar-au.  
 'Berkhetôn-em 'na ja'ra au'hâl-om dâl 'bâw tar-au,  
 'Yâ çe ma 'xâ-au ja'ra, 'nai na'rem žin 'dâl tar-au.»  
 'Kašte ja'rî 'bâl'lo kun: «'Xâ tar-om 'hēc na ber'khe!

## XXXVII.

- The boy said to the girl<sup>1</sup>: "I will come to thee.  
 Arrange a place for me in a separate part of thy house.  
 I will not rest on the ground, but only on thy heart.  
 Let nobody know of it, beware of thy brothers.  
 5 Keep the road clear for me and open the door of the village.  
 I do not fear anybody but thy brothers.  
 Be careful when I come, and do not be impatient.  
 Know that it is somebody else,<sup>2</sup> and do not be frightened!  
 Let us both rest heart to heart till the morning.  
 10 I came to thee another day; but thou wast not at home,  
 I told thy stepmother about the condition of my heart.  
 I fear that she may tell thy father about me,  
 Or that she may say it to thy husband, so that I cannot come  
 near thee."  
 The girl said to the boy: "Do not fear my husband!

<sup>1</sup> But *كشته مبالو جري* (*kašte ma bâl'lo ja'rî*).

<sup>2</sup>: "Feign that you think it is . . .?"

- 15 Māneš-e sâda'iy-a, heč 'zâ-â na 'pântôn,  
 Khôr o 'gû tar 'battar-a.  
 Bâlô ja'rî ma 'kašte: «Zur tar-om 'xirô 'tû-ê,  
 Xub-em 'pântôn 'yus tar-au 'sâheb-e exti'yâr tû-ê.  
 Mên 'kull-e mâne'sân tar 'dânâ o 'âqel tû-ê.  
 20 Že če žu 'wil 'êčewēm, 'mux-um 'bar-e 'mux tar-au.

## XXXVIII (G).\*

- 'Tečh-e 'mast-au, 'hudde te'čhân-e 'mast-au.  
 Kalam-e 'čhačō-a 'hudde 'band-e 'dōst-au.  
 Har čey-um če 'kuṛ, Xu'dâi na 'dâ-ê 'xu kun-um.  
 Az 'rûz-e a'wal Xu'dâi 'na kuṛ bā 'hast-au!  
 5 Hē 'qadd-e wa'khē-e arya'wânî 'tân-a,  
 Rux'sâla-e 'lâl-e 'hîn-ča'kōi 'tân-a.  
 Čōr ma'čî-a agar 'mun kun-e 'yâr-au tu da'hē,  
 Heč 'aib-a xu 'nâ, 'ain-e ju'ânî 'tân-a.  
 'Ân čhēm, sōr 'qabr-e žu ju'wâneka za'hēm;

- 15 He is a foolish man and does not understand anything,  
 He is worse than an ass or a cow."  
 The boy said to the girl: "Thou art sweet to my heart.  
 I know well that thou art independent and master in thy house.  
 Among all men thou art wise and prudent.  
 20 Come and let me once lay my face against thy face."

## XXXVIII.

- Thy wanton eye, both of thy wanton eyes!  
 Both of thy wrists are like white penholders.  
 Whatever I did, God gave her not to me.  
 Oh, that God had not created thee from the first day!  
 5 Thou hast a tall figure like the arghawan-tree;  
 Thou hast ruby cheeks, dripping blood.  
 If thou givest me, thy friend, four kisses,  
 Thou wilt commit no sin; the essence of youth is thine.  
 I went forth and came to the tomb of a youth;



- <sup>10</sup> Ā'wâz xu qab'ri na'γō, mun har'wī.  
 Ĵa'ri-um: «Ĵu'wân, heqa fe'γân 'čâ 'dêrê?»  
 Ĵa'ri čê: «Ĵu'wân bêm čê 'maxsat 'na za'hêm.»

## XXXIX (G).\*

- Xī'rōya 'yâr ai, 'ân 'tō kun 'zōrgir-em.  
 Ham 'kunda wâ zâw'lâna wâ 'ham zan'jir-em.  
 'Ân 'âγēm pēs 'bōr-au, ō 'yâr-om,  
 'Tusi-au 'γax kan'tō čê: 'ân man'gir-em.  
<sup>5</sup> Hō'wī ru'čī čê wata'nī-um sa'fâr koṛ,  
 Čê 'haif-um koṛ čê 'puṭ-om yâr-wa'nō koṛ.  
 Za'hêm Par'wâ sō dar'yā-e l'ōr'band,  
 Un'hak nhaš'tam, xu 'rhīntō-e γu'lū-m koṛ.

## Phonograph (G):

Xī'rōya 'yârai 'ân tō kun 'mōgīrēm,  
 Ham 'kunda, wâ zâw'lâna wâ 'ham zan'jirem.  
 'Ân 'âγēm 'pēsī 'bōraw ō 'yârum,  
 'Tusi-awē 'γax kan'tō čī 'ân man'girem. hōu.  
 Hō'vī ru'čī hō'vī rō'čī čê wata'nī sa'fâr kōṛ,

- <sup>10</sup> I heard a voice coming out of the tomb.  
 I said: "O youth, why dost thou lament thus?"  
 He answered: "I was a youth who did not attain my aim."

## XXXIX.

- My sweet friend, I am unhappy for thy sake.<sup>1</sup>  
 I am bound in stocks and fetters and chains.  
 I came to thy house, O my friend,  
 From within thy house thou didst cry: I am busy.  
<sup>5</sup> The day when I went travelling from my country,  
 What wrong had I done, that I should [have to?] turn my back to  
 my friend?<sup>2</sup>  
 I came to Parwan on the Ghorband River,  
 And there sat down, weeping bitterly.

<sup>1</sup> خیرۆ; mā ba tū dilgīr astum.

<sup>2</sup> pušt-i xudam ba tara-fī yār kadam.

Ce 'haifum kuṛ čē 'puṭum yârva'nô kôṛ,  
 Za'hēm par'vâ sô dariâ-i ṡôr-band,  
 Un'hak nhaš'tam, xu 'r(h)intôē ṡu'lūm kôṛ.

## XL (G).

Žū guza'r-om kuṛ<sup>a</sup> 'ṡus tar-au 'âṡēm,  
 'Hâl-ē zəṛ-um ja'ren na na'ri.  
 'Sôr mun u 'tô-en kan'tâ gu'mân,  
 'Sir max ta'r-âw-om thâ'ren na na'ri.  
<sup>b</sup> 'Rhîne čhâ'ri 'sôr tâ 'kadam-um,  
 'Šukur čē un'hāk 'zuṛ-um na tâ'ri.  
 'Daur-e čē'râṡ-e 'ṡus-e xu'kâ,  
 Par'wâna tu čhē, wô 'nauča ne'hâl.

Phonograph (G).<sup>1</sup>

Žū guza'rum, kuṛe 'ṡus tar-au 'âṡēm,  
 'Hâl zu'rum ja'ren na na'ri.  
 'Sôr mun u 'tôyne ('tô'ene) 'kantâ gu'mân,

## XL.

I took a walk and came to thy house.  
 I could not tell thee the condition of my heart.  
 They are suspicious about me and thee.  
 I could not be sated of regarding thy face  
<sup>b</sup> Fire fell from my head to my feet,  
 Thank God, that my heart did not burst there.  
 Circling round thine own house,  
 Thou hast become a moth, O fresh shoot (: bud)!<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This song was recorded twice on the phonograph. Hence the variants.

<sup>2</sup> Pers. translation: *Yak guzar kadam, xâna-i šumâ âmadim,*  
*Hâl-e dil-i mâ ba tû gušta na tânistom.*  
*Ba sar-i mâ u tû xalk gumân mēguyan.*  
*Rû-i tura sēr dida na tânistom,*  
*Âtaš aštâd az sar tâ pây-am.*  
*Šuker čē unjâ dil-em na kafîd.*  
*Daur-e čerâṡ-e xâna-e xud gašt,*  
*sâil-e parwâna šudî, ô nau barâmad nehâl.*



Šir 'mux tar'awumə 'thāren na na'rī.  
 R(h)inē čā'rī 'sōr tā 'kadamum (-umə),  
 Šukur čē un'hāk 'zuṛum ('šuukur čī un'hāak 'zuṛumə) na tā'rī.  
 'Daurī čī'rāyī 'yusi xu'kâ (xu'kân),  
 Par<sup>a</sup>vāna tu 'če (čē) wō 'nauča nī'hāl (nī'hāāl).

XLI (G).\*

Žū 'zuṛ-um-ā 'čemtōn čē āšnā'ī 'kašte pen ka'nem.  
 Čaṇ de'hem 'har čē 'qan(d) sī ma 'hussē yī'rā ka'nem.  
 Žū 'zuṛ-um 'čemtōn čē āšnā'ī 'kašte pen ka'nem.<sup>1</sup>  
 Žē 'paraman 'dōst ba 'dōst huddi'nān-an 'sail-e ma'zār.  
<sup>5</sup> Rhīntō wo 'zārī xu'kân mar'kad-e Sar'wār ka'nem.  
 'Mā pen bīwafāl 'dēra 'kaštē, be'nāi āšnā'ī dēra 'kaštē,  
 'Magam 'mā tar ju'dāi dēra 'kaštē.  
 Ba 'waxt-e 'šām 'čēm<sup>2</sup> 'xu-wa'nōi,  
 ta'mām-e kaštē 'nhaštō ma 'dāl-ē.<sup>3</sup>  
<sup>10</sup> Mizl-e 'mušk u 'ambar 'žitōn 'būy-ē,

XLI.

My heart<sup>4</sup> goes forth to win the friendship of the girl.  
 I pounce upon all sweet things, and destroy them all.  
 My heart goes forth to win the friendship of the girl.  
 Come, let us go hand in hand to visit the saint's tomb.  
<sup>5</sup> I shall weep and lament at Sarwar's sepulchre.  
 The girl is faithless to me; she desires to have a friend.  
 But she keeps apart from me.  
 In the evening I shall go to her,  
 All the girls are sitting close to her,  
<sup>10</sup> Her perfume is like musk and ambergris,

<sup>1</sup> The written text adds: (?) *باشه وشایستی عقاب زر عاشق تر خبر وکی وکم*  
*\*bāša u šāyisti u eqāb zur-e āšūq tar xabar wakhe u*  
*kam āsmān-wanō . . . kabūd tar kanem (?)*.

<sup>2</sup> *چم آن* (čēm ān).

<sup>3</sup> *نشتین خونوی* (\*nhašt-ēn xuwanōi).

<sup>4</sup> *yak dil-i mā mēšawa* "my one heart goes" (!).

- Lapč tar 'xâl-e Xu'dâi 'dêra 'kaštê.  
 Tu 'bučh! bi'yauri-en 'qâzi u 'mullâ,<sup>1</sup>  
 Ma 'dî 'šâhet far'mâsi 'yus-wanô.  
 'Xabar 'âran hō'wi 'kâri 'kaštê tar<sup>2</sup>.  
<sup>15</sup> Ba 'rhîntô šâd'gâri 'dêra 'kaštê.  
 Ra'hîm 'Xân ĕhî fa'qîr-au, tâ ba 'har waxt<sup>3</sup> du'wâ-ē ka'nem,  
 Će 'bî har 'waxt<sup>4</sup> sa'lâmat.  
 Xe'râj-e 'mulk-e Īrân 'dêra 'kaštê.<sup>5</sup>

XLII (G).<sup>\*6</sup>

'Zuř-um 'bâl xē 'dêra, bu'chō-i 'yârîka 'dêra,  
 Thâ'rōr ma 'yâr-e ma'nân za'nēng 'ĕimō 'dêra.

On her lips the girl has a natural mole.

Look thou! The kazi and the mulla are inconsiderate (: they desire  
 her very much).

They have ordered two witnesses to go to her house.

They will bring them news from the beautiful girl.

- <sup>15</sup> She weeps and rejoices [at the same time].

Rahim Khan has become thy beggar [: slave],<sup>7</sup> I pray for her till  
 the end,

That she may always be safe.

The girl is worth the kingdom of Iran.

## XLII.

My heart spreads its wings, it desires to see my friend.<sup>8</sup>

Look at my friend, how she is walking.

<sup>1</sup> بی غور قاضی کاندکه؟

<sup>2</sup> پری خبر آرآن کشته تر (\* *Parî xabar âran kašte tar*).

<sup>3</sup> تابآخ (tâ ba âxir).

<sup>4</sup> هرکبی (har kabî).

<sup>5</sup> Add.: مغوش توتر سله کنی بالونه خ چکنم ارمان تان چکنم سیم :وزر قارون که  
*kanem sîm u zar-e Qārûn . . . (r)*.  
<sup>6</sup> V. facsimile, Plate II.

<sup>7</sup> R. X šud xizmatgar-iš.

<sup>8</sup> didan-i yâr dârad.



- Ze 'ešq-ē ma 'mun 'mâtō, a'jab te'čhân 'dēra,  
 Zu'bân-e 'mesl-e bul'bul, 'xirō guftâr 'dēra.  
 5 'Tab-ē xu 'mun tar ran'jō, 'mun pen 'ham nâz dēra.  
 Čâ 'ruča čē 'na-m dhu'rō ma 'mun su'rây 'dēra.  
 'Zuṛ-um peš'čhan-ē 'dâγ-a, 'wyâr o 'rūč ma su'rây-a.  
 Ma 'mun-ē a'wē ku'rō, čē mhēra'bânī 'dēra.  
 Hussi'nân 'âsu'qī-ēn, ba 'âlam manša'hūr-a.  
 10 Ma 'yâr-e xu'kân-om dhōr mun 'arz-um 'kuṛ ma 'dâl-ē,  
 Ma 'kūṛ-um 'sōrī-um nōt, čha'rem ma 'pušt-e 'pâ-ē.  
 Ân 'čhēm xuš'waxt-e<sup>1</sup> γu'lū, pa'rī meh'mân-om 'âγa.  
 Dal'lâl ja'rī čē: «Ô bi'yâ, tu 'xedmat kan ma 'dâl-ē.  
 Bīmuṛ'râ-ē 'na pa'rī, ba'rât-au te zē 'zu wīl.  
 15 Ba bi'wa'rī na pa'rī, ma'nâ 'kir-um za'rūr-a.»  
 Bâlō ja'rī dal'lâl kun čē: «Ân tâ'γat na 'dērem,  
 A'gar har za'nēng pa'rī, ma 'mun tu 'bar ma 'dâl-ē.»  
 Dal'lâl ja'rī: «Tu sabr kan čē zu 'wīl-ē ân bu'čhēm,

- She has slain me with her love, she has wonderful eyes,  
 Her tongue is like the nightingale's, her speech is sweet.  
 5 Her mind is embittered against me; but she also flirts with me.  
 When she has not seen me for some days, she inquires for me.  
 My heart pines for her, night and day it is inquiring.  
 She has remembered me, because she is friendly.  
 All men fall in love with her, she is renowned throughout the  
 world,  
 10 I saw my own friend and made a petition to her.  
 I removed my cap from my head and fell at her feet.  
 I became very happy, a fairy came as my guest.  
 The go-between said: "O brother, pay thy court to her.  
 It will not remain unrewarded, someday thine appointment [to be  
 her lover] will come.  
 15 It will not happen all at once, my assistance is necessary."  
 The boy said to the go-between: "I have no strength,  
 Whatever happens, bring me to her."  
 The go-between said: "Be patient, let me first see her once,  
<sup>1</sup> خوشنود

- Na 'bádâ 'khar-ê 'šūra ċe 'tō tar 'xafa 'čhō bōn.<sup>1</sup>
- <sup>20</sup> Dal'lâl 'čhī dâl 'yâr-ê, ja'ri: «Cey-a rezâ-a?»  
 (Variant: Dal'lâl ja'ri: «Ō 'kaštē, ma 'tō-ê 'bâlō xu 'dhēwa.)  
 Ma 'tō 'bâlō xu 'dhēwō, ka'na-ī mas'tī ma'zâk-au.»  
 «Ba 'bīwa'rī na pa'rī, mhō'lāt-om 'daha 'čâ ruč.»  
 Dal'lâl 'âya dâl 'bâlō, ja'ri: «Čâ 'ruč tu sab(r) ka!»
- <sup>25</sup> Gap-aw-um 'puxta ku'rō, dōs 'ruč-um 'mātal ku'rō.  
 'Biwar na 'bē tu 'bâlō!» Eš'kyēn tar 'čhī ka'čārī.  
 'Hākīm 'čhī Māmad Šā 'Xâ, sōr 'mulk-e Parâj'gâ.  
 Parâj'gâ'nī ka'būl kōr, Pen'jīrī hug'mī čū'ra.  
 'Hākīm ham 'ēl o 'jār nōt, sōr Pen'jīr-a rā'hī čhī.
- <sup>30</sup> 'Dōstom ō Bēga'râ tar 'jāng ferī'mān čhī.

That she may not be angry with thee; for she has become  
 annoyed with thee."

- <sup>20</sup> The go-between went to his friend and said: "What is thy desire?"<sup>2</sup>  
 (The go-between said: «O girl, the boy desires thee.)

The boy desires (litterally: has desired) thee, he will make merry  
 and amuse thee."

[The girl said:] "It cannot happen so quickly, give me a respite  
 for some days."

The go-between came to the boy and said: "Be patient for some  
 days!

- <sup>25</sup> I have arranged thine affair, and given [her] a respite of ten days.  
 Be not in a hurry, O boy." The boy went to the court of justice  
 in Iskyen.

Mahmad Shah Khan, was made a governor in the Ferajghan country.  
 The Ferajghanis agreed to plunder the Panjshiris at his command(?).<sup>3</sup>

The governor led out his tribe and his neighbours, and marched  
 towards Panjshir,

- <sup>30</sup> At Dōstom [Khel] and Begara there was a great fight.

<sup>1</sup> Chief variants of the phonograph text:

L. 1. 'zūrum, xē. 2. 'čimōē. 3. 'ēšqe. 4. 'mīslī 'bulbul, guftār. 5. ta'bē  
 'ranjō, mun 'pēn. 6. čâ 'ručī, corrected into čâ 'ruča, 'dhurō. 7. zū'rum, vī'yārum.  
 8. 'avē 'kvrō, mēmā'nīē. 9. hus'sīnān āsu'ka-ēn. 12. 'yulū, mēmānum. 13. da'lāl,  
 'ō byā. 14. ē 'bīmuj'rā na 'pārī, 'zā vīl. 15. bē- corrected into 'bīvarī, 'pārī, ktr.  
 18. 'zū vīl 'āne ē 'būchem. 19. ma 'bāda 'khāra, 'xapa.

<sup>2</sup> rezâ-i tū ēi mebāsa.

<sup>3</sup> I do not understand Pen'jīrī hug'mī čū'ra. (čūr čhī: "tālān šud").



Hōt a'zār 'yuss ('xāna) Pen'jīr, 'huss xu 'žu jāi 'jam čī.

Tōfaŋ'gān-ē jā'yu'ri, dā'rū ferī'mān čī.

'Pōnē ruč tar 'jāng čī, ba 'rūz-e xuru'čina,

'Hākīm o 'maṛdum ham lawa'kī, Pen'jīr-a 'xudexti'yār.

<sup>35</sup> Ma 'hākīm-ē 'ham xu 'māt, ar'mān 'zuṛ tar na 'dēra.

'Hē bait ja'ri Ta'bakkāl, 'sālīr xu 'ō 'ghāṇḍ bī,

Az 'har če puṛ'sā ka'nan, 'gap tar 'band na 'ūzea.

There are seven thousand houses in Panjshir, and they all assembled  
in one place.

Their rifles had cartridges, and there was plenty of gunpowder.

They fought for five days. On the sixth day

The governor and his men fled, and Panjshir was liberated.

<sup>35</sup> They killed the governor, too, and he has no [more] any longings  
in his heart.<sup>1</sup>

Tabakkal recited this song, he was a great poet;

However much they ask him, he never stops in his speech.

<sup>1</sup> Explained: *zadanwāla armān na dāra* "one who is killed has no longings."

## VOCABULARY.

The alphabetical arrangement is based on the same system as in Sir George Grierson's *Kashmiri Dictionary*, etc.: The 'words are arranged in order of their consonants without any regard to the vowels. The latter come into consideration only in cases in which the same consonant or consonants are followed or separated by different vowels' (LSI. X. 253).

E.g. *ai*, *au* are placed immediately after *a*. In words from the dialect of D and P *ā* is a separate phoneme (= M, G, T *ā*); but in M, G, T *ā* is merely a variant of *a*. *e* and *i*, *o* and *u* are frequently interchangeable. Aspirates are counted as two letters. Nasal vowels are counted as *n*. *ṣ* and *ṇ* are placed after *n*. For *q* see *k*. Final sonant consonants are frequently unvoiced.

In words quoted from literary Prs. long *a* is written *ā*; but in Afgh. Prs. words it is written *ā* according to the pronunciation. 'Prs.' after a word denotes that it is borrowed from Prs., 'cf. Prs.' means that it is related to the Prs. word. Prs. words of Arabic origin are counted as Prs.; only Ar. words which I have not been able to trace in Prs. are marked 'Ar.'. Many of the Prs. words were used in songs only, and probably do not belong to the spoken language. The Prs. translation of Par. sentences is frequently very free. The accent is often uncertain, especially in words quoted from connected texts where the sentence-stress is prominent.

### Vowels

-a encl. pron. 2 sg. "thee, thy". Gr. 118.

Cf. -au.

-a, -ā "he is". Cf. *hā*.

ā T "Oh". *'zur tar-om 'ā kaš'ēwī* "I sighed 'Oh' in my heart".

ai (āi) G, T "O". *ai Alī!* T "O Alī!"; *har 'mēwa xu ai 'uk ferī'mān-a* T

"Oh, every kind of fruit is in abundance there".

a'ī M, ā'ī G "mother". Pash. G ā'ī.

-au pron. encl. 2 sg. "thee, thy". Gr. 118. Cf. -a.

-e (ī) izāfat. Gr. 89, 105.

ē "this", pl. ē(y)ān, ī'ān. Generally a subst.: *'na ē cha'yī wo na 'ē* T "neither this one nor that one did fall";



- but: *ṭpalta'nā za'hē Pax'mā* G "these regiments reached P.". Gr. 126 sqq. Cf. *hē*.
- ē encl. pron. 3 sg. (and pl.). Gr. 119, 122.
- ē encl. particle. Gr. 156.
- o, u "and". Prs. Cf. *wo, wā*.
- ō, -ōw pron. encl. 2 pl. "you, your". Gr. 121.
- ō "that" (و), pl. *ō'ān*. Generally subst. (cf. *ē* "this"). Gr. 129 sqq. Cf. *hō*.
- ō "O" *ō bālō* G "O boy".
- aib* G "fault". *heē 'aib-a xu 'nā* "it is not thy fault".
- ū'bāl* "crime". *ū'bāl xa'bar na 'dēran* G "they do not recognize [right or] wrong". Psht. < Ar. *wabāl*.
- ū'bālī* G "conscious of a crime" (?): *'ede kun ū'bālī 'āya* (explained: *ūra na kuštan, gunā bad ast*) "they became conscious of doing a crime to him (and did not kill him)".
- a'blāq* "piebald". Prs.
- a'brō* (*a'brū*) M, G, T "eyebrow". Prs. Cf. *kāš*.
- aubā'zī* M, G "swimming". *aubā'zī-m kan'tū, au'bāzī ka'nem* "I swim". Prs.
- uē* D, P "bear". Pash. *Ö. ōç* etc. Cf. *uē, xirs*.
- e'cēnd* G, T, *eēn* M "hence", *eēn'dī* G, T "hence, henceforward".
- u'cēnd* G "thence"; *uēn'dī* G, T "thence". *'mā-īman u'cēnd 'zōx 'ārtan* "we fetch firewood from there"; *uēn'dī u'stā* T "he rose from there"; *uēn'dī a'pež ra'mī* T "he returned back from there". *uēn'dānī* "from those": *hō'wī 'dhārān ēe . . . , uēn'dānī-ān 'nīlōn* "(the snow) disappears from those mountains which . . .". Gr. 150.
- eēn'dhēk* "this very" (or adverb): *eēn-dhēk ō'spān ku'cēnd ēn?* M "from where are these horses (*hamī aspān az ku'ā astan*)".
- ē'cēw-* (once written *ēche'wēm*, but *حيموم*)
- M, G, T, "to put, place, throw". *'md-ima ki'tāb sō 'mēz ē'cēwitan* M "I am (we are) putting the book on the table"; *ē'cēwem* G = *'lam da'hem* "I put", *bhār-ē ē'cēwī* T "he collected the burden (*bār jam kat*)"; *zul'fān-a 'bīstō ē'cēw* G "let loose thy curls". Cf. Psht. *ācawul* "to throw, put" < \**ā-scāb* (EVP. s.v.)?
- ad, hād* G, T "promise, agreement". *ād-an kur* T "they promised". P. *'ahd*.
- 'ēdē* obl. sg., *e'dān* gen. sg., *e'dānān* obl., gen. pl. of *ē* "this" q. v.
- 'udē*, obl. sg., *u'dān*, gen. sg., *u'dānān* obl., gen. pl. of *ō* "that", q. v.
- audī'da* G "tear". Prs. V. *āw-i dīdāi'ka*.
- e'dhēk* "this very". Gr. 134.
- u'dhēk* "that very". Gr. 134.
- 'adel* G, T "right, repair". *'adel ma 'yus-ē zahē'wī* T "it brought her straight home"; *'īrānī'yān-e 'yusi'kāy-ā 'adel 'kantōn* G "he repairs the damages of the house". Prs. *'adal*.
- a'dālat* T "justice". Prs.
- 'ādam* M, G, T "man (homo)". Prs. V. *'māneš*.
- ādam'kuš* G "murderer". Prs.
- 'adap* "courtesy". *sa'lām-ē ba 'adap-ē buya* Phon. "he saluted him with courtesy". Prs.
- u'drāk* G "waiting (*mātal*)". *du 'ruē-an u'drāk koj* "they waited for two days". Cf. *dar?*
- a'dāt* G "finished". *'kissa ham a'dāt chī* (: *a'dāt?*) "the tale is finished";

\* *sámorī'kā ham a'dāt chī* "the autumn is finished (*tamām šud*)". Prs.

*af'tāwa* M, G, *af'tā'wa* D "water-jar". Prs.

*a'gar, aga* "if". Prs.

*'āya* "he came", *'āyēm* G; *ā'yēm* D (Phon. *'āyēm*) "I came"; *'āyō* G, T "he has come"; *āya bīm* G "I had come (*āmada būdam*)". Cf. Mj. *ayay*, Ishk. *ayad* etc. < *ā-gata-*. V. *ēē*.

*ā'yun-*: *ā'yust* G, *ā'yōn-* M "to dress, put on". *a'yōn* "*bupōš*"; *ba'dhēk-um a'yost* M "I put it on now"; *a'yōn* "*bupōš*"; *ā'yōnim-e* G "I dress"; *ā'yustum* "*pōšīdam*" Mj. *ā'yud*: *ā'yust* etc. V. EVP. s.v. *ā'yustol*.

*au'yān* "an Afghan", *au'yānī* "Afghan". *jang-i au'yānikā* G "the Afghan war"; *hul'bar-au au'yānī-a* "thy fore-lock is in the Afghan fashion".

*āyu'nēw-* G, *āyo'nēw-* M "to dress, to make to put on". *mā a'ze mā 'puš-om kālā āyo'nēwī* M "yesterday I let my son put on the dress"; *mā bālō kālā āyo'nēw-ē* "dress the boy"; *mā-īman mā puš-om kālā āyo'nēwitan* M. Cf. *ā'yun-*.

*au'yār* P "rain". Cf. *'āwā*, *yār*.

*ō'yur* G "mortar". Prs.

*ā'yēs* D, P "sky". Ind. (Shina *agai* etc., Skr. *ākāśya-*), but not Pash. Cf. *ās'mān*.

*'āhū* G "a sigh". Prs.

*'āhū* G, T "stag". Prs.

*au'hāl* "conditions, news". *au'hālān 'pādāē kun dā* G "they brought the news to the king"; *au'hāl-ē 'mun kun ā'rōr* T "bring me news about him". Prs. Cf. *hā'wāl*.

*'āhen* M, G "iron". Prs. Cf. *rū*.

*āhēna* "mirror", v. *ā'nā*.

*āhe'nī* G "made of iron". Prs.

*āhen'gar* T, *āen'gar* M, G "blacksmith". Prs.

*a'jab* G, T "wonderful"; used also as an interjection. Prs.

*ī'rā* G "effect, conclusion". *'ker-um ī'rā 'na parī* "my work will not be accomplished". Prs.

*ēk* M, G "here". *'ēg ēē* G "come here". V. *ene'hāk*.

*'ēka* G, T "then, afterwards (*ēna*)". *'ēka 'ān yu'sī nar'yēm* G "afterwards I went out of the house".

*'ēke* G, T "this very (*ēn hamī*)". *'ēke men'dhēk 'māneš* T "this very man (*ēn hamīra*)"; *e'kē 'murda-e pušī'kā* T "this is the corpse of your son". *ēkī* M. *yala'ba 'ōsp-ēn ē'kī ādāmī'kā* M "there are many horses belonging to this man"; *'ēkī zā la'mēw* "hang up this thing". Gr. 136.

*ōk, uk* G, T, *ōk* M "there".

*ō'kū* D "that". *berkhitu-im ē'ō'kū 'mānīs mo 'mun 'jana* "I fear that that man will kill me". Gr. 136.

*ōk'ēī* M "there". *ōk'ēī 'māl-e xu'hān-ē bī'bāki 'gum kuṛ* "there he spent his possessions completely".

*aql* G "intellect". Prs.

*aq'li* T "wise". *tū aq'li-ē*. Prs.

*'āqel* G "wise". Prs.

*ō'kān oke'stak* T "in that very place (*ōna ūnja*)". *sōr-e Haida'rā'ō'kā oke'stak āwe'zān-a* "H.'s head is hanging in that very place".

*ēken'hāk* T "here, to this place". *ēken'hāk Zai'yūn 'āyō* "Z. has come here".

*ēke'stāk* G, T "here. *ēke'stak-ē šam'sēr nōš* "here he drew his sword".

*ōkī'stāk, oke'stāk* M, G, *ōke'stak* T (Phon. *uke'stak*) "there, in that place".

*'ekwiyak* G "this very (*ēn hamī*)". *'ekwiyak*



- <sup>1</sup>yus-um-a "this is my house". Gr. 136.
- ðk'e'wi'yak G "that very (ðn hamū)". Gr. 136.
- al M "built". <sup>1</sup>yus-om 'al kor "I built a house".
- A'lī G, T "Ali". gen. A'līn, Alī'ka. A'lī Haidar.
- ēl G "tribe". ēl o jār "the tribe and the neighbours (xurd u rēs: rātē, nafarī)". Turk.
- ēla G "let loose, liberated". 'ēlā na 'dā "did not let go", <sup>1</sup>yuss o 'bōr-e xu'kân-ē 'ēlā kor "she left her own house". Psht. < Prs. yala.
- 'alīf G "the letter a". Prs.
- ala'fī M "grass, fodder". Prs.
- ēlā'hī G "bad, dissolute (nābūt)". za'īfe Kanda'hār o Hērāt ēlā'hī o 'kačala "the women of K. and H. are dissolute and bad". Psht. ēla "unrestrained, dissolute". Cf. ēla.
- a'lāhida, alāhī'dī G "separate". a'lāhida, alāhe'dī (الَاهِدِي) <sup>1</sup>yus tar "in a separate house". Prs.
- e'lāj G, T "remedy, medicine". e'lāj-e dar'mān T. Prs.
- 'ulja T "plunder, booty". ul'jān-an yu'lū kor "they made much booty". Psht.
- e'lāk M, G "sieve". Prs. alak, cf. Pash. S elāk. V. pa'rīcōn.
- Al'lā "Allah". Prs.
- 'ālam G "the world". Prs.
- 'elm G "knowledge, charm". ho'wē 'elm-ē xā'nī "she recited that charm". Prs.
- u'lang G "meadow". Prs. Cf. tāla.
- u'lus M, ō'los T "clan, family, kinsman". Turk.
- ala'sā M, G "jaw". Prs. (cf. NSgh, s.v.

- lišā' and Badakhshi alaušā, Madaglashti alaxša, Pash. G alashū).
- 'āleš: 'āle'sī G, T "to seize". ēū'rān ālī'sēr T "seize the thieves"; ruč (ma'hōk) 'āle'sī G "the sun (moon) was eclipsed". Phon. 'ālī'sōr, "seize" (imper. 2 pl.).
- au'lāt G "children, family". Prs.
- a'mū M, G "paternal uncle". a'mūka pu'sān-ē G "his cousins". Prs. cf. Badakhshi amuk. V. pe'tē.
- um, -om encl. pron. 1 sg. "me, my". Gr. 117.
- 'ambar G "ambergris". Prs.
- u'mēd "hope". 'mā u'mēd-an-a sa'bā 'ōsp 'yuniman M "we hope to find the horse tomorrow". Prs.
- umīd'wār G "pregnant". Prs.
- ama'jī G "paternal aunt". Cf. Pash. S a'mayī-m. V. a'mū.
- a'mān G "security, safety, quarter". a'mān 'dhēwī-an "they asked for mercy (sa'lām kadan)". Prs.
- 'amr G v. 'āxer ul-'amr.
- a'mīr "amir". A'mīr Ham'zā T "n. of a man" (Ḥamzat "n. of a brave man, uncle of Muhammed"); A'mīr 'Hātam "Hātim Ṭā'ī; a'mīr 'sā(h)eb "the Amir". Prs.
- umr M, G, T "life, age". 'umr-e kama'ī-um G "the life of my throat"; na de'hē 'umr-e xu'kā 'xār G "don't worry". Prs.
- 'Umar T "Omar".
- 'āmaṣ G, 'āmaṣ D, P "apple". The relation of this word to Yd. amunoh and other words quoted in EVP. s.v. maya is uncertain. Formally the Par. word may be identical with Prs. amard "the fruit of the tree arāk" ("a kind of salt and bitter tree with the fruits



and leaves of which they feed camels").  
 V. *sēb*.  
*'emsar* G "this year". *em-* is Prs. Cf. *'asur*.  
*em'salla* T "please God". Prs.  
*ā'muxta* T "knowing, taught". *'ōsp-ē*  
*hō'wī* 'jāngal tar ā'muxta bī "his  
 horse was acquainted with that for-  
 est". Prs.  
*-an* pron. encl. 1 pl. "us, our". Gr. 120.  
*-an* pron. encl. 3 pl. "they, their". Gr.  
 122.  
*'ān* (آن, آن) "I". Gr. 112; *'āne* Gr. 156.  
*'ān o* 'tō = *'mā o tū* "we two".  
*ān* "that" in *az ān ēe* q.v. Prs.  
*ain*, *'ain* "essence, best part of". *'ain-i*  
*ju'wānī*. Prs.  
*āi'na* M, G, *āhē'na*, *ā'hēn* (?) M, *āhi'nā*  
 T "mirror" Prs. V. *šī'sa*.  
*ēn*: *ānt* "to bring (living beings)". *'ōspe*  
*'ēnem* G "I bring the horse"; *'ōsp-*  
*um* *'ānt* G; *'ēnē xu 'zū haž'dār* T "bring  
 a dragon"; Phon. *'ēnōr* "bring". —  
 Av. *\*ā-nay-*, N. Kurd. *ānīn*, Zāzā *ān-*,  
 Khorasan Kurd. *onin*, *inem*. Cf. the  
 contraction in Sindhi *āṇ*: *āṇdō* etc.  
*ūn*: *ūnt* "to lead down". *dharam tar*  
*ūnt* T "brought it down to the earth".  
 Av. *ava-nay-*.  
*an'darf-* M, *an'durf-*: *andur'fī* G, *anqōf-*  
 D "to sew". *andarfēman* M "we  
 sew", *an'durfīm-e*, pret. *andur'fīm*  
 G, *anqōf'fītu hēm* D "I am sewing".  
 < *\*han-dyf-*? Cf. Orm. *underw-*, Wkh.  
*drōw-*, Khuri *a duruft-um*, Skr. *dybh-*  
 "to tie together". Reg. nd cf. Gr.  
 56.  
*an'dās*: *andā'zī* M, G "to throw, put,  
 pour out". *'dōst maṇ'qō tar-ē an'dāzī*  
 M "he threw his arms round her  
 neck"; *an'dāstān* M "he is throwing";

*an'dāzem-ē pū* M "I throw it on that  
 side ('āsū 'mēpartam-iš)". Prs.  
*en'hāk* M, *en'hāk* G "here, in this very  
 place (*hamūnjā*)" (acc. to M = *ēk*). *mā*  
*ene'hāk yurcā'gī* 'mereman M "I am  
 dying of hunger here"; *ine'hāk 'sēy-a*,  
*okē'stāk* 'rūc-a M "there is shade  
 here and sunshine there".  
*en'hāki* T "hence, from this place". *ān*  
*ēn'hāki-m*.  
*un'hak*, *unō'hāk* G, T, Phon. *un'hāk*  
 (أُنْهَك) "there, in that very place  
 (*hamūnjā*)". *ō ham un'hāk 'pādšā*  
*bīn* "he, too, was king there"; *mā*  
*ēōrpā'yān-iman un'hak 'bartan* G  
 "we bring the cattle to that place".  
*un'hāki* T "thence". But: *un'hāki mun-*  
*'dhēk bi'ya-e 'kōr-ē ēe 'dēhō bōn mā*  
*'bāw-ē buy* T "he brought his father  
 to the place where he had killed his  
 blind brother".  
*aī'nak-e* 'teč M, *aī'nak-e tecī'hē* D "spec-  
 tacles". Prs.  
*a'nār* G, T, *a'nār* D, P "pomegranate".  
 Prs.  
*anqōi'wāl* G "comrade". *anqōi'wāl-un*  
 Phon.; *tān anqōi'wāl 'mun kun 'zū*  
*phōr šaftā'lū dā*, *'mun 'xūy* "your  
 comrade gave me one apple, and I  
 ate it". Pash. (Afgh. Prs. *andūcol*,  
*Andreev*). Cf. *ra'fuq*.  
*an'gūr* M, T "grape". Prs.  
*āeq'gar* v. *āheq'gar*.  
*an'gušt* M "finger". Prs. Cf. *yūšt*.  
*angušta'rī* M, G, D "ring". *angušta'rī*  
 (: ī) *dōsti'ka* G "a finger-ring".  
 Prs. Cf. *yū'stī*.  
*a'pā* M, G, T, *wa'pā* D "standing".  
*'jāng tar a'pā čhī*, *da 'jāng a'pā čhī*  
 T "da *jāng istāda šud*"; *a'pā hem*

(*hastam*) G "I am (was) standing", *wa'pā hem* D. \**ā-pāda-* cf. Gr. 54.  
*a'pače* G, T "forward, in front of". *šū pala'wān a'pače 'āya 'mēnī laškārika-ī* T "one warrior came forward from the middle of his army"; *a'pače koř* "sent it before him (*pēs-iš kat*)"; *'sōr karbestā'nānī 'apače na čī* T "she went no further than the cemetery"; *A'li 'apače čī* T "A. went first". \**ā + pač q v.*  
*a'pešt* G, T "back, behind". *a'pešt (a'pež) ra'mī* G, T "he turned back"; *a'pež 'na zēn 'Kābul tar* T "they will not come back to K."; *a'pešt ū'zā* "he was left behind". \**ā + pasč. (v. pēs).*  
*a'ir* M, G "cloud", P "dust-storm (*yubār*)", G "n. of a horse belonging to Sultan Mahmud". *ās'mān a'ir koř* G "the sky clouded over"; *a'ir koř, 'āra M.* \**abrya-?* Cf. Kohrud oir, Sede, Gaz oir "cloud". Cf. *tam*.  
*ār:* *'ācuř* M, G, T, *ār:* *ā'cuř* D "to bring". *'ārem-ē* G "I shall bring it"; *ār* G "bring"; *ā'rōr* "bring"; *ān 'ācuřō* "I have brought"; *'ācuřa bōn* "had brought"; *kīy 'āra 'ī-ē Xaībār* "who can build the canal of Kh.? (*kī mēārad jōy-e X°*)". Av. *ā-bar*; *ār-ind.* by Prs. *ār-?* Is Pash S. *ār-(ārtum* "I bring", *āremā* "I brought") bor. from Par.?  
*'ira* P "brightness". Cf. Pash. Nir. *ir* "blue sky, brightness". V. *rhinē*.  
*ardālī* T "an orderly". *'pādā ma ar-dālī'ān-ē ja'ī* "the king said to his orderlies". Ind. < Engl.  
*arg* G "castle". Prs. (Phl. *ark* < Gr. *ἀρχα*).  
*ar'ya'wān* G "arghawan, Judas-tree". adj.

*ar'ya'wānī, 'qadd-e wa'khē-e ar'ya'wānī* "her tall, argawan-like stature". Prs.  
*a'rak* G, D, *arag* pl. *ara'qān* M "transpiration". *a'rak-ē ku'rū* D "he transpired". Prs.  
*e'rāq* G "arm, weapon" (?) *ēl o 'ēōr par'kāla e'rāq-ē 'ghīt* "he took all kinds of (44) arms and weapons". Prs.?  
*ar'mān* G "longing, grief" *ar'mān 'zuř tar na 'dēra* "he has no sorrow in his heart (*zadanwāla armān, parwā na dāra*)".  
*'Aram 'Šā* T "Haram Shah, a king, father of the princess Zaighun".  
*ī'rān* G "Iran". *xe'rāj-e 'mulk-e ī'rān dēra 'kašte* "the girl is worth the whole kingdom of I".  
*ā'runj* M, G, *ā'rinj* D "elbow". Prs.  
*'arra* G "saw". *'arra kanem* "I saw". Prs.  
*'arras jan-* T "to roar". *šēr xu 'arras jō, 'arras-ē jō* "fēyān zat".  
*ā'rūs* G, T "bride". Prs.  
*arz* G "entreating". Prs.  
*ar'zān* "cheap". Prs.  
*'ārzon* M, *ār'zun* G "millet". Cf. Prs. *arzan*, Psht. *ždan*, Mj. *yūzən*, Ishk. *wūzən* (< \**āzdn* < \**arzan*?) etc.  
*ār* M, G, T "fire". *ār la'gēiman, rux'sat (gul) kaniman* M "we light, extinguish the fire"; *ār gul-an koř* M "we extinguished the fire"; *'yū'lū ār-am bhār ku'rō* G "I have piled up a big bonfire". *ār* < \**ārt-* < \**ārō-*? Cf. Soghd. *'rt*, Prs. dial *hōl* "ashes". Gr. 59.  
*ur:* *u'rī* G, T "to beat, slay". *'āla'ba-ī u'rī* T "*bisār zad*"; *'ē mun'dē nī'hāl pen ū'rī, wo 'ō 'mende 'ham* "he struck the other one with a tree, and the



- other one him". Cf. Skr. *rd-* "to kill", Av. *arəduš-* "blow, cut".  
*ō'rēw-*: *ō'rēwī* G "to pick up". *ō'rēwem-ē*, V. *khe'rēw-*.  
*as'bāb* T "goods". *'māl o as'bāp-e 'tān* "your possessions and goods". Prs.  
*ausa'kāl* T "village headman, aqsaqal".  
 Turk. (Badakhshi *āsdqāl*, Panjshiri *afsaqal*).  
*aska'rār* G "innumerable". Prs. *az qarār*.  
*E'skyēn* G "Iskyen, n. of a village in Tagau".  
*a(s)'sāmī* T "a dependent, client". *male-kān-an 'tar-ē dā as'sāmiān pešcha'nē* "they put the chiefs in front and the dependants behind". Prs.  
*ās'mān*, *āz'mān* G, T, *az'mān* M, *ās'mān* Phon. "sky, heaven". Prs.  
*ā'sānī* G "easiness". *'kār-au bā ā'sānī-a* "kār-it bā xiūbi". Prs.  
*ōsp* M, G, T, *ōsp* D, P (اوسپ, اوسپ) "horse". *nē'rōk*, *šī'čak ōsp* "stallion, mare". Av. *aspa-*.  
*i'spō* (*i'spō*) M, D, *e'spō* G "louse". Av. *spiš-*. Gr. 30.  
*e'spō* G, *e'spō* D, P "dog". \**spaka-*, Orm. 30. (*spuk* etc. V. *ku'čōk*. Cf. *e'spay* G "dog" (rarely used). \**spakā-*? (Gr. 26, 52).  
*'āsur* G, *'āsor* D, *āsu'rēk* M (-hēk) "this year". Orm. *asul*. Cf. *saṛ*.  
*ōst* "he was", *astan* "they were" etc. Gr. 175, 197. V. *hōst*.  
*e'stēc* P "star". \**stārčī-*, cf. Shgh. *šī'terj* (Pash. L. *stārčī*, obl. *stārjā* < Ir.?). V. *si'tāra*.  
*I'stāluf*, *Eat°* T "Istalif, n. of a vill. in Koh-i-Daman". Adj. *E'stālufī* "a man from I".  
*ā'stāna* G "n. of a vill. in Panjshir".

- u'stūn* M, *e'stūn* G, D "pillar". Cf. Pash. L. *ustūn* < archaic Prs. *ustūn* (at present *sutūn*).  
*a'star*: *asta'ri* M, G, "to rub, wipe away". *dōs'māl pen-em ara'qān-um a'stārtūn* (= *menthetūn*) M "I wipe away the sweat with my handkerchief"; *ē ē'dān 'mux 'astara* "that she may wipe his face". \**ā-star*, cf. Mj. *stēr-*, Ishk. *stār-* "to sweep" (Zar.). Cf. *menth-*.  
*e'stō'rō* G "thick". \**stawara-*, cf. Skr. *sthavira-*, *sthāvara-*.  
*stūr* *buz* D "goat". Av. *staora-*, Mj. *stūr* "horned cattle" etc.  
*aiš* "pleasure, delight". Prs.  
*'āšuq* "lover, in love". Prs.  
*āšu'qī* G, T "love", *tū āšu'qī 'mā 'pen be'nā kan* "you must intend to love me"; but also *hussinān āšu'qī-ēn* "all of them are lovers". Prs.  
*ešq*, *'tēq* G, T (*ešq* Phon.) "love". Prs. *āšu'qī'baz* G "amorous, lover". Prs.  
*iškam'bek-i pāi* D "calf of the leg". Cf. Pash. S. *iškambak pūi* and Orm. L. *nas ta pāi id* ("the belly of the foot"). Prs. *iškamba* "belly". Cf. *baftak*.  
*ōškār* D "dry", v. *huškū*.  
*āšnā'i* G, T "friendship". *āšnā'i 'kašte pen ka'nem* "I love the girl". Prs.  
*ašō'rūc* G, *ašō'rōc* M, *a'zena ašō'rōc* D "the day before yesterday". \**ā-šri-raučah-* cf. e.g. Waig. *a-tōr* "the day after tomorrow".  
*i'sārat* G "sign, signal". Prs.  
*ā'stī* T "peace". *ā'stī ka'nōr*, *ā'stī čēn 'hussē*. Prs.  
*ōst* M, G, T, *ōst* D, P. "8". Av. *ašta*.  
*ušt-*: *u'stā* M, G, T, D "to rise". *mā 'ušte man* M "we rise"; *'ušte* T "rise" (also *'uštā* "get up"?); *u'stōr* "rise ye"; *γāphu'nē u'stā* G "a wind



rose"; *jīnē-ē* 'dālt *u'stā* "his wife rose from his side". Mj. *wušk-* (\**ušt-*) "to rise", Sāmn. *bāstium* "to rise", Kafiri e.g. Waig. *ušt-*. Acc. to Turner (BSOS. V. 131) \**utsthā-* became \**ussthā-* and further \**usthā-*.  
*a'staf* M, G, *a'stau* D "belly". \**staf-* < \**steph-*, cf. Skr. *stabh-* etc.? *i'sten* M, G "female kid during the first year", *i'ste'nūk* D "kid". Cf. Ishk. *štunuk*, Zeb. *šatanak* "kid". \**fštānyā-*? Cf. Av. *fštāna-* "female breast", Sar. *vistān* "udder" (Bell.) etc. Cf. s.v. *tōrpī*.  
*a'stōs* M, G, *a'stōs* D, *a'stos* P "18". Av. *aštadasa-* (ordinal). Gr. 108.  
*e'stāwē* T (*i'stāwē* G) "cold". *i'čisma-i* *e'stāwē* *āwo* T "a spring of cold water". Cf. Shgh. *še'tā* "cold", Sar. *štu* "frozen". \**stūba-* "frozen, stiff", cf. Av. *stawra-* "firm" etc.? V. *šūriš*.  
*u'stēw-* (*o'stēw-*): *u'stēwē* G, T "to raise". *'āne* ma 'tō *o'stēwem* "I make you rise"; *u'stēw* "raise him". V. *ušt-*.  
*'atsa* G "sneeze". *'atsa-m* 'āya "I sneezed", *'atsa-m dhī, koṛ* "atsa kadam". Prs. Cf. *pan*.  
*āte'sī* D "cooking pot". Prs.  
*ete'āt, ete'hād* T "care". *'nī woyār ete'hād kan* T "be careful tonight". Prs. *ihtiyāf*.  
*uṭ* G "bear", pl. *u'fān*. *uṭ* 'dhirang-ā "he resembles a bear (*misl-i xirs ast*)". *uē* and *xirs* (q.v.) are l.w.s; from Ir. \**rša-* we should expect \**uš*.  
*ū'faf-*; *ū'fa'fī* M, G, T "to cover, conceal". *ū'faftōn* G, na *ū'fa'fē* *mux-au* T "do not cover your face".  
*a'wē* M, G, T "remembering". *a'wē* 'dēreman M; *ma'nān a'wē-m-a* G "I remember"; *a'wē kanem* G "I learn";

*tu* 'mun kun 'lavz-e Pa'rāčī *a'wē* da G "teach me Parachi"; *ma* 'mun-ē *a'wē ku'rō* G "she remembered me"; *ma* Xu'dā-e xu'kān-ē *a'wē koṛ* T "he remembered his own God". \**ab(i)yāta-*, Sak. *byāta-*, Turf. N. *abyād*, Prs. *yād* etc.  
*'āwo* M, *'āwo* M, G, T, *au* D "water". *ho'wē čā'ī* 'āwo *neṛ* M "draw water from this well", *'āwo* 'tereman G "we drink water". Av. pl. *āpō* (?). Gr. 42.  
*'āwē-i dīdā'ika* G "tear". Cf. *audīda*.  
*'āwē-i šunqī'ika* M "saliva". Cf. *tuf*.  
*'āwešt* G "pregnant (said about animals)". Prs.  
*'awwāl* G "first". Prs.  
*awwā'lin* G "first" (adv.). Prs.  
*ā'wāz* G "word, voice". *ā'wāz-a* (?) *ča'rī* "the word was uttered". Prs.  
*āwē'zān, āwē'* G, T "hanging". Prs.  
*ēx* M, G, D, P "egg". \**āweya-xa-*. Other Ir. languages have the suffix *-ka-* (Prs. *xāya* etc.) Prob. not *ēx* < *ēy* < \**āweyaka-*.  
*ēx* M, G, D, P "ice". *dō'stān-um* 'ēx *ko'rō* "my hands are freezing", \**aixā-*, Av. *aēxa-*.  
*'Axbe Sa'fēd* G "n. of a place in Shutul".  
*'āxer* M, G, T "at last, finally". Frequently used in impatient questions: *'āxir sa'bap-au* 'ēi-a G "finally, what is your reason?"; *'āxer ēe mu'dā* 'dēre T "finally, what is your intention?" Prs.  
*'āxer ul'amr* G "finally". Prs.  
*'āxe'rī* G "the last one". Prs.  
*'āxur* M, G "manger, stable". Prs.  
*exti'yār* G, T "choice, free will". *exti'yār* 'dērem T; *sāhebe* *ixti'yār* G "independent". Prs.  
*ā'yā* G "oh". *ā'yā, ēe xa'bar na* 'dēre!

- a'yāl* T "family". Prs. *'iyāl*.  
*a'yān* T "proclaimed, known". *mul'lā ham a'yā kor* "the mulla proclaimed". Prs.  
*az* M, G, T "from". Used in fixed expressions: *az 'har ē pur'sān ka'nan* "however much they ask"; *az 'ān ē: az 'ān ē 'zūr-ē ōst 'zhaitōn dhe'zī* G "he took on his back as much as was in his power (*har kada ki ba zōriš mērasid*)"; *ra'hō wo lī'wōn az 'ān ē ma'sāla-e dastī'ka ē bīn* "as much rice and ghee as was contained in the cooking-pot", cf. *sān. az 'bar kan* "to learn by heart", *az 'bar ka'nē "yād buku"*. Prs.  
*a'ze* M, G, *'aze* D "yesterday (*dīnarūs, dīnagīna*)". *a'ze xa'wān* G "last night"; *a'zena ašō'rōc* D "the day before yesterday". Cf. Kashan *eze*, W.Oss. *āzinā* etc.  
*az bar* v. *az*.  
*a'ūz*: *aū'zī* G "to flee" (acc. to G a Nijrau word = *ē'a'fak-*), (*أَوْز*). *pa'nān gure wā a'ūz* "take to the road and flee (*bugrēz*)". \**apa-waz*.  
*uzg*: *uz'gī* G, D "to descend". *manī'ār ōz'gī* G "the mist fell down (*farāmad*)"; *'yarp o 'yār uz'gī* G "snow and rain fell"; *'yāri ozga M*; *uzgiem* D "I descend". Av. *ava-zgad-*? Cf. Buddh. Sogh. *w'zyd* "to jump down" (Tedesco, ZII. II, 40).  
*oz'gū* P "rainy, cloudy". Cf. *uzg*.  
*'ūzeh*: *ū'zā* G, T "to remain, be left behind". *'zūr bā'zū tar na 'ūze'hā* (*أَوْز هَد*) G "the strength does not remain in the arms"; *ū'zēiōn* G "remains"; *'gap tar 'band na 'ūzea* "his

- words do not stop"; *hai'rān ū'zāem* T "I remained perplexed"; *ū'zāwō 'šī ker-e 'zā* T "three other works remain"; *'na 'jaṅgal ū'zā na 'buta* T "neither forest nor plants were left". Av. (*ava*)-*zah-* and *zā*, cf. Yd. *ūzaiyah* "to remain". Orm. *ōzuk* "left". Oss. *izāyun* "to remain" (*vī-ʔ*).  
*āz'māiš* G "test". Prs.  
*'uzər* G "excuse". Prs.  
*ē'zārband* T "belt". Prs.  
*'ezat* G "honour". Prs.

## B

- ba* G, T "with, on". *ba 'qūwat bē* "let it be strong"; *zur ba zur rhizeman* G "let us sleep heart to heart". Prs.  
*ba* a particle denoting the desiderative. *na-m kur ba* "would that I had not done it (*na mēkadom*)"; Xu'dāe *na 'kur ba 'hast-au* "would that God had not created thee". Gr. 206.  
*bhāi, b(h)āi* G "price". *'ān-ē pa 'bhāi gu'rīm* "I buy it"; *'bay-ē 'cikā* "what is its price?". Prs. *bahā*.  
*bī* G "without". Prs.  
*bī, bīn* "he was" etc. Gr. 171.  
*būi* M, G "smell, odour". *ba mīzl-e 'mušk u 'ambar 'zītōn 'būy-ē* G "her perfume is like musk and ambergris". Prs. Cf. *bhām*.  
*'bābā* M, *ghaṇḍ bābā* G "grandfather". Cf. Pash. S *'babā*, Sh. *buḍan-bāw*. V. *kaṣa-bāw*.  
*bī'bī* G "mistress". Prs.  
*bī'bāki* M "completely". Prs.  
*bī'bān* G "dumb". Cf. *bān* and *guṇ*.



*bibās'xāst* T "without retrospection, investigation". Prs. *bēbāxxwāst*.

*bī'bāw* G "fatherless".

*ba'ēi* M, *ba'ea* P "boy". *ba'ēi-m* puš M "grandson"; *ba'ēi a'mūk* "cousin (father's brother's son)". Prs. Cf. *puš*, *bā'lō*.

*bučh* M, G, D "to see". *ān-em ma tō*

*'bučhetōn* (بُحْتُون) G "I am seeing you"; *bučhitō* hēm D; *bučh* M "bubī";

*bučhōr* "see"; *mā-īman* 'hōss-an

*'bōchetan* M "we are all seeing";

*bu'chō* (بُحُو) i *'yārika* 'dēra G

"she has her friend within sight

(*dīdan-i yār dārad*)". Ind., cf. Tirahi

*bīc*, Ksh. *wuch*. Par. cannot have

borrowed the word from Pash., where

v- remains, but prob. from a dialect

akin to Tīr. The preterite is formed

from *dhuy* q.v.

*bad* G, T "bad". *bad-e guna'gār* G "a bad sinner". Prs.

*ba'dī* G "badness". *ker-e ba'dī* "adultery" (Pash. L *kāre ba'dī*). Prs.

*ba'dī* M, *ba'dē* G "now". Pash. S *ba'dā*, L *ba'dam* (Prs.). V. *'yāri*.

*bād* G "afterwards, again". Prs.

*'bādā* G in *na' bādā* (*ma' bādā* Phon.) "lest". Prs.

*bā'dāi* T in *na bā'dāi* "lest, be it not

so". *na bā'dāi ē sōr tō 'Umar* 'laškar

*'neṛa* "nē ke Umar sar-i tu laškar

*bekaša*"; *du'rūy-a na bā'dāi* "may it

not be a lie for thee".

*badu'cām* T "blood-fine (*duxtar dā-*

*dan*)". *badu'cām-an dā mē xō* "they

paid each other blood-fine".

*badhēk* M, T "just now (*hamiālī*)".

*ba'dhēk-īman kī'tāb sō mēz lām daitan*

M "I am placing the book on the

table just now"; *ba'dhēk-um ā'yost*

M "I dressed just now". Cf. *ba'dī*.

*bad'kār* T "bad, ill-omened". *ēā nāra-i*

*bad'kār-a de'hī* "why did you raise

this ill-omened outcry?" Prs.

*ba'dal* G "exchange". *dī sūy radd o*

*ba'dal kan* "exchange two words of

controversy (with her)". Prs.

*'bī'del* T "unconscious". *'jīnc-ē xu bī'del*

*chī* "his wife fainted". Prs.

*bā'dām* G "almond". Prs.

*badan* D "body". Prs.

*be'dān* G "know thou, well". Prs.

*'bōdana* G, T "a small singing bird,

partridge". Prs.

*'bādār* M "a kind of bird". *'bādār-a*

*rhāstūn* "the bird flies". Prs. *bāldār?*

*'bādaz* G, T "after". *'bādaz hōd ruč*

"after a week". Prs.

*ba'fā* G = *wa'fā?*

*bīf* D "owl". Cf. Prs. *būf*. V. *būm*.

*'baftak* M, G "the calf of the leg".

Prs.? V. *'škam'bek-i pāi*.

*bī'gū* G "deaf". Cf. *gū* "ear". V. *karr*.

*'bēgum* T "princess". Prs. V. *xānem*.

*bī'gāna* T "foreign, apart". *huss 'dōst*

*o rafī'qā tar-om bī'gāna ku'rō* "I put

you apart from (above?) all my

friends and comrades (*jūdā kadām*)".

Prs.

*Bēga'rā* G "n. of a vill. in Panjshir".

*'Bāy-e A'lam* T "n. of a place". *'šāher-e*

*'Bāy-e A'lam*.

*ba'yal* M, T "armpit". *ba'yal-a kanem*

M "I embrace you"; *ba'yal ba ba'yal*

*jaṅg u ma'sti an koṛ* T "they grappled

and raged in close embrace". Prs.

V. *banaba'yal*, *ta'kōl*.

*bayalka'šī* G "embrace". Prs.

*bī'yam* T "free from sorrow". Prs.

*ba'yair* G, T "except". Prs. *ba'yair-e*



- sō 'zur tar-au* "except at your heart"; *ba'yair az A'li Hai'dār* T "except A. H.". Prs.
- bī'yauri* (بی غور) G "inconsiderate (*bī-bāszāst* q. v.)". *bī'yauri-en 'kāzī u 'mullā* "kazi and mulla are inconsiderate (regarding you)": "they desire you violently (*ba xud talāš dāran*)". Prs.
- 'bu'ra* (بوغرا) G, *bur'ka* T "veil (*buzra, niqāb*)". *kan ma 'bo'ra wa'khē* "lift up your veil!" Prs. *burqa*.
- bā'y'wānī* G "gardening, the state of being a gardener". Prs.
- be'hi* T "quince". Prs.
- bhāy* M, G, D "ashes, earth". \**bahākā* < \**bhasākā*, cf. Skr. *bhasman*.
- bhām* (بھام) G "smell". *he 'bhām-e benaf-'sā* "this scent of violets"; *'yūs 'bhām 'ghitō* "the meat has got a putrid smell". \**budāma*, cf. Sak. *bvāma-ta* "intelligence". V. *būi*.
- Sham'bī* (شامپی) *bhampi* G "a wooden spade (*lāzbēl*)". \**bhan-* (cf. *bhīn*?) + *pī* "spade".
- bham'bur* D, P. "wasp". Ind., cf. Waig. *bra'mā* "wasp", Khov. *lāi-bumbur* "butterfly", Lhd. *bham'biri* "butterfly", *bhabhiy* "a wasp without sting". V. *zam'būr*, *šātibham'bur*.
- bhīn* D "tree". \**bryn(y)a-*, cf. Shgh. *vēyn* (\**vēyn*), Rosh. *wāwzn* (Zarubin) "birch" < \**bryn(y)a-*. (Tajiki *birk* "birch" (Semenov) < \**brya-kī*?). Birches not being known in Nijran, the word acquired an unprecise, general meaning. Cf. M, G, T *tī* "mulberry tree" > "tree". Cf. *bham'bī* (\**bhan*- < \**brynā*?).
- bhōnt* G "a stick". Cf. *bhīn*? V. *dez-bhōnt*.
- bhār* G, T "burden". Ind. V. *bār*.
- bhār'gir* T "beast of burden". Ind. + Prs.
- bihī'sāb* G "innumerable". Prs.
- bī'huš* G "unconscious". Prs.
- bī'hušī* G "unconsciousness". Prs.
- be'hešt* G "paradise". *šū 'bhām-e be'hešt* "a scent from paradise". Prs.
- ba'jāi* T "in time". Prs.
- bī'jā* T "out of place, missing". *hej bī'jā-e na chō* "nothing is missing". Prs.
- bī'jāi* G "untimely". Prs.
- bu'j* G, M "goat". Cf. Prs. *buz*, also *bu'j*. Lw.? V. *ə'stūr buz, narbuz*.
- buju'lak* M, T, *bu'j'lak* G "ankle-bone". Prs. *buju'l*, Pash. S *buju'lak* (cf. NShgh. *bijelak-i-pā'i*).
- bī'jang* T "without fighting". Prs.
- ba'ka* M "frog". Prs. V. *yōk*.
- 'bāki* T "remaining". *'bāki 'mānda zāi* "the other remaining rest (!)". Prs.
- 'Bāqī* T "n. of a man".
- 'Baqea* G "n. of a place". *karbe'stān-e 'Baqea nez'dik-e šārī'kā-n bīn* "the graveyard of B. was near to their city (Medina)".
- bī'aql* T, *bī'ayl* M "stupid". Prs.
- ba'kār* G "useful, good". *'āmar-e ma'nā ba'kār-a* "my apple is good"; *ba'kār dha'rēwōr* "take good care (of them)" Prs.
- ba'lā* G "calamity, disaster". Prs.
- bāl* M, G, T "wing", *bāl* D "feather" (?). *'bālī-a* M "it is a wing". Prs.
- bā'lō* M, G, *bā'lū* D "boy". Pl. *bā'lān* G, T; *dī bālā* M; *šū qal bālō* T "a party of boys"; *čōr bālūn dhōrū* "I have seen four boys" D. Pash. Sh. *bā'rū*, L. *'bārā*, *'bāl'skul*.

*būlō* G "young". V. *ju'wān*.  
*būl'bul* G (*būl'bul* Phon.) "nightingale".  
*zu'bān-ē meṣ-e būl'bul* "her voice is like the nightingale's". Prs.  
*bīla'yām* G "impudent, unbridled (*bēlāz, tamīz na dāra*)". Prs.  
*balk* D "lightning". Prs. *barq*. V. *jaba'lak*.  
*balak* T "a thorny shrub, the fruit of which yields oil".  
*bālū'kā* G "hammer". Prs. (Taj.).  
*be'land* M, T, D "high". Prs. V. *wa'khē*.  
*belan'dī* G "high". *'puṣṭa belan'dī* "a high plateau". Prs.  
*ba'lūr* M, G "mouse". V. *danānua'rō*, *ka'wār*.  
*be'list* M "a span". Prs. V. *ku'cōk*.  
*bīm* T "fear". Prs.  
*būm* G "owl". Prs. V. *bīf*.  
*'bumburū* P "thunder". Cf. Khw. *bumbu'rēṣ* (*būmburūṣ*), v. Walde-Pokorny s.v. *bamb* "Nachahmung für dumpfe, dröhnende Schalleindrücke". V. *ya-ram'bas*.  
*'bamča* T "an inch, a handful" (?).  
*'bamča-e dhā'i'ka 'baw-ē hu'pāṭ* "his father pulled out a handful of his beard".  
*bīmu'j'rā* G "without reward". Prs.  
*bī'mār* M "ill". *mā bīmār astaman, badē jōr chīman*. Prs.  
*bān* G, *bān* D, P "tongue". Prs. or genuine (*'zūbān*)? V. *zu'bān*.  
*'bānō* G, T, *'bānug* "arrow". *'bānō-e tu'fangikā* G, T "bullet"; *'bānō-e eṣk-au* "the arrow of your love". Ind., cf. Skr. *bāṇa-* (but Dard and Kafir languages use derivatives of *sara*, *kāṇḍa-* and *igu-*).  
*be'nā* G, T "intention (*xi'yāl*)". *be'nā-e udhe'kā mātō'i'ka dēran* "they intend to kill him (*xi'yāl-i kustan-iṣ dāran*)";

*be'nā-ē koṛ mēwa'ī* "he intended (to taste) the fruit"; *be'nā-i ēe ma 'huss-ē dherza* "he intended to put it all on his back". Prs. *bīnā* "foundation, building"?  
*bīn* P "garlic". V. *sīr*.  
*būn* G, T, *buṇ* (?) M "vulva (*kus*)". Cf. Prs. *baun*, *būn* "uterus".  
*banaba'yal* D "armpit". *\*bun-?* (cf. Gr. 32). Cf. Wkh. *kal-bun*. V. *ba'yal*.  
*band¹* T "a dam". *'band-e zīka* "the dam of a canal". Prs.  
*band²* G, T "stopping". *ēi 'sūy tar 'band ū'zāē* T "what business have you got stuck in? (*da ēi gap mānda ī*)"; *'gap tar 'band na 'ūzea* T "he never stops speaking". Prs.  
*band-e 'dōst* M, G, *band-i 'dest* G (*'band-e dōsti'kā-m* Phon.) "wrist". Prs.  
*band-e 'pāi* M "ankle". Prs.  
*ban'dī* G, T "imprisoned". *ban'dī-an koṛ* T. Prs.  
*bandu'bast* G "arrangement". Prs.  
*bandi'rāna* G "prison". Prs.  
*benaf'īā* G "violet". Prs.  
*'bānug* M, v. *'bānō*.  
*bī'nanḡṣ* T "shameless, worthless (*bīāb; ābdār, mōtabar nēst*)".  
*banapa'ī* D "pillow". *\*barzn-*, cf. Mj. *vēznī*, Ishk. *vōzd* (*zd < zn*), Khw. (*lw.*) *vraznī* etc. Is Psh. L *bān* "saddle-bag" (cf. Bal. *barzī* "id.") borrr. from Par.?  
*bā'nas* G "bleating". *'yarō-a bā'nas kan'tōn* "the sheep is bleating". Cf. *'dōnas, khānas, yaṛam'bas, da'gas, hen'gas*; Pash. S *'yānas* "bellowing", Taj. *waṅgas* "bleating". V. *'wenger*.  
*bīnī'xān* G "nostril". Prs. *bīnī* "nose"? V. *damāzal*.



- bāg* G "cock-crow". *bāša'na* 'bāy 'dhaitōn "the cock crows". Prs.  
*buṇ* v. *būn*.  
*bar*: *buṇ* M, G, T, D "to carry". 'āw-ā 'bartan G "they carry water"; 'zā-em 'bartū D "I am carrying something"; *mun buṇ*, *buṇom* G "I carried"; *bōṇ* Phon. Cf. Av. *bar*. V. *ār*.  
*bar*<sup>1</sup> G "bank, shore". 'hu *bar-e daryāi* 'kū za'hī "he reached the opposite bank of the river". Prs.  
*bar*<sup>2</sup> T "breadth". 'šast gaz 'bar-e xandaki'ka-i-a "the breadth of its ditch is 60 ells". Prs.  
*bar*<sup>3</sup> G, T "breast". š 'bar tar-om xu 'āya G "she came to my breast"; 'bar-e giri'ka kə guda'rēn T "they passed round the stone". Prs.  
*bar*<sup>4</sup> G, T "on". 'bar-e 'muz tar-au "on your face"; *bar* 'hāl čhī G "he stayed". Prs.  
*bār* M "burden". Prs.? V. *bhār*.  
*bōr* M, G, T, *bōr* D "door". 'bōr da'hem G "I close the door"; *bōr* 'xē-a M "the door is open"; *dāl* 'bō-e xāi'ka-i T "to the door of her husband". Cf. Av. *dvar*.  
*bōr* in *ma* 'bōr M, C, T "outside". *ma* 'bōr-ē pa'ram M "I go out"; *ma* 'bōr čēm G.  
*Bar'bar* T "n. of a place". 'band-e *Bar'bar* "the dam of B".  
*ba'rābar* G, T "equal, suitable, in order". *ba'rābar* *ba* si'tāra čhī T "he went straight to the stars"; *wō* 'tečh *ba-rābar* T "o thou who art like my own eye (*faqat čāsm-om-čt*)"; *wāda* *ba'rābar* čhī T "the marriage was arranged". Prs.  
*buṛ'yāl*, *bul'yār* G "Russia, bulgar leather". Prs. *bul'yār*.  
*bā'rīk* G, T "slender". 'mēn-e *bā'rīk* tu 'dērē "you have a slender waist". Prs.  
*bār* 'kōk T "slender". 'kad-e *bār* 'kōk-au "your slender figure". V. *bā'rīk*. Afgh. Prs. *bōrikāk* (Andreev).  
*berkh*: *ber* 'khī M, G, T (برک) "to fear". *ān-em* 'berkhūtō-em ēe 'mēren na pa'rī "I fear that he will be killed (*mē-tarsam ki kušta na šawa*)"; *berkhī'tā* imān M "we are fearing"; *na* 'berkh, *na* *ber'khe* (نبرکی) "do not fear"; *na* *ber'khōr*; *ber'khēm* G "I feared"; *berkhitu-im wā-e mo mun janhēr* D "I fear that you will kill me"; *na* *berke āne ma tō na janem* D.  
*ber'khō* G "fear". 'tars u *ber'khō* na 'dēran "they have no fear or dread". V. *berkh*.  
*ber'khēw* G "to terrify". V. *berkh*.  
*bā'rān* M "rain". *bā'rāna* 'yāra "it rains". Prs. V. *yār*.  
*bē'rān* M "outside". 'hēc gašt az hukm-i 'tān bē'rūn na čīmān "I have never transgressed your commands". Prs.  
*be'renj* M "rice". Prs. V. *rahō*.  
*biri'sum* G, D "silk". Prs.  
*ba'rāt* G "assignment, commission (*xatt*)". Prs.  
*bu'rūt* M, G, D "moustaches". Prs.  
*bōrwā'nī* G "begging at the door". V. *bōr*.  
*būrn* D "deaf". Pash. L *bo'yā*. V. *karr*, *bigū*.  
*buṛj* T "tower". Prs.  
*bas* G, T "enough". Prs.  
*bēs* M, G "to pain". 'zur-um a *bēstūn* M "my heart aches".  
*bī'sōr* T "without head, chief".  
*bīsa'rī* T "disobedience". *zā gāi hē* *bīsaryā* na *kanē* "do not show this disobedience another time". Prs.

bēstō G "ill". V. bēs.

bās M, T "rope". \*bastra-, cf. Psht.

wāš (EVP. s.v. wandana) etc.

bāša G "hawk". Prs.

bī'sī T "bad, ignoble (?) (nābūd, bēšī)".  
tu xw'xā-w pād'sā-ē, zū pāla'wā bī'sī,  
'xub na 'dēra ēe tu 'ēde kun 'dud  
da'hē "you are a king yourself, he  
is a low-born (?) warrior, it is not  
meet that you should give him your  
daughter".

bāša'na G, wāšī'na D, wāšē'nā P "cock".  
Cf. W. Oss. *vasāngā*; but the Par.  
words are prob. lws from an un-  
known source. V. xw'rōs.

'bīštō M, G, 'bīštū E (بیشتو) "long".  
\*byszataka- (Gr. 34, 55, 64).

bait G, baid M "song". 'baid-an koṛ M. Prs.

'bite G, T (بته) "again, back". 'beti sīm  
G "I return", bi < \*dwi-, cf. Psht.  
byā, byarta?

but G "idol, demon". Prs.

būt "boot". Ind. < Engl.

'bīta T "plant, shrub". Prs.

bī'tech G "blind". V. kōr, tech.

bī'ta'mīz T, "lawless, without chief (bēsar,  
kalān na dāra)". 'mardum-e Madīnā'i  
'mardum-e bī'ta'mīz-a "the people of  
M. are lawless". Prs. bētāmīz "un-  
judicious".

'battar G "worse". khōr o gū tar battar a  
"he is worse than a donkey or a cow".  
Prs.

būpa'rastī T "idolatry". Prs.

būt'xāna G, T "idol-temple". Prs.

bāw M, G, T, bāw D, P "father". Pash.  
S bāw.

bīwa'fāl G "faithlessness". Prs.

bāwe'hā G "father and son". 'hude  
bāwe'hā "both of them, father and  
son". Cf. māwe'hā. Gr. 82.

bī'wār G, T "impatient, restless (wār-  
xatā)". bīwar na 'bē tu G "do not  
be impatient"; tū bīwa'har (تیی وهر)

na pa'ra G "do not become fright-  
ened". Prs.?

bī'warī G (بیوهری), bīwarī Phon. "im-  
patience, haste (farsatī)". ba bīwa'rī  
na pa'rī "it will not happen quickly".  
bīwe'sā G "faithless". Psht. *wisāh*  
"faith" < Lhd.

bīx T "root". Prs. V. ȳā.

bī'xabar G "suddenly". Prs.

'bāxcā M, T, G, 'bāxcā T "garden".  
Prs.

baxš: bax'sī G "to forgive". az 'jōrm-e  
gu'nā 'bax'sē "may you forgive the  
crime of the sin"; ma 'tō-əm bax'sī  
"I have forgiven you". Prs.

baxš kan- G "to give". Prs.

'baxš G "gift, present". Prs.

b(ə)yā M, G, biyā M, G, T, D, P, Phon.,  
(بیَا) "brother". Pl. biyā'rān (بیاران),  
'huddī bī'yāra T "both the brothers";  
hē 'γus mā biyāra'wēnika G "this  
house belongs to us brothers"; mā  
γala'ba biyāra-īman M "we are many  
brothers"; tān biyā'rān āγēn G "have  
your brothers come?". Cf. Afgh. Prs.  
biyādar, Nayini bīyār.

biyadarxānda'gī G "blood-brotherhood".  
biyāγu'rōk G "nephew (brother's son)".  
Cf. γu'rōk.

biyā'jinj M "brother's wife". Cf. jinč.  
ba'yān T "explanation, distinguishing".  
Prs. •

bāz<sup>1</sup> M, G, D "falcon". Prs.

bāz<sup>2</sup> G "afterwards" (?). bāz ē waxtiy-a  
'zu qadd 'γarp 'dhaitōn "afterwards  
at that time there falls snow to the



- height of a man". Prs. *ba'd az* > *bādaz*, Pash. L. *bāz*.
- bāzī* M, G, T "cheating". *'bāzī te da'hem* G "I cheat"; *ma 'mun-a 'bāzī 'dhaitōn* T "he is cheating me"; *'bāzī-aw em 'dhaitōn* M.
- ba'zu* T "trousers made of black cloth (*jult-e kamān?*)".
- bā'zū* M, G, T "(upper part of the) arm". Prs.
- bāzū'ī* G "strength of the arm". *'zūr o bāzū'ī*. Prs.
- bīz* G, T "corn, grain". *bīz 'deheman* G "I sow"; *γušt sīr bīzeka* T "20 seers of corn"; *zū phōr bīz* G "a single grain". Cf. Skr. *bīja*.
- bīa'zīmī* T "matchless". Prs.
- bā'zār* F "bazar". Prs.
- bu'zurg* T "saint". Prs.
- bēz-*: *bōst* M, G, T (بست) "to bind". *'bezem-ē* G "I bind"; *'bēstōn-em* G "I am binding"; *bōst-um* G "I bound"; *be'zōr* T "bind"; *be'zen chī 'band-ē* *Xaī'bar* T "the dam of Kh. was built". < \**badya*: *basta*?

## Č

- čā<sup>1</sup>* M "how many?". Cf. Av. *čvant*; Psht. *čō*, but also Pash. Naj. *čō*.
- čā<sup>2</sup>* "some". *čā ruč bād* "some days after". V. *'čāwār*.
- čā<sup>3</sup>* "how why?, because". *'tān 'čā bē* T "how can it be yours?"; *tu 'čā eke'stak 'heqa . . . yusa'mand 'nhaštē* G "why do you sit here so distressed?"; *čā-ē khantūn* M "why do you laugh?"; *aze tū čā na čyē* M "why did you not come yesterday?"; *xuž- 'waydī 'kaniman*, *'čā 'puš-an . . .*

- 'badē 'janicē čū* M "let us make merry, because our son . . . now has been restored to life"; *čā čē 'ān qa'sam 'xūyō čē* T "because (*čirā ke*) I have sworn that"; *čā-ī 'khantūn* M "why do you laugh?"; *čā-ī ha'wē sēb mākun na dhaitūn?*
- čā<sup>4</sup>* M, *čā(h)* T "a well". Prs. V. *čuku'rī*. *'čāht γax kor*.
- čāi* G, T "tea". *ma e'dān čāi'yān . . .*
- 'buγ-an* T "they carried away the (bales of) tea". Prs.
- če* M, G, T (چه, čī, čē, čī, čē, čē Phon.) "that" conj.
- če<sup>1</sup>* "which, that" (relative particle) Gr. 139.
- če<sup>2</sup>* "what?" (interrog. pron.). Gr. 142. *čī- (čē-ē) 'jartō* "what do you say?"; *wā-er čī khantān* M. "why do you laugh?"
- če<sup>3</sup>* "that, because, as" etc. (conjunction). *ja'rī čē* "he said that"; *'dhur-an čē* T "they saw that"; *'na ča'fa'kōr, čē ē 'zēr-a mu'rō* T "do not flee, because this lion is dead"; *'ō čē 'āya* "when he arrived". Afgh. Prs. *či* is sometimes used instead of *ki* "that".
- čub* G "silent". *čub bē* "be silent". Ind.
- čū'ča* M, G "young of an animal". Prs. *čūča* "chicken".
- čīd-* G "to wake (intr.)".
- čā'dōs* M, G, T, *čā'dōs* D "14". *ma'hōk-i čā'dōs* G "full-moon" (cf. Pash. S. *mātau čārdā bigū*). Gr. 109.
- čī'dēw-*: *čīdē'wē* M, G, T "to wake" (tr.) *'āne ma 'tō čī'dēwem* M "I wake you"; *čī'dēwem-ē* G. V. *čīd-*.
- čā'yardum* G "scorpion". V. *'gaždum*. *čh-: čhī* "to go, become". Imper. *čhu*,

*chā* M, G, T (چہ), pl. *chū'mōr* "go, become"; preter. *chēm* M, G, T (چیم), T also *chīm*; *cēm* D "I went, became"; *chē bēm* "I had gone, become"; *chō bōn* (چوبون) "he had gone" etc. This root is used both as an auxiliary and as the preterite and imperative of *par*. "to go" (q. v.). *'xabar na chī* T "he did not become aware of it"; *chī šē'kār* T "he went hunting". *chī* < \**ciyuta*, Gr. 30, 55. *chō* G چو "going, walking".

*chā'cō* (چاچو) G, *'cāco* D, *chā'cū* P "white". This word was said by G to belong to Nijrau, *chā'fō* (q. v.) being the Shutul form; but he generally used *chā'cō*. *'manqō-e* *chā'cō* *'dērē* G "you have a white neck". *chīm* v. *ē(h)īm*.

*chēra* G (چهره) "list, roll". *ān* *'chēra xu* *'chēm* "I have been entered in the conscription list". Prs.

*chay-*: *chā'rī* G, T, *chā-* M "to fall". *'cārem-ē* M "I fall"; *'chāremān* (چایرمان) G "we may fall (*bēstīm*)"; *'gir-a* *'dhārī* *'cārtūn* (r?) "the stone falls from the hill"; *chā'rēm* G "I fell"; *da* *'dehō* *chā'rī* T (*chā'rī* Phon.) "he started fighting". Ind., cf. Khov. *chay-* "to fall" (< *kṣar-*?)

*chā'rō* "ill". *chā'rō hōst*, *chā'rē hastam* "I had fallen ill", but *chā'rō bōn*, *chā'rē bēm* "I had fallen". V. *chay-*. *chāṭa'ī* *ēxi'ka* G "the white of an egg". V. *chā'fō*.

*chāṭa'ī* G "silver, rupie". *'rūzī* *'dī* *chāṭa'ī-a te da'hēm* "I shall give you

two rupees every day". V. *chā'fō*. Cf. *nuv'rā*.

*chā'fō* M, G, T "white". Ind., cf. Lhd. *cittā*, Kashm. *chotā*, f. *chūtsā*, Ram-bani *chittā* etc. Reg. Par a v. Gr. 30. *chā'cō* (q. v.) from a fem. form \**chiccē* < *chittī*?

*chāṭa'dhārī* M "old man, whitebeard (*agsakāl*)".

*chāk-* G "to drip". *'chaketōn-a* "it drips". Prs.

*chāk* G "a drop". Prs. V. *'cākka*.

*chāk* G "stout, vigorous". Turk. *chāq*. V. *lān'qā*.

*chāu'kī* T "chair". Ind.

*'cēka* M, G "how much". *'cēka wa'khē-a* G "how tall is he". Prs. *chāqadr* (cf. Bal. *chakar*), Pash. S *chaka*.

*chīq*, *chīy* G "outcry, alarm". *'chīq ē jō* "he made an outcry". Turk., cf. Psbt. *chīya*.

*chū'kī* G "the temples". Cf. *chakikata*.

*'cākka* G "a drop (of drinkable liquids)". V. *chāk*.

*'cākkak* G "a drop, eavesdrip". *'cākkak uz'gī* "the eaves dropped".

*chēkun* G, T, Phon., *chēkā* M, *chēkā* T, *chēkun* D "why" (: with what intention); *tū chēkun āyē* "why have you come". But: *chā yīr āyē* "why (: for what reason) have you come so late?" *chēkāra* T "doing what?" *tū chēkāra-ē* "what are you doing (*chēkāra astī*)?" Prs.

*chūku'rī* G "a well". Turk. *chukur* "deep, a hole" (Afgh. Prs. *chūku'rī* was said to mean "lowness, baseness, *pastī*"). *chū'kēw-*: *chū'kē'wī* G "to shake the head". V. *jumbēw-*.

*chāl* G "trick". Ind.

*chēl*, *chēl*, *chīl* M, G, T, D "40". *chēl o*



- ēbr* "44: various, several (*tikka tikka*, *alāhida*)". Prs.  
*ēōl* T "penis (*ēūla*)". Prs. V. *lā'wəp*.  
*ē'ilem* G "tobacco pipe, hukka". Ind.  
*ēl'pāt* M, G, D "centipede". Prs. V, *sai'bal*.  
*ē(h)īm*, *ē(h)em*: *ē(h)ī' mī* "to go, move, wander". The aspiration (which is always weak after *ē*) is uncertain. *ēmem* G (چیمم), *ēmeman ē M*, "mēgardam", *chēmōn* (چیمون چمتون); *su'wār-a* 'chemōn "he is riding"; *ho'wī'ker-a* chemōn "this work can be done (*mēšaua*)"; *chī'mī* "he walked round (*gašt*)"; *ēimēm* "I went"; *ē'men na na'rī* "he could not move"; *ker-e* *ēma'nē bīn* "it was a work which could be done (*kār-i šudanī būl*)"; *ēma'mān* "having come". Cf. Prs. *ēamīdan* "to walk proudly", *ēamān* "walking"?  
*ēimō* (*chīmō*) (چیمو) G, T "walking, gait". *ēimō-au* *žerēžī'kā* "you walk like a partridge". Cf. *chīm*.  
*ēam'ēā* M, *ēam'ēā* D "spoon (*kāšuk*)". Prs.  
*ēem'ēe* T "ashamed (*šarmunda*, *xəjālat*)". Said to mean also "one-eyed, aiming at (*tīrkaš*, *murēal*)" (?).  
*ēimēc* G "to move, make to walk". *mende* 'har 'khān jāt *ēimēwī* "he brought it about everywhere". V. *ē(h)īm*.  
*ē'īnō* (چینو) M, G, D "small, narrow". *bī'ya-m* *ē'īnō-a* M; *bōr* \**ē'īnō-a* G "the door is narrow". Ind. \**cūn* < Skr. *cūrṇa*, cf. Shina *cūñū* (Brahui *ēunā* bor. from Indo.Ar. or = Kanar. *kinna*, Tel. *cinna* etc.).

- ēund* T "steep".  
*ēē'nār* M, G, *ēē'nār* D, P "plane-tree, chenar". Prs.  
*ē'ag*<sup>1</sup> G, T "talon". *ēag de'hem* "I grasp". Prs.  
*ēang*<sup>2</sup> M, G "curbed". V. *ēang*<sup>1</sup>.  
*ēangāu* T "embrace". *jāng o ēang'gāu* *chēn* "they started fighting and grappling with one another". V. *ēang*.  
*ēap* M, G, T "left (hand)". *nepe-e* 'ēap T "the left half". Prs.  
*ēapi'lak* T "a box on the ear". Prs. *ēapla*.  
*ēār* T "4". Used in a few fixed expressions, eg. *ēār 'gcrde-i Ma'dīnaika* "four times round M.". Prs.  
*ēir* G, T "ripped, torn". *ēir-ē ka'nem* "I tear it"; *da'nānān pen ēir ēir* 'kuyā bōn T "he had torn it with his teeth". Prs. Cf. *da'lēw*.  
*ēōr* M, G, T, *cōr* D, P "4". Gr. 109.  
*ēōr* 'yūštak "80".  
*ēū'rī* (چری) G "bracelet". Hind. *cūrī*.  
*ēūr* M, G, T "thief". Pash. L. *ēūr*.  
*ēūr* G "to rob". *Pen'jiri hog'mī ēūr'a* "he robs the people of P. on command". V. *ēūr*.  
*ēū'rī* M, G "theft". *ēū'rī ka'nem* G, *ba ēū'rī gu'rīm* M. V. *ēār*.  
*ēār'bī* G "greasy". Cf.  
*ēār'bū* M, *ēār'bī* G (*ēār'bū* Phon.) "fat (*ēār'bū*)". Prs. Cf. *γāzēd*.  
*ēē'rāy* G, T "lamp". *ēē'rāy-e* 'dar dā T "he lighted the lamp". Prs.  
*ēārēk o yā'phunē* Phon. "dust (?) and wind".  
*ēīrk o ēīrpata* Phon. "dirt and?". Prs. *ēīrk*.  
*ēār'īkār* T "Charikar".  
*ēōrū'mī* T "fourth".

čōrum'gī G "the fourth one". Cf. Afgh.

Prs. čārunga.

čōr'mīc kan- G "to impale". Cf. čōr and mīc.

čār'pāi M, čōr'pāi G "bed". Prs. Cf. kač.

čōr'pā G "cattle". Pl. čōrpā'yān. Prs. čārpāi.

čars G, T "hemp, hashish". Prs.

čār'sambē T "Wednesday". Prs.

čā'rēw- M, G "to graze". γα'ρδ čā'rēw- man M, ma čōrpā'yān-iman . . .

čā'rēwtan G. Prs.

čar'xā M "spindle". Prs. V. wahēwa'lō.

čurt kan- G "to cut off". 'sōr-č 'čurt kor "sariš-a burrid". Cf. Pash L.

čor- "to bite"?

čurt "clearly (nāteg)".

časp-: ča'spl G, T "to stick". da 'jang ča'spī "he got mixed up in the fight".

Prs.

čaš- G "to taste". ma'zāi čašem. Prs.

čūš- T "to kiss".

'čišma T, 'čišma-i 'āveika G "spring, well". Prs.

čiša'in tār D "a kind of thread".

čašō'ruč G, ča'sōrōc D "three days ago" (pēšparirūz). \*čādrū + ruč. Cf. pēšpa-rūč.

čāst M "forenoon". Prs.

Čut'ul G "the valley of Shutul". V. Šut'ul. V. pp. 5, 7.

Čutu'li G "a man from Shutul".

ča'tak-: ča'ta'ki M, G, T "to flee". ča- 'takiman G "we flee", 'čār ča'ta'ki

M "the thief fled". Hind. ča'taknā, Pash. L. ča'tegām "I run". Cf. a'ūs-

'čāwar M, 'čāwār G, T "some". aga wē čāwar bīr M "if there are some of

yon"; da 'bāwom 'čāwar maz'dār hēn M "my father has some servants".

Cf. čā.

čiz G "thing". heč čiz. Prs.

čāz'dānī T "burial-feast". Cf. Prs. čāšdān "a bread-basket"?

## D

da M, T "at, near, to". da 'bāw om

am pa'ram M "I shall go to my

father" da 'bāw om čāwar maz'dār

hēn M "my father has some servants";

har'kāra tar da 'āya T "he entered

the weestling-ring". V. dar.

dī M, G, T, D, P "two". dī puš G, dī

pu'sān T "two sons". Gr. 109.

du G, T "two". du 'ruč G "two days",

du ha'zār "2000". Cf. dī. Gr. 109.

du'bul G "corn-bin, vessel in which corn is kept (kandū)". Prs.? Cf. Ar.-Prs.

dubul, pl. of dublat "a large globular

mouthful, or anything of that shape".

Pash. L. dubu'lā.

dūba'ra T "circuit, round, side". čōr

dūba'ra i Madinat'ka čī'mī T "he

went four times round M. (čār daur-i

Madina gašl)"; čōr dūba'ra-i kalai-

ka-i T "on all four sides of the fort";

čōr dubara-i 'laškar T "the four sides

of the army (čār pēr < = Ind. phēr >

i laškar)". Cf. 'gerde.

dū'bāra G, dōbā'ra T "again, a second

time". Prs.

dūč-: dū'čī M, G "to milk". 'dūčētōn-a

G "he is milking", 'dūčem G "I

milk", dū'čīm "I milked". \*dauč-,

cf. NSgh.s.v. dūj- and Minj. lūž.

du'čār T "a sudden and unexpected

meeting, surprise". huš kan čē ān

o tū du'čār na 'pareman "take care

that we do not get surprised (gīrī-i

kašī na biāyīm)". Prs.



*dādā* M, G, T "father". *yā dāda* G "oh, father"; *dāda-i* G "his father".

Pash. S *dādā*, Orm. L *dadaī* (Raverty). Cf. *bāw*.

*dāda* G "eye", in *āw-i dīdā'ka* "tear". Prs.

*dād'xān* G "requesting". *dād'xān pa'ram tān dō'stī* "I shall beg it from your hand (arz *bukunam az dest-i tū*)". Prs. \**dād'xwān*.

*dūgā'nī* M, G "twins". *dī puš ma yus-o dūgā'nī chī* M "da *xāna-itān dō bača dūgā'nī šudan*"; *dūgā'nī 'záwē* G "twins were born". Prs. *dūgāna* (Pash. L *dōgā'nī*).

*du'gur*: *dugu'rī* (said to be a Nijrau word, but used by G himself) "to lie down, roll down". *du'guriman* = *'rūzeman*; *dugu'rī* "xau *šudan*"; *čōr'pāi tā du'guriman* "we let (?) the cattle lie down"; *gīr dugu'rī* "the stone rolled down (*lūr šud*)". Cf. *rūz*.

*da'gas* G "shaking". *da'gas kan* "to shake oneself".

*dāy* G "a scar". *'zur-um . . . dāy-a* "my heart is hurt, pained". Prs.

*dōy* M, *dūy* D "buttermilk (*dūy*)". Prs. Cf. *wa'spē*.

*dō'yund* G "tail". *dō'yund o 'šōr pen-ē* "with its tail and head". Cf. *dumb*.

*dhi* M, G, T, D, P "smoke". Cf. Phl. *dūt*, etc. (Pash. L *dū'ā* = *dūm* from Ir.?). Gr. 55.

*dah*: *dā* M, G, T "to give". *da* (*dā* Phon.) "give"; *sabā zū sēb ma tō dāiman* M "I shall give you an apple tomorrow"; *da'hem* G "I give"; *bōr dahem* "I shut the door"; *dahā* (دهه) "he (shall) give"; *'yarpi da'ha* M "it snows" (*'yarb da'ū D*); *dahetōn*, *dhaitōn* G "giving"; *čā-i ha'wī sēb*

*mā ku na dhaitōn* M "why do you not give me this apple?"; *mā ma tō zū sēb dā* M; *'mun tu 'kun 'zū phōr 'āmar dā* G "I gave you an apple"; *dāwē* T "has given". Cf. Av. *dā* (*dadā*: *data*).

*deh*: *dehī* M, G, T "to beat". *de'hōr* T imper. 2 pl.; *de'hem* "I beat"; *de'hē*, *deha*; *deheman*, *dhēman* "let us fight"; *-a de'hī* T "you did beat", *de'hō-au* "you have beaten"; *čī'lem-e 'čars-en 'dhetan* "they are smoking hemp". Cf. Afgh. Pra. *dēm* "mēzanam", Sāmn. *dein* "bīzan", Abdu *dēyum* "I beat", Mj. *doh*, *dē* etc., v. Rep. p. 78. Prob. a lw. Cf. *jan*.

*dha'mān* (-ā) D "wind". Prob. Ind., cf. Waig., Ashkun *da'mō* etc. "wind". Cf. Pash. L *damān*, Ō *damūn* "rain" (< "storm"?). In Ir. cf. Pra. *damīdan* "to blow", Soghd. *damēnāk* "windy" etc.

*dhar*: *dha'rī* (دھری) G, T "to stay", *tū 'mun pen nū'kar 'dhar* G "stay with me as a servant"; *dāl-a te 'nūkar 'dharem* G "mā *pēz-it nūkar mēpācm*"; *'dharen na na'rem* G "I cannot stay"; *a'pēz dha'rēn* T "they kept back (*pas pāidan*)"; *wī'yār dha'rī* T "he spent the night". Ind., cf. EVP. s.v. *darēdōl*, Orm. *dar*, and Pash L *dar* "to stay, be left behind".

*dhār* G "wait, well (*bās*)". *'dhār ēc zū 'čal-ē ka'nem* "well, let me play him a trick". Imper. of *dhar*.

*dhār* M, G, T, *dhar* M "hill, mountain", *dhār* P "forest". Pash. L *d(h)ār* < Skr. *dhāra*.

*dhāri* G "wild (animal)". Cf. Prs. *kōhī*, *dhīr* G "like (*wārī*)". *tā'rān-e ru'bāb*

*dhīr* "like the strings of a guitar".  
V. *dhīrang*.

*dha'ram* (دھرم) M, G, T, D "earth, ground". *dha'ram* *phyō-a* M "the ground is wet". Ind., cf. Skr. *dharmān* "bearer, supporter". Cf. Pash. L. *dhānjālī* "earthquake" < \**dharm-jālī* (Pash W. etc. *būnjāl* < *bhūmi-cala*)?

*dhīrang* M, G, T "like". *fakat rūc* *dhīrang* "exactly like the sun", *γus* *dhīrang* T "like a house", "something resembling a house", Prs. *rang* "colour"?

*dha'rēw* G, T "to keep, guard". *dha'rēwtōn-ē-a* G "he protects it". Cf. *dhar*.

*dhā'ri* M, G, T, *dhā'rē* T, *dā'rē* D, P "beard". Ind., Pash S. *dā'ri*.

*dhōr*, *dhur* M, G, T, D, Phon. (perf. *dhurō* Phon.) "saw". *tū aze ma mōn dhōr* D "you saw me yesterday"; *aze-m dhōr-a* M "I saw you yesterday"; *mun ma tō dhōra bōn* G. Preterite of *buch* (q.v.). < Av. *dərəšta* (Gr. 65), cf. Mj. *lṣk* (Gauthiot), *lišk* (Zarubin).

*dhāw dah* G, *daw* D "to run". *da'wētō hem* D "I am running"; *dhāw da'hēm* G "I run"; *mun dhāw dā*, *dhāw-um dā* (دهاوم) G "I ran". Pash. S. *daw*, cf. Prs. *dawidan* etc. V. *daw*.

*dhēw* : *dhē'wī* M, G, T "to call together, seek". *pādsā ma kull* *mullān d'hewtōn* G; *mā a'ze* *ōsp-əm dhē'wī* M "I searched for my horse yesterday (*talbistom*)"; *ma tō-ē ham-ē dhēwō* T "he sought for you, too".

*dhā'wēw*, G, T "to make to run". *ōsp-ē*...

*dhāwē'wī* T, V. *dhāw*, Cf. Pash. S. *dāwēw*.

*dāk* D, v. *də'vak*.

*Dāka* G "Dacca".

*dāk* G "a plain" (d-?). Pash. S. *ḡūk*, L. *ḡāk*.

*du'kân* G "shop". Prs.

*dukân'dār* M, G "shopkeeper". Prs.

*da'la* M "weasel". Prs.

*dāl* G, T "at, near (*pēš-i*)". *dāl A'li* *Haidar chī* T "he went to A. H."; *mun 'arz-um* *kuṛ ma dāl-ē* G "I made my petition in her presence". < Prs. \**da hāl* < *dar hāl* "on the spot"? Cf. *da*.

*dālī* G, T "from the presence of". *ē*

*dālī čaṭa'ki* T "az *pēš-iš gurēxt*".

*dāl* M, G "the hopper of a mill". Prs.

*Duldul* T "n. of Ali's horse".

*dal'lāl* G "go-between, match-maker".

Prs.

*dālān* G, *dālānī* T "vestibule". Prs.

*Dālānsang* T "n. of a place near Shutul".

*dilā'sā(i)* G, T "soothing, encouragement". Prs.

*daulat*, *daula'ti* G "riches". Prs.

*daulat'mand* M, G "rich". Prs.

*da'lēw* G, T "to tear". *ḡirī'bān-ē dale'wī* T "he tore his collar". Ind., cf. Skr. *dal-* "to burst". Cf. *ār*.

*dam* G "hot, fiery". *zur-ē dam kuṛōi* "his heart is burning (*dil-iš dampuzt*)". Cf. *dam'phōk*.

*damāi* M "behind". In *damāi chā* = *pēšti chā* "walk behind me". Cf. *dumb*.

*dām* G, D "net". Prs.?

*dumb*, *dum* M, G, T "tail". *γa'rōika*

*dum* M "the tail of a fat-tailed sheep".

*dumb-e* *hudde pādsā'āna āle'si-an* T



- "they snatched at the two kings".  
 Prs.? Cf. 'dumba-e ya'rōika. M. Phon.  
 V. dēra.  
 dum'bi G "fat-tailed". ya'rō-i dum'bi.  
 Prs.  
 dum'bāl tar M "behind". dum'bāl tar-i  
 mākhan zē "come behind us". Prs.  
 da'máy G, T "nose". Generally nēšt.  
 da'máy ē be'land chō T "he has be-  
 come proud". Prs.  
 'dāmen G "lap (dāman)". Prs. Cf. EVP.  
 s.v. laman. Minj. lōmadd (zar.) <  
 \*dāman-ta- is also an ancient pl.  
 dam'phōk G, transl. dampux "a kind  
 of pillow"? V. dam.  
 damāxal G, pl. damāxa'lān "nostril".  
 Cf. da'máy, v. binixān.  
 'dāna G "boil, ulcer". Prs.  
 dā'nā G "wise". Prs.  
 da'nān M, G, T, da'nān D, P "tooth".  
 danā'nān-um Phon. Cf. Av. dantan-  
 dā'ninda G "knowing". Prs.  
 danānwa'rō (dh°?) G "a kind of mouse".  
 Cf. ba'lūr.  
 dun'yā, dun'yā G, T "world, worldly  
 riches". ēōr rūc-a dun'yā G "the  
 world lasts four days"; 'zar u dun'yā  
 G "gold and treasures". Prs.  
 dar M, G, T "into" etc. Prs. Cf. da.  
 dar zē- G, T "to enter (dar āmadan)".  
 dar zē, dar 'āya.  
 dar w'zeh G "to be wanting, to be left  
 behind (dar māndan)". tū 'hewe  
 qadar 'sūy kun dar w'zāhē.  
 dar dah- T "to put fire to". ēi'rāy-ē  
 dar 'dā "he lighted the lamp".  
 Afgh. Prs.  
 'dārū M, G "medicine"; dārū M, G, T  
 "gunpowder". Prs.  
 daur M, G, T "circuit, circle, turn,  
 around". 'daur ka'nem, xa'rem M

- "I turn round"; sōr tar-ē 'daur dā  
 T "swung it over his head"; sō 'daur  
 ku'rō tar G "while she turned round  
 (sar-i daur kardan, čarx xurdan)";  
 daur-e ēe'rāy G "around the lamp";  
 daur-e lau'cāna-u "daur-e labhā-it".  
 Prs.  
 dēr- M, G, T "to hold, have". dēs(t)  
 tar-an sēb dēriman M "I hold an  
 apple in my hand", a'ze ker dērē  
 bīm M "yesterday I had some work  
 to do"; āmar 'dērem G "I hold an  
 apple"; 'dērē bēm "I held", dēra  
 "he holds". Cf. Av. dāraya-. Gr.191.  
 dēra D "tail" (?). Cf. dumb.  
 du'rē G, du'rī D "large spoon". Khov.  
 dōri "large spoon", Burush. dōri,  
 Kati dur, Waig. du'rīk, cf. Wotyak  
 du'ri, Rutul (Caucas.) dur etc. (Jacob-  
 sohn. Arier u. Ugrof. 209) etc.  
 Originally Ir.  
 dar'bār T "court". Prs.  
 dard M, G, T, dard G, T "pain". Prs.  
 darf G "awl (daraus)". \*dyfa-, Prs.  
 dirafz, cf. andarf, Ishk. andervun  
 "awl".  
 dar'gā G "court, palace". Prs.  
 du'rūy G, T "lie". Prs.  
 durūy'gūl T "a liar".  
 dā'rāk G, dē'rāk P, dāk D "grape".  
 dē'rāk-um 'da ēe 'xariman G "give  
 me grapes to eat!" Ind., cf. Lhd.  
 drākh, Pash. S dārk.  
 dar'kūp M? 'baid-an dar'kūp kor "they  
 were singing". Prs.\* dar kōb (kobidan  
 "to beat")?  
 dar'mān T "remedy, medicine". 'zaxm-e  
 mā'nā dar'mā ka'nē "heal my wound";  
 ē'lāje dar'mān. Prs.  
 da'rūn M, G, T "inside". da'rūn-e 'yus  
 tar "inside the house". Prs.

*du'rīn* M, G, T, *də'rīn* M, *du'rīng* D "far". Generally written *دورین* (under the infl. of Prs.), once *دورین*. \**dūrainā* (Gr. 33). Cf. Prs. *dūr* etc. *durr*: *dur'rī* M, G "to cut grain". Cf. Av. *dar*-, *dərənā*; prob. not borr. from Prs. *durūdan*. *drē'sī* T "dress". *šam'sēr* . . . *guz* . . . 'naiza, *drē'sī*, 'mōza *ār*. Engl. through Psht. (*st* > *š*)? Cf. Panj. *dres*, *dressī* (Gr. Bailey, BSOS, IV, 786). But cf. also Kati *dər'sī* "jacket", Pash. L *daricēš* "dress"? *dar'wāza* M. "door". Prs. Cf. *bōr*. *dar'yā* G, D, *dar'yā* T, *dai'rā* M, *dar'yāb* G, *dar'yā* Phon. "river". Prs. *derz* (dherz-?) : *der'zī* G, T, *derz* M "to take on one's back". *der'zem*, preter. *der'zim* G, *der'zī* G = *puč-ē kor*, T also *der'zī*. Cf. Av. *darəz*, Orm. *daž* "to load", Psht. *lōžol* etc. Gr. 64. *der'zēw* G, causative of *derz*. *der'zēwem-ē* "I put it on his back (*da pušt-iš mētom*)". *dōs* M, G, T, *dōs* D, P "10". Cf. Av. *dasa*. *dōsu'mī* T "tenth". *dōs'māl* "handkerchief". Par. + Prs. *'dusapa* M "kid, two years old". Cf. Psht. *dōsaral* "id.". V. *du*, *sār*. Cf. *'šusapa*, *'žusapa*. *da'stē* M, G, D "cooking-pot". Prs. *da'stī* G "quickly". Prs. *de'stai* M "handle". Prs. V. *kab'zai*. *dōst* M, G, T, D, P "hand". *dōst tar-an sēb dēri-man* M "I have an apple in my hand". Cf. Av. *zasta*. *z-s* dissim., cf. EVP. s.v. *lās*. To the examples of dissimilation of sibilants may be added: Tajiki *gundušk* "sparrow" (Prs. *gunjīšk*), Sede, Gaz *toš* =

*šās* "urine", Prs. *tasū* "a weight of four barleycorns" < \**čas*-. *dūst* G, T, *dōst* T "friend". Prs. *dō'stī* G "love, friendship". Prs. *dest'gīr* G "captured". Prs. *de'stak* G, D "ceiling-board". *dōsti'kōr* G "walking-stick". V. *kōr*. Cf. *dez'bhōnt*. *dest'kaš* G "glove". Prs. *Dōstom* G "n. of a vill. in Panjshir". *dēs* M, G, D "sickle". \**dāvri*, Skr. *dātra*, Minj. *lrvāž* etc., cf. EVP. s.v. *lōr*. *dōs* M, G, T "hair". *žū tār dōs-a* M "one single hair", T *huss dō'sān-au* "all your hairs", *dōs-e sōri'ka-m* Phon. "the hair of my head". Cf. Wkh. *šurs*, Sar. *šors*, Minj. *lurs* "goat's hair". V. *gīnō*, *jāl*. *duš'man* G, T, *duš'man* M, T "enemy". Prs. V. *muda'i*. *dušma'nī* T "enmity". Prs. *dušman'dār* T "possessing enemies". *mā yu'lā dušman'dār-emān* "we have many enemies". Prs. *duāt* M, G, D, P "wall". \**dīstī*, cf. Av. *dažz* "to build" etc., Sāmn. *dāsār* "wall", Yd. *lizokh* "fort" etc. *daš'wār* G "dishonoured" (*ruziwā*). Prs. *de'āt* M "village". Prs. V. *sāf*. *dut* M, D, T, D, P "daughter". Pl. *du'tān* (*'dutan* M?). Cf. Prs. *dux(ar)*, Gabri etc. *dut*. *daw* G "to be straight"? *kaš ka'nem čē 'dawa* "I shall stretch (the rope), in order that it may be straight". Cf. *daw* D "to run" s.v. *dhaw*? *du'wā* G, T "prayer, invocation". *ne-māz-ē xānī*, *dōst ba da'wā čī* "he recited a prayer and raised his hands in invocation; *du'wā-n dā*. Prs.



- dāwa'i* G "medicine". *tu mun kōn dāwa'i na 'dhāitōn* ? Prs.  
*dā'wā* T "quarrel". Prs. *dā'wā*.  
*dā'wān* M, G "mad". Prs.  
*dā'wāna* M, G, T "mad, dumb" G. Prs.  
*dāw'ruk* D "spider". Pash. L *dē'ūr* "weaver", Isky. *dyē'ūr* "spider", Lhd. *qā'car* "spider". V. *jō'lāk*, *ya'fak*.  
*dū'ās* M, *dū'wās* G, *d(u)wās* D, P "12". Gr. 109.  
*dē'wās* G, *dūcā'si* D "day". Pash. L *dū'wās*, W *dē'wās*.  
*dē'wet* T "inkhorn: vulva (*kus*)". 'bālō *ka'lam ghīd dē'wet tar-ē*. Prs.  
*dū'āzda* M "12". Prs.  
*de'bhōnt* M "walking-stick". Cf. *bhōnt*, *dōstikōr*.  
*dū'zānū* T "kneeling". Prs.  
*dē'ze* M, G, *dē'zē* D, P "walnut". *de'zi'ka mayz* "walnut-kernel".

## D

- ḍak*: *ḍa'ki* G "to rise, mount". *man'yār ḍa'ki* "the fog rose". Pash. Sh. *ḍak*.  
*ḍal* M, T "a crowd, many". *wā ḍāl-ēr* M "you are many"; *mā ḍāl ā'yēman* M; *mā ma tō ḍāl ja'ri* M "I said to you"; *zu ḍāl bālō* T "a party of boys". Pash. L *ḍāl* "herd", Bashg. *ḍar* used as a pl. suffix.  
*ḍumb* P "reed". V. *nāi*.  
*ḍōnas* M, G "bellowing". *gū-a ḍōnas kantūn* M. Cf. *khānas*.

## F

- fe'yān* G "lament". Prs.  
*fauj* G, T "army, soldier". *zu lak fauj-e jaq'gi* T. Prs.

- fa'qir* M, G, T "faqir, beggar". *Rahim 'Xān c̣hi fa'qir-au* G "R. Kh. has become your servant". Prs.  
*fikar* G "thought". Prs.  
*fakat* G, T "exactly, only". Prs.  
*fū'lad* G "steel". Prs.  
*fe'lāna* M, G "a certain person" "(*dūr* "far"). Prs.  
*fe'lāni* G "a certain person" (*naz'dik* "near". Prs. Gr. 147.  
*fām*: *fāmi* M, G, T "to understand". *ān-em fāmītūn* M, *fāmītūn-em* G. Prs., cf. Pash S. *fāmtoym* "I understand".  
*fā'nī* G "perishable". Prs.  
*fā'nūs* G "lamp". *fā'nūs-e ru'sān* "a brilliant lamp". Prs.  
*Fe'rāj* G "n. of a vill. in Panjshir".  
*fark*, *farq* G, T "top of the head". Prs.  
*fer'kā* T "party". *ka'būl-an koḍ dī fer'kā* "both parties agreed". Prs.  
*far'mān* G, T "order". Prs.  
*fer'i'mān* G, T "much, big". Prs. *farāwān*, Panjshiri Prs. *farēmōn*, Kabuli *ferimān* (Masson, III, 18).  
*far'māsi* M, G "to command". *far'māsi* M "he ordered", *ma 'dī 'sāhet far'māsi* T "he sent two witnesses". Prs.  
*fa'rāmuš* M "forgetful". Prs.  
*fa'rār* G "exiled". Prs.  
*fāreš* T "agreeing with (?)". *aga xa'rēm . . . fāreš na 'dēra* "if I eat, . . . it does not agree with me (*na mēfārad-um*)". Prs.? Cf. Madaglashti Prs. *fāridan* "to wish, desire".  
*Farur'fāl* T "n. of a king".  
*farxam* T "a handful". *zu farxam-ē 'ghit*. Prs., cf. *farxamidan* "to pluck, gather".  
*fata* G "victory". Prs.  
*fāteha'xān* T "reciter of prayers for the dead". Prs.

*fāxtar* G "ring-dove". Prs.  
*fāza* G "yawning". *fāza ka'nem*, *fāza-m kašē'wī*. Prs.  
*fazl* G "excellence, ornament". *fazl-e rha'ām-om āya* "the ornament of my spring came". Prs.

## G

*glā* v. *gi'hāi*.  
*gū* M, G, P "cow". < Av. *gav-*. Cf. *māgū*.  
*gū* M, G, T "ear", pl. *gū'ān*. *gū'ān tar-au e'apō hā* G "there is a louse in your ear(s)"; *gū tar-au gard sī* G "there is dust in your ear". < Av. *gaoša-*. Cf. *gōš*.  
*gūi* M, *gō* G, D "human excrements". M also *'gū-i yarāi'ka*. Prs.  
*gu'dar*: *guda'ri* M, G, T "to cross, pass, wander about". *gu'zar gu'dartan* M "they cross a ford"; *ha'zār tu 'dāda tar guda'rēm* T "I am better than a thousand fathers like you (as *hazār padar guzaštom*)"; *zū me'hī guda'rō* G "one month has passed"; *'pādsā 'yalaba guda'rō bōn* T "the king had wandered much about". Prs.  
*gaḍ* v. *gaḍ*.  
*gufti'gū*, *gufti'gūi* G, T "conversation, quarrel". Prs.  
*guftār* G "conversation". Prs.  
*'gūgird* T "match". *'gūgird-e de'hī* "he struck a match". Prs.  
*'gāhī*, *gā'hī* T, *gāi*, *gāi* G, T "time".  
*'zā gāi* T "another time"; *ga'hī bu'chē ga'hī na 'bu'chē* T "sometimes he sees it, and sometimes not". Prs.  
*gēh-* G "coire". *'gēhem-e 'te*. Cf. Prs. *gādan*.  
*gi'hāi* G, *gi'ā* M "grass". Prs.

*'ghana* G "a necklace of silver rupees". Ind., cf. Hind. *gahnā* "jewellery".  
*ga'hina* G, T "ancient, former (*qadīmī*)".  
*'pādsā-e ga'inika* T; *'yār-i ga'hina* G. Prs.?  
*ghaḍ* M, G, T, D "big". *γus-e tān ghāḍ-a* M "your house is big". Ind., cf. Lhd. *ghāy* "big, much", Kalasha *ghonā* "large", Torwali *gand* "great", *ghan* "elder", Gauri *gōnt* "great", Pash. N. *gay*.  
*ghayḍ bā'bā* G "grandfather".  
*ghayḍ mā'ēi* G "grandmother".  
*ghāy(ḍ) γa'rō* M "fat-tailed sheep".  
*gel* G "clay, mud" (?). *mun har'wī gel-a 'dīl-i dard-it* (?).  
*gul* M, G, T, P "flower". *gul-i zi'tō* G "a yellow flower". Prs.  
*gul* M, G "extinguished (fire)". *ār 'gul (ruz'sat)-an kor* M "we extinguished the fire"; *'guli-te ka'nem* G. Prs.  
*gulāb* G "rose". Prs.  
*Gulda'ra* "n. of a place".  
*'galla* G "herd of horses". Prs.  
*gi'lam* G "woven carpet". Prs.  
*gum* M, G, T "lost". *ān za'nēgg ma 'xā-m 'gum ka'nem* G "how shall I get rid of my husband?". Prs.  
*gu'mān* G "suspicion". Prs.  
*gi'nō* G, *gīnō* P "hair". *zū 'lār gi'nō* G = *zū 'gīna 'tāl* D. < Av. *gaona-*, cf. Psht. *γūna* etc.  
*gu'nā* M, G "sin". Prs.  
*guna'gār* M, G "sinner". Prs.  
*gaṇḍā* M, G, D "stem". Pash. S. *geṇḍū*, L. *gaṇḍi*.  
*ganda'būi* M "stench". Prs.  
*ga'num* M, G, P, *ga'nem* D "wheat". < Av. *gantuma-*.  
*guṇ* M "dumb". Prs. V. *diwā'na*, *bī'bān*.



*gap* G, T "word, rumour, command, affair". *pēz* 'gap na cīm G "do not listen to rumours (*pas-i gap na gard*)"; *'gap-av-um* 'puxta ku'rδ G "I have arranged your affair". Prs.

*ga'pār* M, G, *ga'pār* D "fireplace". Cf. *ār* "fire" and Orm. *gap* "stone".

*ga'ri* G, T, *ga'ri* T "hour, while". *'zu* *gari* 'lē ma 'dāl-om "come to me for a while". Ind., the form with *r* through Prs., the one with *r* through Psht. Cf. *ǰōr*.

*ge'rē* M "knot". Prs.

*gir*, M, G, T, D, P, *ger* M, G "stone". < Av. *gairi*, cf. Shgh. *zīr* "stone", Orm. *giri* "hill" etc.

*gīr* G, T "grasp, grip". Prs.

*gu'ri*: *ghit* M, G, T, D "to seize, buy". *'gure* G *gu'ri* "seize"; *gu'rīm* "I seize"; *'ghil* G "seized"; *'ghitō* G, *'ghitō* Phon. "has seized"; *pa'nān-um* *'ghit* T "I started on the road". < \**gṛbāya*: \**gṛfta*. Gr. 45, 54, 58, 73. Pash S etc. *'gurum* "I seize" is prob. borr. from l'ar. (v. Rep. p. 26).

*gūr* T "tomb". *men'dī* *'gūr* *koṛ* "he buried him". Prs.

*girba'ka* G "tortoise". Cf. Prs. *sangbaka*. V. *kasaba'ka*.

*gurba'mūs* M "rat" (?). Prs.

*giri'bān* G "collar". Prs.

*gard* G, T, D, *gaṛd* G "dust". *gar'dī* *pa'dā* *chī* T "he emerged from the dust-cloud". Prs.

*'gerde* T "circuit, turn". *'cār* *'gerde-e* *Ma'dīnaika*. Prs. Cf. *dūba'ra*.

*gur'da* M, G, D "kidney". Prs. With Psht. *puṣṭa-icarga* etc. (EVP. s.v.) cf. also Cheremiss *βάργ* (Ir. lw.).

*garg* M "scab, itching". Prs.

*guria'gar* G "buyer, admirer (*xarīda-wāl*)". Par. + Prs.

*gur'ji* M, G "puppy". Prs.

*gī'rān* G, *gī'rān* M "heavy". Prs. (cf. Pash. S *grūng*).

*gī'rān'gī* T "weight". Prs.

*ga'rāt* G "hand-mill". Pash. L *ga'raṭ*, Lhd. *ghruṭ*, Khetrani *grat*, Kashm. *grafa*, Jaunsari *ghaurat*, Skr. *gharatta*.

*gurz* G, *guyz* T "club". Prs.

*ga'ri* v. *ga'ri*.

*gas*: *gōst* M, G "to bite, sting". *zam'būr* *'gastōn* G "the wasp stings"; *ma* *'mun* *zam'būr* *gōst* G; *berkhe'tōn-em* *ē* *'na-m* *gasa* G "mētarsam *ē* *na mā mēkana*"; *'khāi* *'zā-m* *te* *'gasa* M "ēzi *mēkanad-om*". Prs. *gazdan*; Reg. *gas*-v. Gr. 70; *gōst* is a secondary formation.

*gū'sāla* D "calf". Prs.

*gu'spand* M, *gūspand* G "fat-tailed sheep". Prs. Cf. *γάρδ-ι* *dum'bi*.

*gās* G "a kind of cereals (*gāl*)". Cf. Prs. *gāl* "millet" (\**garza*?). *gās* < \**gārša*, cf. Psht. *γōšt* "millet" (EVP. s.v. *āyazl*).

*geš* "bad, sinful". < \**gasya*, derived from \**gasa* < \**ghydh* so, cf. Anc. Prs. *gasta* "bad", Bal. *gandag* "bad", etc.?

*gōš* D, *gūš* P "ear". *gūš* *kan*-T "to listen". Prs. V. *gū*.

*gūša* G "corner". Prs.

*gašt* M, T "time, turn". Prs.

*gaṭ* G, T "mixed". *gaṭ-ē* *ka'nem* G "I mix it"; *hē* *dar'yā* *tar-ē* *max'sōr* *'gaṭ* *kōr* T "he plunged into this river". Ind.

*gē'wēw*-G *'gāyānīdan*. caus. of *gēh*. *gaz* M, G, T "ell". Prs.

gu'zar M, G, T "passing, crossing, walking; a ford". karbe'stân tar gu'zar kor M "he passed by the graveyard"; guza'r-om ku' G "I took a walk"; gu'zar gu'dartan M "(we) are crossing the ford (guzar guzaštim)". Prs. gâze'rak G, gâ'zir D "carrot". Prs. V. zar'dak.  
guza'rân G "walking, crossing; liveliness". Prs.  
ga'zdum M, ga'zdum D, P "scorpion". Prs. V. ča'yardum.

I

γá T "wind". γá o γáphunē (q. v.). < Av. vāta.  
γē G "now, well (diga)" (emphatic particle). < Av. vahyah- "better"?  
γī M, G, D, P "willow". < Av. vañti.  
γaibī G "hidden, invisible". γaibī sa'dā āya "a hidden voice spoke". Prs. γu'bār G, T "dust-storm". Prs. γaibat T "invisible". Prs.  
γaf-: γa'fī M, G, D "to weave". γa'fīman-ē M; γa'fem-ē G "I weave"; γa'fīm G "I wove"; γa'fītū hēm D "I am weaving"; zā jō'lā γafōi M "the weaver has woven something (ēzi jō'lā bāstas)". < \*waf-, cf. Av. ubdaena-, Orm. γaf-, EVP. s.v. ūdol (Psht. būda "wool" < \*upa-nstāf).  
γa'fak G "spider". V. γaf-. Cf. ducu-γūk, jō'lāk.  
γafō'yi T "braid" (baštagi). V. γaf-  
γau'γā T "shouting, uproar (feγán)". Prs.  
γuh-: γušt G, T, D "to throw, place (andāxtan)". γu'hēm; ān-em γuhitō;  
γušt-um G: čūr-ē tar-ē γušt T "he

put the thief in front of him (duzda pēs partaft)"; kitāb sōr mēz γuštīm D "I put the book on the table". < \*wid-: wista-, v. EVP. sv. wīstai; cf. poss. Prs. bihan "porcupine" < \*waidana- (Skr. svā-vidh-).  
γūk G, D "frog". Prs.  
γēl G, T "rolling". γir γēl čhī = dugu'ri G "the stone rolled down"; γēlō T has rolled". Cf. Wkh. uul wātsn, Sar. uul setno "to roll", W.Oss. velun "to turn", Mordw. v'el'- "to turn"? With the Oss. word Miller (GIPH. I, Anh. p. 24) compares Skr. vellati; but the interrelation of all these words is uncertain. γēl < \*wālyā-?  
γu'lū M, G, T "much, big, very". dar'yā γu'lū ā T "the river is large"; mā-khān γus tar γulū māneš hā G "there are many people in our house". Prs. (Ar.) γulūw "exceeding bounds, excess"; cf. Par. S γulū "big".  
γala'ba M, G, T "many, much". γala'ba-in na'γōn xar'tān M "they are eating much bread"; γalaba 'sāheb-e 'sūrat T "very beautiful"; mā-īman γalaba M "we are many". Prs. γalabat "multitude, abundance", cf. Bakhtiyari galava "very much".  
γalaba'gī G "multitude, plenty". ma γalaba'gī "in plenty".  
γulū'gī G (Nijrau) "multitude, plenty". Cf. γu'lū, γalaba'gī.  
γe'lāf M, G "sheath of a sword". Prs.  
γu'lak M, γulak G, γōlik D "bow". Prs.  
γu'lām G, T "slave". Prs.  
γa'lat G, T "fault". ē... 'nām e xu-kān-ē γa'lat ja'γō T "he told his own name incorrectly". Prs.  
γam G, T "pain". Prs.



γḗn M, G, T, γan D, P "oak". < Av. *vanā* "tree" (EVP. s.v. *wana*). Cf. Pash. L. *wanjī*, Khaw. *bānc* "oak" etc.

γēn-: γēnt G "to collect". γēnt "jam kat" = γēnd-um kor; γēnd ka'nem = žu jái ka'nem "I collect"; γōnda D "collected, assembled (fōl)", žā γōnda hen D "all the others are there (digar fōl hast)". With D cf. Prs. γunda "collected". But γēn-?

γunt-: γunt G, T, D "to find". zā-em γunt, γontum D "I found something"; γuntōn G "finding"; γunim-ē G "I find". < Av. *vaēd-*, *vinda-*. Reg. γunt v. Gr. 55. Pash. S un- "to find" (untuy-em "I find") < Ir.?

γunča G "bud (puḡḡuk)". γunča-e gul. Prs.

γa'nōkō, γanukō G "short (kōta)". < \**wanta-*, cf. Sak. *vanda-*, Bal. *gwand* "short". Cf. *kōf*.

γa'nir M, G "field". γa'nir me'lēwem G "I plough". Cf. Wkh. *wūndr*. Benveniste, in a letter, proposes to derive γa'nir (< \**wanta'ir-*) from \**awa-antarya-*, cf. Av. *awa-antara-* "an das, was innen ist, hinabreichend, angrenzend". "Sémaniquement le mot s'expliquerait par 'ce qui est à l'intérieur des possessions de la famille ou de la tribu'."

γāphu'nē, γā'phōnē (غاپهنه) M, G, T "wind, n. of a horse belonging to Mahmud of Ghazni (cf. a'ir)". γā "wind" (q.v.) + *phōn-ē* < Av. *pasnu-* "dust". Cf. Prs. *xākbād* "dust-storm". In Afghanistan nearly all winds carry much dust. V. *dha'mān*.

γar G "harlot". Prs.

γa'rō M, G "sheep". γa'rō D "lamb", M gen. *γarwēka*. γa'rō-i dum'bī G "fat-tailed sheep". Cf. Phl. *varak*, Psh. *wrai* etc. (v. EVP.). V. mā'yu'fūk,

• γarōcū'ca.

γār M, G, γār D "rain". γāri *ozga* M "rain falls". γār *wāstū* D. < Av. *vāra-*, cf. Orm. K γōrvēk "to rain" etc. V. au'γār.

γār- M, G, γār- D "to rain". γarpi, bā'rāna γāra M; γarpa γārtōn G; žāla γārtū D. Cf. γār.

γār M, G, γār D, P "coal". < \**angāra-*, cf. Skr. *angāra-*. Gr. 51.

γaira T "except, unless". γaira Zai-γōn . . . ēna-i te "unless Z. brings him". Prs.

γaur T "reflection, consideration". γaur-e γa'ribika-i na 'kantōn "you do not consider the poor"; γaur kaneman "I search for (buburim)". Prs.

γārī M "now". Cf. Prs. *bār*, Skr. *vāra* "time, turn" etc.? V. *ba'di*.

γīr G, T "late, delayed". ma'nān γīr-um ēhi G "I am delayed"; ēā γīr āyē? G; bade γīr sōr mu'nī guda'rō G "a long time has passed, and I have been forgotten (ālī dēr žud sar-i mā)". Cf. Soghd. γīr "late", in which case Par. γīr is a lw. from an E.Ir. dial.; or γīr < \**a-wīra-*, *a-waira-* "forgotten", cf. EVP. s.v. *hēr*.

γōra G "longing (armān)". Cf. Av. *var-* "to choose" etc.

γa'rib T "poor". Prs.

γa'ribi G "poverty, distress". sār-e γa'ribi = "the tomb". Prs.

γōr'band G, T "the valley of Ghorband".

γur'ca M, G, D "hungry". Cf. Prs. *gurs* etc., Kurd *birci* (Soane), *bərēi*

(Adjarian). *yurē* < *wys* + *ē*. Ir. \**wysu* < \**wysu* (desiderative, cf. Skr. *vydh-* "to grow, thrive"); or, semasiologically more probable, \**(s)wysa-*, cf. Arm. *k'alē* "hunger", acc. to Pedersen (KZ, 39, 429), Lidén (Arm. St. 100) < \**swid-sk-*.  
*yarōēu'ēa* M, G "lamb". V. *ēu'ēa*, *ya'rō*.  
*yurēa'gī* M "hunger". V. *yur'ēa*.  
*yury* M, G, T, D, P "wolf". < Av. *vəhrka-*.  
*yarya'rā* G "cascade, the sound of falling water". Prs.  
*yark* T "dirty, smeared with". *'yark-e* *'hineka* „*ālūda ba xūn*". Scarcely from Prs. *yarg* "immersed".  
*yī'rān* G, T "desolate, ruined (*wairāna*)". *ka'lān-an yī'rā koṭ* T "they destroyed the villages". < \**a-waryāna*? Cf. Prs. *wērān*, Phl. *apērān* etc. (Arm. *aver* proves the Phl. *p* to be merely orthographical); Skr. *avārya-* "irresistible, unrestrainable, incurable"?  
*yī'rānī* G "damage (*bērānī*)". *yī'rānī'yān-e* *yusī'ka*.  
*yarp* M, G, D "snow". *yarpī dāha*, *yāra* M "it snows", *yarp dā* G "it snowed". < Av. *vafra-*, cf. Orm. L *yōḡ*.  
*'yārat* G "malice (*pasti*, *čukuri*)". Prs. *yārat* "plunder, rapine".  
*yarie* "boiling". G. *yarie bīn* "was boiling". Cf.  
*yarie-* G "to be boiling". *'āwē* *'yaricetō*. \**warb-*, cf. NShgh. s.v. *wūrv-*, Minj. *wurv-* (Zarubin).  
*yar'wē-* G "to boil". Cf. *yario-*.  
*'yaraz* T "design". *'yaraz-um 'na ka* "do not try to catch me (*māra na gūr*)". Prs.  
*yū'rōk* G "child". < \**wyta-*, cf. EVP. s.v. *wur* "small" (*wōrkai* etc. "boy").  
*yo'rōmb-* G "to thunder". Cf.

*yaram'bas* M, D "thunder (*kurum'bak*)".  
*az'mān yaram'bas kana* M; *ā'yēs* *yaram'bas kan'tū* D "the sky thunders". Cf. Pash. S *yo'rōmba 'kantū*, L *yoro'gā* "it thunders"; Prs. *yar-midan* "to thunder". Cf. *'bumburū*.  
*yur'zēw-* G "to pour out". *yurz-* < \**wi-hyz-*, Skr. *vi-srj-*, cf. Soghd. *wixarā-* "to liberate" (inchoative s).  
*ya'sō* M, G, T, D, P "calf" ("during the first year" G). *nī'rōk*, *'māda* *γ°* G "male, female calf". Cf. Orm. K *ywac*, Sak. *vasaka-*, Skr. *vatsa-* etc.  
*'yēso* G "too little (*kam*)".  
*yus*, *yos* M, G, T, D, P "house". *'yus tar* *'hēc ēz na dērem* T "I have nothing in the house". < Av. *vis-*; cf. Bal. *gis*, Minj. *yis-kīg* (Zarubin) "roof" (< \**wis-kataka-*? cf. Ishk. *kōs-kud* etc.; *yi-* < \**wi-* as in *yina* "blood", *yistōn* "felt" < \**wistarna*).  
*yussa'mand* G "distressed, angry (*deq*, *xafa*)". Prs.  
*yōḡ* G, T "cut hair", *yōḡ kan-* "to cut the hair". *'sōr-ē ham 'yōḡ koṭ* T. < \**wysa-*. Av. *varəsa-* "hair", *frā-vərəsa-* "deprived of hair", Prs. *gurs* "lock of hair".  
*yūs* G, D "meat". Cf. Minj. *yūs* < Tajiki *yūs* (acc. to Gauthiot). But *yūs* must be an E.Ir. form, prob. borr. into Par. and Taj. from Minj. (or a similar dialect). *yūs* < *gauḡ(ōrā)*, cf. Psht. *ywaḡa*.  
*yūs-e danānī'ka* M, G "gums". V. *pīn-'dar*, *wirā*.  
*yūšt* G, D, P "finger". *yūštān-um* G "my fingers"; *yūšt 'yūšt-um 'yūšt* G "I threw twenty fingers". < Av. *angusta-*, cf. Yazg. *wašt*, Minj. *ayūškā* (Gauth.), *ā'gušk'a* (Zar.) etc. Gr. 51. Av. *vīstasti-* "span" would also have



- resulted in Par. \*yūšt. Cf. *an'gušt*, *pan'jā*.  
 yūšt M, G, D, P (yūšt Phon., when pronounced slowly) "20". < \*wisati, Av. *visaiti*.  
 yu'stī G "ring". Cf. yūšt. V. *angušta'ri*.  
 yu'stūra M, G "a kind of tree with round leaves (*siāhčūb*)".  
 yuša'wal, yuša'wālē G, yužwa'lē D "wide trousers". Lw.? Cf. Prs. *šawāl*, Wkh. *šawalak* etc.  
 yāwe'rī G "hard, severe (*bisyār zūrā-wari*)". *yurca'gi yāwe'rī* "a severe hunger". Ar. *yābir* "solid, lasting"?  
 yax M, G, T "sound, voice". *tū yax koṛ* M "tū nāra kadī". < Av. *vaxša-* "word".  
 yāx T "root". \**wai-xa*, cf. Prs. *bix*, Psht. *wēx*. V. *bix*, *kōrdi*, *ri'sā*.  
 yūza G "dishevelled (hair)". *e'čēw tū yūza 'kākul* "bubān tu zulf dirāz". Prs. *yōza* "a rosary, string of beads", cf. Afgh. Prs. *du yōza yōza zulfān-iš*.  
 yāzd G "fat (*čārbū*)". < \**wazdā*, cf. EVP. s.v. *wāzda*. Is Psht. *yōz* "fat of the kidneys" borr. from Par. or Orm.?  
 ʔaz'nī T "Ghazni".

## H

- há* "he, she is", *hēm* "I am etc.". *žū 'kurri sī*, *'mēn-ē 'yus 'dhirang-a 'mē 'kurri tar žū 'šēr hā* T "there is a ravine, in the middle of which there is something resembling a house, and in the ravine there is a lion". Cf. -a, -ā and *sī*. Gr. 167 f.  
*hai kan-* G, T "to whip". *su'wār-ē 'nhōšt*, *'hai kuṛō 'čhī* T "he mounted a horse and went off whipping it"; *'hai kanen 'āya*.  
*hē* M, G, T "this". *'hē ker*, *'he kker* T "this work". Gr. 126.  
*hī* M, G "bridge". < Av. *haētu*, Sar. *yeid* etc. (EVP. s.v. \**hēl*).  
*hu*, *ho* M, G, T "that". Gr. 129.  
*hu-* G, T "all". *hu 'čōr-ē* "all four of them", *hu ppōnj-an* "all five of us". A proclitic, shortened form of \**hōru* < \**harwa-*? Cf. *huddi*, *huss*.  
*'habda* M "17". Prs.  
*haba'sī* "Abyssinian, Negro". Prs.  
*hēc* M, *heč* G, T "any". *hēc gašt*, *hēc kabī* "anytime"; *hēc čiz* "anything"; *'kačal bi'yā 'heč na bē* "I will not have a worthless brother at all (*nābūt heč na bāša*)"; *heč na* T "not at all". Prs.  
*huddi*, *huddē* G, T (هُد) "both". *'hudde ka'stēān* T "both girls". Cf. *hu*.  
*huddi'nān* M, G, T (هُدِينَان) "both" (subst.). Cf. *hu*.  
*'Haidar* G "Ali".  
*haḡḡ* M, G, *haḡ* D, *hāḡ* M "bone". Lhd. *haḡḡ* (but Pash. L. *aḡha*).  
*haḡḡ-e kaburḡāi'kā* G "rib".  
*haḡḡ-e mēni'kā* G "hip-bone".  
*haif* G, T "violence, injustice". Prs.  
*hāy* G transl. by *xāk* ("earth, dust") in *hāy kan-* "to spill". *'hāy-um 'kuṛ* = *yurčē'wim*; *ma 'bōr 'hāy na koṛ* "it was not spilt outside (*bērūn xāk na kad*); *hāy čhī* "was spilt". < \**hāka* > Prs. *xāk*?  
*hogm* v. *hukm*.  
*'hājes* T "exhausted". Prs. *'ājis*.  
*'hega* G "so much (*hamiqadr*)". *'hega pēri'sān* "so distressed". V. *hē*, *čeka*.  
*'hōki* T "noble (*mutabar, sarkaš*)".

hu'kâb M, ugâb T "a kind of eagle" (?).  
Prs.

ho'qûf G, T "power, ability (zôr)".  
hoqûf-an ôst na zhaitôn T "our  
power did not suffice (zôr-i mâ na  
mêrasid)". Prs. wuqûf.

haqq G "truth". ba haqq "really". Prs.  
hâkîm G "governor". Prs.

ha'kîm, ha'kîmfî M, G "doctor". Prs.  
hukm M, T, 'hukm G, hugm T "com-

mand". hugm, hogm-e kor; hog'mî  
G "by command". Prs.

huk'man Phon. "on command". 'mendê  
huk'man 'mêrôr. Prs. hukman?

'hêkezm M "such". hê + Prs. qism.

ha'la(i) kan- M, G, T "to run". ha'lai  
kanem M, G; mun 'hala kor M, G, T;  
ha'la kanem M "running". Prs. hala  
kardan "to assail, storm". V. halka,  
dhâw.

hâl G, T "condition, matter". hâl-e  
zup'ka-m; ê êe 'hâl-a "what is the  
matter?" Prs.

hêl kan- T "to bring in", or "release"?.  
ma mâ'lân-ê buq, 'hêl-ê kor "he took  
away the beasts (goods) and brought  
them (into the house) or: let them  
loose (hêl kat)".

'hîla T "fraud". Prs.

hul'bar G "fore-lock, front-hair (pikâ)".

'halka kan- G, T "to run, canter". 'halka  
ka'nôr G, 'alka-n yûst T "they ran".

Ar. halq "making haste"?

ha'lâk G "destruction". Prs.

Hal'gama T "n. of a warrior".

hê'lâl G "the new moon". Prs.

halapa'ta (هَلَيْتَة) G "frightened (bêwâr,  
warzatâ)".

hilata M "knowing, learning". hawî zâ  
hilata paraman "we learn this thing

(i êiz âmoxt šawim)". Prs. hilat  
"art, invention, cunning, knack" etc?  
Cf. 'hîla.

hal'wâ G "sweets". Prs.  
ham, am, 'm M, G, T "also, too". wâ-m  
yurca-ir M "are you, too, hungry?"  
Prs. — T also hum as in Psht.

'hâmô G "raw". Cf. Prs. xâm, Psht.  
ôm etc.

ha'mâl G "n. of a month". Prs.

ha'mâl M "pregnant". Prs.

ham'râ M, G, T "comrade, assistant".  
hamrâ yâx kan "hamrâ-itân nâra  
kun"; ba ham'râ-i 'yanika T "by  
means of the oak-wood". Prs.

Hu'marz G "n. of a vill. in Panjshir  
(Andreev: Vomarz)". Av. \*hu-ma-  
rza-?

ham'sâya G "neighbour". Prs.

hîm'zô G "churning". hîm'zô 'dhēman  
"we churn". Cf. Bal. hîz "a leather  
churn"?

'hanu P "earthquake". Ind., cf. Skr.  
hanu- "anything which destroys life",  
Khow. hon "inundation". V. zîlzila.

hâ G, T "yes". Hind.

hân M, G "a pass". 'hân gudari'man  
"let us cross the pass". Cf. Skr.  
sānu- "mountain ridge", Kalasha  
sōnn "mountain"? (In Kati 'paršî  
means "mountain" and "pass").

hîn M, G, T, D "blood". < Av. vohuni-  
cf. Orm. L. in, Psht. wîna etc. Gr.  
39, 43.

hîncâ'kôî G "dripping with blood, red".  
ruc'sâla-e lâl-e hîncâ'kôî 'tân-a "you  
have a cheek like a bloodred tulip".  
V. êak.

han'dam G "intimate friend". Prs.

Ha'nîfa G "n. of a man".

han'wâr T "completely, constantly". Prs.



heq'gas G "neighing of a horse". Pash.

G *hiq'gas*.

hu'pēr-: hu'pāt M, G, T "to dig out, drag away (*kandan*)". hu'pēriman M; hō'pērem G; hu'pēra T "may he pick (a fruit) (*mēwa bekana*)"; sdr 'ōspī hu'pāt T "dragged her from the horse (*az asp kand*)"; ne'hālān 'hupēren chl T "the shoots were dug up". Pash. S *ōpēr*-, L *opur*-.

har G, T "every". Prs.

har-: ha'rī G, T "to be lost". dāli-m ha'rī G "az pēs-um gum šud"; šū phōr . . . ha'ra T "one fruit is lost". Cf. Skr. *ṣṛ* "to run away" etc., Soghd. *xar*-, Kurd. *hār*- "to go".

hūr G "houri". Prs.

'harēi M, G, T "all, whatever". 'harēe-m ēc kūrā T "whatever I have done"; sa'bā 'harēe ka T "do whatever you like tomorrow"; az 'harēe pur'sāi ka'nan G "however much they ask". Prs.

harf G "word". Prs.

'harkī, 'harke G, T "everyone". 'chēn 'harke 'γus tar-ē G "everyone went to his house". Prs.

harkū "everywhere, wherever".

har'kāra T "wrestling-ground, ring". har'kāra tar da 'āya, ku'sti-ē 'ghit "he entered the ring and wrestled".

hai'rān G, T "astonished, perplexed". ba 'jān-e xu'kā hai'rān ū'sāhem T "I remained perplexed in my mind". Prs.

hēraŋ'gī T "in this manner". Cf. *kēraŋ'gī*.

hur'sī G "lattice veranda". Prs.

Hērāt G "Herat".

harw: hōt, har'wī (Gr. 200) M, G, T, D "to hear". har'weta-eman M "we are hearing"; mā yax hōt M "I heard a

sound"; har'wēto hēm D; 'ān-em 'harwētō G "I am hearing"; mun

'yax-ē hōt (har'wī) G "I heard his voice"; mā 'huss-an hōt (har'wī) "we all heard"; hōt yax-um hōt G "I heard seven voices"; 'agar mā 'mun tar har'wē G "if you listen to me"; harēe-a 'hatō G "whatever you have heard". < Av *har*-, *haurva*- "to observe", cf. Psht. *arwēdāl* "to hear".

ha'rēw- "to lose". pa'nān-e 'γusika-ē harē'wī "he lost his way home (*gum kaf*)". Cf. *har*-.

hus(š) (حوس, حوس) M, G, T, hōss D "all". hussī'nān "all of them" (هسينان). hōs mānešān D. Cf. *hu*-. Gr. 148.

hi'sāb, he'sāb M, G "account, reckoning, share". Prs.

'hāsel G "produce, crop (*hāsel, zamīn*)". Prs.

hast T "existence". Prs.

huš M, G, T "sense, consciousness" xu'kān-um huš-um āya M; šū mui hušī M "one hair of sense"; huš kan- "to take care". Prs.

hušk G "it dried up, withered" < Av. *huška*-. (Note Indo-Ir. \**sušta*- in Phl. Psalter *xwšty*, Kal. *šūsta*, Kati *štu*).

'hušku, 'huškō M, G, 'ō'skār(?) D "dry". šū 'ō'skār-a D "the clay is dry". Cf. *hušk*.

'hušše G, T "all three". Cf. *hu*-, *hus*.

huš'yār G, hu'sār D "wise". Prs.

hōt M, G, T, hōt, (hōt) D, P "7". < Av. *hapta*.

ha'tōs M, G, 'hattos P "17".

ha'wā G, T "air, desire". ha'wā-e šekāri- 'ka T "desire of hunting". Prs.

ha'wē, ha'wī, hē'wī M, G, T "this". Gr. 132.

hō'wī, ho'wī M, G, T "that". Gr. 132.

haweka'i G "having this much power".

haweka'i bin = hawegada'ri kor "she accomplished this much".

hōweka T "so much". V ho'wī; M. hega.

ha'wāl G, T "condition". Prs.

ha'wāla G, T "a cut, stroke". 'sōr-e e'dē tar ha'wāla kor T "he struck at his head". Prs.

hēwar G "husband's brother (hēwar)". Pl. hēwar(yar)'ān. Afgh.Prs., or genuine. hēwar rhymes with Psht. lēwar, Skr. devara- etc., but what has become of the d?

hawerang G "in this way". Cf. ha'wī. V. hēwēzail.

howerang, hōwerang T "in that way". Cf. hō'wī.

hu'wās: huwā'sī G "to scold (dān zadan)".

hēwaz T "instead of". hēwaz-e 'tā sōri'ka "instead of your head".

he'wyak G, T "this very" Gr. 133. Cf.

ha'wī. ho'wyak G, T (هوېک) "that very". Gr. 133. Cf. hō'wī.

hēwezail, hēzail G, T, hezal M "thus". tu xu hēzail na kan G; hēzal 'na kan M. V. zail.

ha'yā G "modesty". Prs.

hauz G "tank, lake". Prs.

hezā (هزا) G "anything". hēē + zā.

ha'zār G, T "1000". hōt a'zār "7000". Prs.

hāzer T "present, ready". Prs.

hažda M "18" Prs.

haž'dār M, T "snake". Prs. V. kirm.

hažnafa'ri G "military conscription".

Prs. hašt-nafari.

# J

jā(ī) G, T "place". jā ba jā "on the spot". Prs.

juba T "Friday". rūz-e juba. Prs. juma'.

jībak T "pocket". Prs.

Jabul Sa'rá T "Jabl-us-Siraj". Cf. Par'wān.

jaba'lak M, G "lightning". az'mán jaba'lak de'hi M. Cf. Pash. S. 'jabala(k). V. balk.

jabr G "power". Prs.

ja'bār G "powerful". Xu'dā-e ja'bār. Prs.

Ĵabra'il G "Gabriel".

Ĵādū G, T "sorcery, magic". Prs. Cf.

Ĵādū'e G "magic".

Ĵā'dā G, T "separated". 'sōr-ē-om ju'dā kor T "I cut off his head". Prs.

ju'dāi G, T "separation". Prs.

Ĵādū'gar G, T "sorcerer". Prs.

Ĵa'drān T "n. of a Pathan tribe". 'Maq-gal o Ĵadrā o Ĵā'jī; sō na'far za'ife 'Mangal o Ĵadrāni'ka.

Ĵaf- G "to bark". 'spō-a 'Ĵafetō "the dog barks". Prs., cf. Pash. S. Ĵaf.

Ĵī'gar M, 'Ĵigar T, D "liver". 'Ĵigar-um 'xūn kor T "I am angry". Prs. V. pa'pō.

Ĵāyu'ri G "having cartridges" (?). tofaŋ- 'gān-ē Ĵāyu'ri, dā'rū fōri'mān chī "their muskets had cartridges, they got plenty of powder".

Je'hān G "the world". Prs.

Ĵā'jī T "n. of a Pathan tribe".

ju'kēw- T "to move, shake". hež ju'kēwen na na'ri "he could not move it".

Cf. Shgh. Ĵuk- "to beat" (Zarubin)? V. jum'bēw.



- jāl* M, G, D "hair" (coll.). Pl. *jā'lān*.  
Hind. *jāl* "net" etc.? But cf. Pash.  
L. *čāl* "woman's hair".
- jāla* M, G, *žāla* D "hail". *jāla čha'rī*  
M, *žāla čhārtū* D. Prs. *žāla* (Badakhshi  
*jāla*, Madagl. *jōla*). V. *šenge'rī*.  
*jēlau* G, *jēla bā* T (? Phon.) "bridle". Prs.  
*jō'lā* D "weaver". Prs.  
*jūlē* G "shaking". *jūlē da'hem* "I  
shake". Prs. *jūlidan* "to be scat-  
tered". V. *jum'bēw*, *ju'kēw*.
- jō'lāk* M "spider". V. *jōlā*. Cf. *dīwu-*  
*rūk*, *ča'fak*.  
*žalāla'bād* T "Jalalabad".
- jēl'lāt* G, *jal'lāt* T "henchman". Prs.  
*jul'wā* G "splendid appearance". Prs.  
*jam* M, G, T "assembled, collected".  
*jam kuṛ*, *jam čhi*. Prs.  
*jāma* G "garment". Prs.  
*jum'bēw* G "to shake". *šōr-ē jum'bē'leī*  
"he shook his head". Prs. V. *jūlē*,  
*ju'kēw*.
- jumkī* G "ear-rings". *gū'ān tar-au* *jumkī*  
*sī*. Panj. *jhumkī*.
- jan-*: *jō* G, T "to beat (alarm etc.)", D  
"to kill". *gap janem* T, *nāra jō*  
T "shouted"; *čiq-ē jō* G "she beat  
alarm"; *ān-e ma tū janem* D "I  
kill you"; *tū ma mun čukun jantū*  
D; *jōm* "I killed"; *jantan astan*  
"mekustand". Nijrau acc. to G. —  
< Av. *jan-*. V. *mēr*.
- janō* G, T, *janu* D, *janwē* M "alive".  
< \**jwanta(ka)*, cf. Av. *jvan-*.
- jān* G, T "soul, self, body". *jān-um*  
G "my soul, beloved"; *jān-e xu'kān-*  
*au ham huš kan* G "take care of  
yourself also"; *jān-um te šu'nī-m* G  
"I bathe"; *ta'mām-e jānī'ka-i tā*  
*zānū* T "the whole of his body down  
to the knees". Prs.
- jīnē* M, G, T, *jīnj* P, *jīnc* (?) D "wife".  
*jīn-ē ba'rem* "I take a wife", *jīnčeka*  
*'xī-m* G "my wife's sister". \**janičē*,  
cf. Kohrud *jīnjē* etc., Zeb. *wujinjāk*.  
*žen'nad* T "Paradise". Prs.  
*je'nāsa* T "funeral". Prs.  
*janwē* v. *janō*.
- jāng* G, T "battle, war". *jaṅ tar* "to  
the battle". Prs.  
*jaṅ'gī* T "belonging to the war". *fauj-e*  
*jaṅ'gī*. Prs.
- jaṅ'jāi* G "battlefield". Prs.  
*jaṅgal* M, G, T, D "forest". *ma jaṅga-*  
*'lān-ē ka'fī* T "he cut down the  
trees". Prs.
- jar-* v. *jaṛ*.
- jār* G "neighbour". Prs. *ēl o jār*.
- jā'rū* M "broom". *jā'rū mā 'kantān* "I  
am sweeping". Prs. V. *rūy*.
- jīr* D "bow-string". < Av. *jyā*. V. *zē*.  
*jōr* v. *jōr*.
- jura* M "male child". *dī bālā paidā*  
*chēn*, *jura-in* "two children were  
born, they are boys". Prs.
- jur'yāt* M, G, *jur'yāt* M, *jur'yāt* D  
"curdled milk (*māst*)". Turki *juyrāt*,  
cf. Pash. S *jir'gūt*, L. *jō'yrāt*.
- jurm* G, T "crime, fine". Prs.
- jarma'nī* G "German rifle". *tō'fang-e*  
*jarma'nī*. Also Pash. L, cf. Pashto  
*jarmənai* "a Persian-gulf rifle".
- jēran* G "a red horse (*asp-i surx*)".  
Turk.
- jar'nēl* G "general". Engl.
- jaṛ-*: *ja'rī* (*jōr* ?) G, T, *jaṛ-*: *ja'rī* M,  
*jaṛ-*: *ja'rī* C "to say", *zā-e ja'rem*  
G "I say something"; *jaṛtōn-em* G  
"I am saying"; *mun ma 'tō zā ja'rī*  
G "I said something to you"; *mun*  
... *jaṛō bōn* "I had said". *ja'ren*  
G "to say" (Phon.); *jārto-im* M,

- 'mā ma 'tō ja'ri; 'tū ma 'mun ja'ri;  
'mā ma 'tō dāl ja'ri M "I said to you"; 'jartō hēm D, ja'rim D "I said"; hēē khīn . . . gap 'na jōr T "nobody said a word". < Av. gār- "to praise", Skr. jī- "to call out, address", cf. Psht. žarəl "to cry" (likewise with introduction of the *r* into the present stem).  
jōr G, jōr D, jōr M, G, T "well, in health, prepared, arranged". bāw-a jōr-ā? D "is your father well?"; wā jōr hēr? M; ma 'tō u'dhek pen 'jōr ka'nem G "I shall arrange between you and her". Ind., the form with *r* through Psht., the one with *r* through Prs. Cf. ga'rī.  
'jasta G, T "shoe (paizār)". Pl. ja'stān. Psht. jīsta "a shoe with high heels".  
juṭ G, T "concealed". 'juṭ-ē ka'nem; pa'juṭ "secretly". Hind. jhūṭ "falsehood, lie", Pash L. juṭī f. "thief". Cf. 'juṭī G "theft". pa 'juṭigu'rīm. Cf. ēū'rī. jāw- G "to chew". Prs.  
ju'wāp, ju'wāb M, G, T "answer". ju'wāp-a te da'hem T "I shall answer you", ju'wāib kōr T (Phon.). Prs.  
ju'wān M, G, T "young, a youth". Prs. Cf. 'bīlō.  
ju'wānī G "youth". Prs.  
jō'wārī M, G, ja'wārī D, jo'wār P "maize". Ind.  
jauza M "yoke". V. žūγ.

## K

- \*ka "who", in tu (k)ka'i T "who are you"; kā G (ka-ā) "who is it (kist)"; 'ka-yen G "who are they (kistān)". Gr. 142.

- kān M, G, T "whose". Gr. 142.  
kī M, G, T "who". Gr. 142.  
kō M, G, kō P, kō'γān (pl.?) D "roof, ceiling". \*kata-, Wkh. kūt, Ishk. kōs kud, Mj. yis-kig, Orm. ēhu (?).  
kū G, T, kūi M "where". puš-au kū ha? G "where is your son"; kūi para M "where are you going?". Cf. khānjāi. Gr. 150.  
ka'bi M, G, T "when". hēē ka'bi M "any time (hēē gašt)"; 'har ka'bi 'bē, 'dāda-m te ma 'mun 'mēra T "my father may kill me any time"; ka'bi 'āyē? M "when did you come?" Ind.?  
kūb- T "to beat a drum". na'γāra 'kūbi "mekūban" Prs.  
ka'bāp, ka'bāb G "roast meat". Prs.  
ka'būl kan- G "to approve". Prs.  
qabr G "tomb". Prs.  
kabur'γā M, G "ribs". Prs.  
qabri'stān G, karbe'stān M, G (xarbi'stān M) "graveyard". Prs.  
ka'būt G "blue". Prs. V. sauз.  
kabū'tar M, G, D "pigeon". Prs.  
kab'zai G "handle". Prs. qabza. V. de'stai.  
ka'čō M, G, ka'čō D "thorn, furze".  
'dhār tar ēi'mēm, 'pā tar-um 'kačō ma'čī G "I wandered in the hills and a thorn stung my foot". Ind.; Ashk. ka'čik, Waig. kāčik < Skr. kakṣa-.  
kačō'arak G "furze-gatherer".  
'kuča M "ram". Prs. quč, qōč "a horned fighting ram". V. ma'nōk, nē'rōk γa'rō.  
kūc G "wandering, marching (as a nomād)". 'γarp 'kūc 'āγa "an avalanche fell down". T "family (uštuk u puštuk)". Prs.  
'kučuk M, ku'čōk, G "dog". Cf. Badakhshi



*kūčūk* "puppy"; Orm. L *ku'čuk*. V. *e'spō*.  
*ku'čōk* G, T, *ku'čuk* P "span (*bilišt*)".  
*Taj. kučōk* "embrace, fathom". (Turk.).  
 V. *be'lišť*.  
*kačal* M, G, T "dirty, bad (*nābūt, xarāb*)".  
 Prs. *kačal* "one who has no hairs, and is marked with wounds or scars"?  
*ku'čēnd* M "from where". *šp-a kučēnd-a*  
*kor* "from where, have you brought the horse?"; *tu kučēnd-ē* "from where are you?". Cf. *kū, e'čēnd*. V. *ku'jēnd*.  
*kūca'nōk* M, G, T, D "knife". \**kṛtyana*?  
 Cf. Prs. *kārd*, Soghd. *kṛ'ynēh* etc.  
 Gr. 34, 57.  
*ka'čārī* G "court of justice (*hākimmīšīn*)".  
 Ind.  
*kačera'phōr* G "beans (*māš*)". Cf. Hi.  
*kačariyā* "a fruit used for pickling"?  
*qadd, kadd* G "stature, height". Prs.  
*'qadam* G, T "foot, step". *zū 'kadam*  
 "one step". Prs.  
*kaf* G "foam". Prs.  
*kaf* G "palm of the hand". Prs. Cf.  
*kaf-e dōst* M, D "id.". *kaf-e*  
*'pā* M "sole of the foot". Prs.  
*kaif*, G, T "intoxication". *'kaif-e xō*  
*ma'ka* T "captured by sleep";  
*'mende 'kaiw bur* T "he became senseless". Prs. *kaif*.  
*kāf'tek* M "a big kind of wasp". Cf.  
 Pash. S *kāf'tek*.  
*'kēftan* G "captain". Engl.  
*'kāyaz* G "letter". Prs.  
*kā'hī* D "throat". V. *ka'mā*.  
*khā-* M, G "to scratch". *'sōr-um 'khāem*  
 G, *khāitōn* M. Cf. Si. *khahi* "itch"?  
*khū* M, G, T "elevated, high". \**zāi 'khū*  
*kaniman* M; *'khū ka'nem* G "I lift";  
*sōr 'khū kō'r* T (Phon.). < Av. *kaofa-ʔ*  
*khūf* G "to cough". *'khūfem-ē* "sulfa

*mēkunam*", *khūftōn-em*. Cf. Ishk.  
*xofuk*, Yd. *kofah*, Mj. *xōfay*, Khov.  
*kopik*, Kurd. *kof, quf* (Soane), "cough",  
 Oss. *xufin* "to cough". V. *surfa*.  
*khū'fō* G "coughing".  
*khuj-* *khū'ji* G, T "to ask". *ma 'mun*  
*na khū'jōr* "do not ask me", *khū'ji*,  
*khō'ji* "asked". Par. S *kōej-*, *kūej-*, L  
*xoj-*, Shina *khōjōiki* etc.  
*khujēw-* *khujēwī* (کُیو) G, T, D "to ask"  
 (not causative). *khujēwem* G, T;  
*čā-m-ēr khujēwtan* T "why do you ask me?"; *ku'jētū-hem* D; *khujē'wī*  
 G "he asked".  
*kha'mōr* G "threshing". *kha'mur wa'hē*  
*wem*.  
*khan-* *kha'nī* M, G, T, D "to laugh".  
*'khāntā-eman* M "we are laughing";  
*'khāntō hēm* D "I am laughing" =  
*'ān-em 'khāntōn* G; *'khanem* G, *kha'nī*  
 M, G "he laughed". Cf. Prs. *xan-*  
*ḍidan*, Wkh. *kand-āk* etc., Ashk.  
*kōn* etc.  
*kha'nōi* G "laughing".  
*khān* G, T "which (*kudām*)". Gr. 143.  
*khāin* (کُیَایِن) M, G, T "which, some". *khāi zā-m te gasa* "čizī  
*mākanad-om*"; *hē yus khāenika* M  
 "this house belongs to somebody";  
*ma 'khāin-ē 'ēnem* G "I shall bring one of them". < Av. *katāma-*. Gr. 143, 145.  
*khān'jāi* (کُیَایَای) M, G, T "where, whence". *har khān'jāi* T "everywhere".  
*khin* (کُیَیِن) M, G, T "anybody". *heč khin* . . . *na* "nobody". *khin 'na para* G "let no one become . . .". Cf. Sāmnanī *kīn*? < \**kahya + nāʔ* (v. Gr. 145).

*'khandi* T "mountain, peak (tēγ)"- *Puddō-khandi* "Tēγ-i siyāh". Ind., cf. Shina (Dras) *khūy* "mountain", Torw. *khan*, Maiyā *khān*, Singales. *kanda* "hill".  
*'khānas* G "bellowing". *'gū-a 'khānas 'kantōn*. Cf. Pash. S *ānas*. V. *qōnas*.  
*khey* M "ground, soil", *khend* (ḡḡ?) G "cultivated field". Pash. L *khanq*.  
*khār*, *qhar* G, T (*khār* Phon.) "anger". Prs. *qahr*.  
*khōr* M, G, T, *khōr* D "donkey". *khōr kōr-a* G "the donkey is blind". Prob. genuine, cf. Av. *xara-* (Gr. 58 ff.), not borrr. from Pash. L *khār* etc.  
*khur* G "cave". Cf. Pash. S *khul* "ra-vine"? V. *'kurri*.  
*khurī* G, D "heel". Pash. L *khurī*. V. *pēs'pā*.  
*khōrā'buḡ* G "melon (*xarbuḡ*)". Translated from Prs. *xarbuḡ*. Cf.  
*khōrā'gū* G "hare". Prs. *xargōš*, Kurd. (Soane) *kerḡū*. V. *sa'ḥōk*, *xar'gōš*.  
*khe'rēw*- M, G "to pick up". *'kurγ-a 'dāna khe'rēwtūn* M "the hen picks grain"; *khere'wim* G. < \**xrāpaya*- (Greek *χρόμιον* "sickle". Lat. *carpo* etc.)? Gr. 59. V. *o'rēw*.  
*Kāhe'stān* G "the Kohistan of Kabul".  
*ku'jēnd* M "whence". *ha'wēi zī'nān-e ḡspikva ku'jēnd-ēn?* "from where are these saddles of the horses?"; *ēden-dhēk ḡspān ku'jēnd-ēn?* "hamī aspān az kujā astān?" V. *ku'cēnd*.  
*kaik* M, D "flea". Prs. V. *ruč*.  
*kā'ki* M, G "mother's brother (taγā'i)". Afgh. Prs. *kākā* "father's younger brother", Prs. *kāki* "aunt".  
*kūk* G "nail". *kū'kān-e āhe'nī* "iron nails". Ind., cf. Pash. S *ko'kū*, Lhd. *kōkā* "hobnail, tack" etc.

*Kaiku'bād* T "n. of a king, Qubād".  
*Kūi'kāf* G, T "Koh-i Qāf".  
*'kākul* G "lock, curl". Prs.  
*kāku'li* T "having curls".  
*kal* P, *'kala* T "head". *'kala ān 'āwuyō* T. Prs., V. *sōr*, *pēška'lā*.  
*kal* M, G, T "bald". Prs.  
*kā'lā* T, *ka'lā* G "house, fort". *hōt ka'lā da'rūntar* T "inside seven castles". Prs. Cf. Andreas, DL 1928, 2257.  
*kāl* T "flight". *'Mahmad Ha'nifa 'hājes zī 'kāl-a "gūwat-iš kam ast, ājes āmad, hālī kāl-iš ast"*. Prs. *kāl* "flight".  
*kāl* G "time". Ind.  
*Kāl-e Ar'zān* G "n. of a place".  
*kā'lā* M, G, T "dress, clothes". *kā'lān-e xā'ka-m* T "my husband's clothes". Prs.  
*kāl* M, G "valley". Turki?  
*ku'lā* M "cap". Prs. V. *kūr*.  
*ku'l'ba* M "plough". *ku'l'ba bariman*. Prs. V. *mē'āw*.  
*kel'i'dak* M "jaw-bone". Pash. S *kilidak*.  
*kulf* G "lock (kulf)". Prs. *qufl*.  
*kala'gū da'nān* G "front tooth".  
*kilī'γāšt* G "key". Cf. Prs. *kilī(ā)*.  
*\*kālāja* T "the upper part of the arm". *e'dā 'hudde kālā'jānī āle'si* "he seized both his upper-arms".  
*'kilk rušt* D "little finger". Afgh. Prs.  
*kilk* "(little) finger". Pash. S *kelk* "finger", Afgh. Prs. *kilk* "reed".  
*ka'lālī* M "earthen jar". Prs. < Ind. *kalāl* "potter".  
*kull* M, G, T "all". Prs.  
*kull* M, G "blunt". Prs. *kall* "being blunt" (or *kul* "crooked, defective"?).  
*ka'lam* M, G, T "pen". Once = *lāwəγ* T. Prs.  
*'kālīn*, M, *kā'ltīnā* D "knitted carpet". Prs. V. *pa'lās*.



- ka'land, v. ku'lang.  
 ka'lân'fâr G "a kind of perfume". Prs.  
 qaranful "clove, gilly flower", Turki  
 kalampur etc. < Gr. καρποφύλλον.  
 ku'lang M, G "crane". Prs.  
 ku'lang M, D, ka'land G "mattock, pick-  
 axe". Prs. kulang, kaland.  
 ka'mâ M, G "throat". umr-e kama'i-  
 om G "the life of my throat (umr-i  
 gulû)". Cf. Psht. dial. kûmai "Adam's  
 apple" (EVP. s.v.). Cf.  
 kâm M, G, D "palate". Prs.  
 kôm T "tribe". tû 'kôm-e ma'nân-ê. Prs.  
 kam'cîn G "whip". Prs.  
 kûmai'dân B "commandant". dî pu'sâ  
 kûmai'dânâ. Psht. komaidân. Engl.?  
 kai'mâk G, D "cream". Prs., Turk., cf.  
 Shgh. kai'môxê, Khov. xombox etc.  
 ku'mak T "help, assistance (kumakguyd,  
 yârî dâdan)". Prs. Cf.  
 kuma'kî T "assistance, the reserve of  
 an army". tû kuma'kî e'dân-a kor  
 "tu kumakî ira kadî"; kuma'kî (-i-i)  
 wazîrî'ka chî "the reserves of the  
 vazir went off". Prs.  
 ka'mâl G "perfection". Prs.  
 ka'mân T "how". Prs. Cf. yu'lak.  
 ka'mân-i 'Rustam G "rainbow". ka-  
 'mân-i Rustam cha'rî. Prs.  
 ka'mand G, T "halter, lasso". a'brôân-au  
 ka'mand-a. Prs.  
 ka'mand G "stable". mē ka'mand dar  
 'āya, 'sail-ē kuy ma ô'spâ, "she ent-  
 ered the stable and looked at the  
 horses". Pash. L kamand.  
 kamân'dâr T "archer". Prs.  
 ka'mar T "rock". kama'rî cha'rî. Prs.  
 kamar'band G "belt". Prs.  
 kîma'tî G "dear, expensive". Prs.  
 kan-; kuy, kôr M, G, T, D (kuy, kôr Phon.)  
 "to do". kan'tô-em G "I am doing";

- kan, kâ'n), pl. ka'nôr "do"; ku'rô  
 (کرو) "has done", 'kuyâ bôn "had  
 done". Av. kərənaw-: kərətā.  
 'kânô G, kôn D, kânû P "blind". Ind.,  
 cf. Khov. kânu, Ashk. kārā etc. (v.  
 Rep. p. 25). V. kôr.  
 'kōna M, G, D "ancient, old". Prs.  
 kun M, G, T, D postpos. "to, for". Gr.  
 96. Ind., cf. Sl. kan "to, for" etc.,  
 Pash. L kan "to", Waig. ken dat.  
 suff. < Skr. karṇe.  
 kanč'a'nî M "harlot". Ind.  
 qand, qan G "sugar". Prs.  
 'kunda G "stocks for offenders". Prs.  
 ken'yâla T "bride (nâmzât)". Taj. kîn-  
 gol'a "betrothal", Prs. kanyâla  
 "filiam poscere". Cf. Psht. çanyol  
 "betrothed" (EVP. s.v.).  
 kunj T "corner". 'kunj-e butzâna'ka  
 tar "in a corner of the temple". Prs.  
 ke'nâra T "side, edge". wâ ke'nâra bôr  
 "you must stand aside". Prs.  
 ka'nîz G "girl". Prs.  
 'qâpçî T "doorkeeper". Turk.  
 'kô'pân (pl.?) G "hump". Cf. Shgh.  
 kûfôn, Rosh. k'upôn (Zarubin); Pash.  
 L 'kôpê.  
 'kârî M, G, T "clean, good". 'kârî  
 hōwyak-a G "that is better"; kârî'ân  
 kun na'zar kan G "look at her beau-  
 ties". Afgh. Prs.  
 kër M, G, T, kîr D "work, business".  
 êe kër dērê M "êi kâr dârî". < Av.  
 kairya.  
 ke'râ G "hire". ke'râ ka'nem. Prs.  
 kôr M, T "blind". Prs. V. 'kânô, bî'teč.  
 ka'rib G "near". Prs. V. nêz'dik.  
 Kara'bâç G, Kâlâ'bâç T "n. of a place".  
 qur'bân T "sacrifice". pa'ram qur'bân-e  
 'nâm-au "qurbân-it mēšom". Prs.  
 karbe'stân v. qabri'stân.

'kōrdi M "root", kōrd G "watering basin round the root of a tree". Cf. Kati kōr'ū?

kār'i'gī G, T "goodness, beauty". ba kār'i'gī ma 'gū dū'ēi G "did he milk the cow well?"; az kār'i'gī T "on account of his beauty". Cf. 'kārī.

kar'gas M "vulture". Prs.

kur' M, G, T, D, P "hen". Cf. Prs. karg, Psht. cīrg (m.) Shgh. cāš (šūš m.) etc.

'kur'ē 'dhārī G "wild hen".

'kur'ē ā'uī G "duck". V. mur'ā'wī.

kirm M, D "snake", P "worm". Prs. V. haš'dār. Cf.

kīr'māk M "worm".

kurma T "hash, lobscouse". Lhd. kormā "cooked meat, curry".

kōrma'hī G "a kind of uneatable fish". Prs.

kī'rān T "half rupee, kran". Prs. V. rhuš.

qu'rān G "Koran, oath". 'tu ba qu'rān 'dēre "you have sworn on the Koran". Prs.

'kērangī T "in what manner". ma ma'nā 'xā 'kērangī ku'rō? What have you done with my husband?". Pash. L. 'kērang. Cf. hērangī.

kār'nāil G "colonel". Engl.

karr M, G "deaf". Prs. V. 'būru, bī'gū.

kur'rā M, G, 'kurra D "colt". Prs.

'kurri T "ravine (šikāf)". V. khur.

ka'rār G, T "quiet, resting". yarp o yār ka'rār koḡ G "it stopped snowing and raining"; ka'rārehā-ē ma dharam-ē ūnt T "he slowly brought her down to the ground"; as ka'rārī 'slowly'. Prs.

kur'ti M, kur'tin G, D "jacket". Prs.

ku'rūt "dried curds (kurūt)". Prs.

kar'waš G "lizard". V. šī'lānq.

kōr M, G "stick, fire-wood". ha'wē kōr-īman mā 'xār 'kantan M "we are breaking this stick". Pash. L. kō'ra "tree". Cf. kōrdi?

kuḡ G, D "cap". Cf. Av. kərati- "n. of a piece of dress"? Cf. Kati kuḡ "cap". But v. NShgh., 41<sup>2</sup>. V. kulā.

kōrd v. 'kōrdi.

ko'rīn G "wooden". V. kōr.

quḡ T "destroyed, cut into pieces". ma 'puš-om-ē 'quḡ ku'rō "he has destroyed my son (xurā-iš kat)"; quḡ kan'tō "mēxurt". Prs. qart "slicing in pieces"? Cf. Psht. qurt kāyī "gravel, fragments of stone".

kasaba'ka D "tortoise", cf. Turki qablubaga "Kröte die eine Hülle hat" (Vambéry) cf. Ar. kisā' "garment", kasa' "putting on of clothes".

ka'sāyan D "bedding". Cf. Pash. L. ka'sāyan "id." Cf. the preceding word? V. wīra'nō.

'qasam G, T "oath". 'qasam-ē xūr. Prs.

'Qāsem T "n. of a man".

kāsr G "castle". Prs.

kā'sūr T "γōr" (f). kā'sūr-om ba'dhek 'dālī gu'rīm • let me now take from him my...".

kausa'rā M, G "shoe". mā kausa'rā ghīt M "I have bought shoes". Prs.

kafš, kauš, Pash. Nir. kōšarā. V. pai'zār.

'qissa, 'qessa, 'kissa G, T "tale". Prs.

qessa'xān T "reciter of tales". Prs.

qast T "intention (mudā)". Prs. qasḡ.

kāset G, T "messenger". Prs.

ku'sēw- G (Nijr.) "to dig".

kaš kan- G, T "to pull, stretch, contract". Prs. kašīdan.

kāš P "eyebrow". < Av. karša- "furrow". V. a'brō.



- kāša'gū* M, G, *kāša'gū* D, *kaša'gū* P  
 "bullock". Cf. "*kāšghau* Yag, in  
 Badakhshān und Pāmīr" (Tom. 764),  
 Shgh. *zuš-gōw* "bullock" (Zar.).  
*'kaštē* M, G, T, D (کشت, کشته) "girl".  
 < \**kaništākt*, Skr. *kanisthā*, cf. Av.  
*kaini* etc., Psht. *čan-yōl*. Minj. *kiñ'tika*.  
 Wkh. *kōnd* prob. also belongs to this  
 stem, not to that of Skr. *kāntā* (Tom.).  
*'kešta* M "field, cultivation". Prs.  
*ke'sti* T "boat". Prs.  
*'kušta* T "killed". In: as *'kušta ku'stān*  
*kor*, as *'pušta pu'sta* "they made  
 killed of the killed and a plain of the  
 plain"; i. e. "they slaughtered com-  
 pletely". Prs.  
*ku'sti* T "wrestling". *ku'sti 'gurīman*  
 "let us wrestle". Prs.  
*kaštē'āk* G (کشته‌اوک) "a small girl".  
 V. *'kaštē*.  
*ka'sēw-* G, T "to sigh, yawn". *'fāza-m*  
*kašē'wī* G "I yawned"; *'zur tar-om*  
*'ā* *ka'sēwī* T "I sighed "oh" in my  
 heart". V. *kaš kan-*. Cf. Prs. *āh*  
*kašidan* "to fetch a sigh".  
*'kōšxāna* T "guest-room (*kūšk*)". Taj.  
*kuš-xona* "house with a single room".  
*ka(i)'ti* G "scissors". *γa'rō kai'ti ka'nem*.  
 Prs. *kaičī* + Panj. *kati*?  
*'qāti* M "famine". Prs.  
*ki'tāb* M, G, T "book". Prs.  
*ku'tal* P "pass". Prs.  
*kai'tān* G "band of a shirt".  
*'qāter* G "mule". Prs.  
*ka'tex* G, P "cheese". Prs. *qatiq* "butter-  
 milk"; Pash. D *xatek, xatak* "salted,  
 hard cheese". V. *pa'nir*.  
*kaṭ* D "bed". Ind., e. g. Pash. L *kaṭ*.  
 V. *čār'pāi*.  
*kaṭ-* *ka'fi* M, G, T, D "to cut". *šū*  
*tī eman kaṭetan* M "we are felling a

- tree"; *ka'fīto hēm* D; *tū'yān-āw-um*  
*ka'fi* T "I paid the price for you  
 (*tōi burridam, xilās kadām*)". Ind.,  
 Pash. S *kaṭ* etc.  
*kuṭ-* *kuṭi* M, G "to crush". *o'γur tar-um*  
*ku'fi* G "I crushed it in a mortar".  
 Lhd. *kuṭṭay* "to beat, pound" etc.  
*kōṭ* M "short" \**kōt*, Prs. *koṭāh*? V.  
*'yanukō, 'luṇḡu*.  
 \**kuṭur* v. *'lunč-e kuṭuri'ka*.  
*'kaṭṭō* G, T "old". Ind., cf. Panj. *kaṭṭhā*  
 "hard" etc.?  
*kaṭ'fōi* G "old age". *mau'sum-e ka'fōiy-au*.  
*kuṭ'fō* G "lame". Pash. L *ku'fa* etc.  
 V. *šočču*.  
*kaṭṭa'bāw* D "grandfather". V. *'bābā*.  
*'kāwun* G "in some direction or other  
 (*kudām taraf*)", *'kāwanō* (کوانو) T  
 "in which direction (*kudām sun*)".  
 V. *wanō*.  
*ka'wār* D, P "mouse". Pash. L *kau'ra*  
 "rat". V. *ba'lūp*.  
*ka'wēr-* G "to scrape, scratch".  
*'qūwat* G, T "power, strength". *'qūwat*  
*kun 'ham xu na 'čhī* T "neither of  
 them overpowered the other (*ba qūwat*  
*na šud*)". Prs.  
*qūwat'dār* G "powerful". Prs.  
*qūwat'nāk* G "powerful". Prs.  
*kāz* M, G, T, D "shirt". Cf. Pash. L  
*xās*?  
*qāzī* G, T "judge". Prs.  
*kīza'rē* G "milking-pail (*kūza, gaudōša*)".  
 Cf. Pash. L *kūza'rē*, Orm. L *kuz'li*.

## L

- lab* G, T "lip". In: *lab-e kha'nō* G; *lab-e*  
*zī* T "the banks of the stream". Prs.  
*lauč* M, G, *'lauč* D "lip (the usual word)".

lau'cân-um Phon. (لوان): lapē G (poetical). Prs.  
 luē M, G, T, D "naked". luē kan-Ṭ "to rob"; sēlā'bân-an 'luē 'āyēn T "they came with drawn swords". Prs.  
 lēf G, T "bedclothes". lēf-a 'tāl-a kuṛḍ? G "have you hung up the bedclothes?". Prs. liḥāf, Badakhshi lēf.  
 lag- "to stick to, strike". 'bānḍ-e 'eṣq-au ma 'mun la'gḍ G "the arrow of your love has struck me". Ind.  
 la'gēw- M, D "to lit a fire". āṛḥ lagēiman M, rhine-m lagētū (\*lagēsetū) D "I am lighting the fire". V. lag-.  
 La'yak G "n. of a place".  
 'lāyar M, G "lean". Prs.  
 lhanḍ (لھنډ) G "slippery (laṣnī)". Cf. Prs. laṣn "smooth, slippery" < \*(h)laxṣna-; laxṣidan; laṣṣidan "to slip, slide" < \*(h)laxṣ-, (h)lagṣ- < \*slegh-s(k)- cf. Bal. laṣṣay "to slip."  
 lḥās G "finished (xilās)". lḥās cemtō "(the mulberries) are finished". Derivation from \*xlās < Prs. xilās is phonetically improbable.  
 lejḡ-: lej'jī G "to be ashamed". lejḡe- 'tōn-em. Ind., cf. Pash. L laj-.  
 lejḡa'nāk G "bashful".  
 la'jām M, G "bridle". Prs.  
 lak G, T "a lakh, 100,000". 'ṣu llak T, dōz lak si'pāi T. Prs. < Ind.  
 'laklak M "stork". Prs.  
 lāl G "ruby". Prs.  
 'lāla G "tulip". Prs.  
 'lāla T "elder brother". Afgh. Prs.  
 lāl'tāq G "a kind of flower". Prs.  
 lāl + tāq?  
 lāla'zār G "tulip-bed". Prs.  
 lam in lam dah- M, G, T, D "to place,

permit (māndan)". ki'tāb sō 'mēz 'lām da M "put the book on the table"; badḥek-iman k° s° m° lām dhaitan M; lam da'hēm G, D; 'lam-um dā G; ma 'mun-en na 'lam 'dhaitan G "they do not allow me". kuṣa'nḍk mēx tar 'lām da M "hang the knife on the peg". Cf. la'mḍ. V. ēcēw-, yuh-  
 la'mḍ M, G "hanging". ēi'rāy la'mḍ-a. Ind., Skr. lamb- "to hang down" etc. Cf.  
 la'mēw- M, G "to hang up". ēkī zā la'mēw M "hang up this thing"; lamēwḍ'a G "āwē'zan kada'gī-s".  
 la'in G "accursed". šai'tān-e la'in. Prs.  
 'lunḍ-e kuṭuri'ka M "podex". Prs. lunj "cheek, inside of the cheek"?  
 lang D "lame". Prs. V. 'šōcēū.  
 legg G "leg". Prs.  
 'luggī H "scarf, lungie". Ind.  
 langō'fa M, G "turban". Hind. etc.  
 langō'fā "loin-cloth".  
 lāy'qā G, luy'qā M "stout, corpulent". V. cāk.  
 'lunḡu D "short, narrow". Hind. lunḡā "taileropped, stripped", Psht. lw. laṇḡ "curt, stumpy, short".  
 'Lārom T "n. of a pass near Shutul".  
 larz- G "to tremble". Prs.  
 lar'zēw- G "to make tremble". lar'zēwtōn-um-a "mēlarzānad-um".  
 le'rē G "boy" (said to be a Pachaghani word). 'cīnḍ le'rē 'pē-a 'xartōn "the small boy drinks milk".  
 lūr-: lūr'i G, T "to seek, search for (pāidan, gaṣtan)". 'lūr'tōn-em T "mēpālom"; 'mā 'la'mām lu'rī G. Hind. loṛhnā "to seek".  
 līs-: lušt M, G "to lick". 'īsem-e, 'lušt-um-ē G. Cf. Prs. lēs: līst. Prob. genuine, v. Gr. 70.



- la'sēw- M, G, T "to untie". na'γōn-ē  
 pu'fi lasē'wī T "he took down the  
 bread from his back".  
 leš- M, in 'lawā le'sim "I have fever".  
 V. tau.  
 'laškar G, T "army". Prs.  
 lušt v. lis.  
 lata'i G "rag". Panj. lattā etc.  
 lūta'ki M "ear of maize".  
 la'wak- "to flee". G 'hākim o 'maṛdum  
 ham lawa'ki "the governor and the  
 people fled".  
 'lucōn M, G, 'lucō M, 'liōn D, P "clarified  
 butter (rōḡan)". < Pash. \*lucan  
 < \*grīwan (Pash. L lōu), cf. Waig.  
 grawū, grāwa, Skr. ghytavat.  
 'lāwēr, lā'wēr M, lā'wēr G, 'lāwēr T  
 "membrum virile". Pash. S, L lay-  
 (g)ūn "membrum virile", Pash. L laurī  
 "rod"? Cf. Orm. L. laur'a "scrotum".  
 lauz G "language". ōst ... lauz-e Pa'rūcī  
 ... sa'bak ni'sā dhaitōn "he was  
 teaching the P. language". Prs.  
 laš- G "to slip, slide". Prs. V. lhand.  
 'lāyaq M, G "deserving". Prs.  
 lāza (لِزَا) G "a moment, while", Prs.

## M

- ma M, G, T, D prefix denoting the acc.  
 etc. Gr. 86.  
 mai G "wine". Prs.  
 mā M, G, T "we". Gr. 113.  
 mā G "mother". Av. mātar-. V. ā'i,  
 mācī, 'māma.  
 mūi M "hair". In the expression šū  
 mūi huṣī "one hair of sense". Prs.  
 ma'bōr G, T "outside". V. ma, bōr.  
 mu'bārak G "fortunate". Prs.  
 maē: ma'cī G, T "to cut, hurt, stick".

- 'pā tar-um 'kačēō ma'cī "a thorn  
 wounded my foot (xalid)"; sōr tar-ē  
 ma'cī "he struck his head"; šū tar  
 ma'cī T "stuck in the mud (dar gil  
 xalid)". Hind. macānā "to stir up,  
 excite" etc.?  
 ma'cī M, G, T "a kiss". 'gure ma'cī G  
 "take a kiss". Hind. macchī, Psht.  
 mača, Pash. S ma'cī.  
 'mācī M, G "mother". V. mā, 'māma.  
 mū'cō M, G, mūcā C, 'mūcō P, mū'cō D  
 "ant". < \*marwīcaka-, cf. Prs. mōrcā,  
 W.Oss. muljug etc.  
 maida M, G "crushed". wārun-em  
 'xēra tar 'maida kantōn M "I grind  
 the flour at the mill"; mušt pen  
 maida kanem M "I crush with the  
 fist"; wārun-a 'maida 'kantōn G;  
 wārun-um 'xēra tar 'maida koṛ G.  
 Prs.  
 māda M, G, mā- D "female". 'māda  
 γa'sō G (v. māda'gū, mādaku'cōk).  
 Prs. V. šī'cak.  
 muda'i G "enemy". Prs., cf. Pash. L  
 munda'i.  
 mu'dā G "at once when" (?) mu'dā hē  
 ga'pān-ē . . . . ja'rō bōn "instantly  
 when she had said these words" (?).  
 Prs. muddah.  
 mu'dā G, T "intention, desire (maxsad)".  
 cī mu'dā dērē? T, ba mu'dā kan T.  
 Prs. muda'ā.  
 māda'gū G, mā'gū D, P "cow".  
 mādaku'cōk G "bitch".  
 mad'lab G "purpose". Prs.  
 mu'dām M, G, T "always". Prs.  
 madi'āna M, 'mādiān P "mare". Prs.  
 V. šī'cak šp.  
 mai'dān G, T, D "plain". Prs.  
 'moṛēb G "a barber". Prob. a qom  
 (: barber and minstrel in one person)

is meant. Prs. *muṣṭrib* "a musician, singer".

*ma'gam* G, T "possibly, unless (*magar*)".

*ma'gam* ē *ma'ēḏ* 'phērē G "possibly you will be turned into a fish".  
*ma'gam tu pa'ra ta'bīpe ma'nā* G  
 "if you do not become my physician".

Prs. *magar*?

*Muṣ'bil*, *Muq'bil* T "n. of a man".

*moyo'rūk* D "sheep". V. *ya'rō*.

*ma'yaš* D, P "fly". Cf. Prs. *ma'gas*.

*ma'yz* G "kernel". *deḏika ma'yz* "walnut kernel". Prob. borr. from Prs. *ma'yz*.

*mayz-e sōri'ka* M, G "brain".

*mā'hī* D "fish". Prs. V. *masō*.

*mē'hī* M, G, T (میهی) "mouth". \**māhika*, cf. Orm. *māi*, Psht. *spōḷ-māi* "moon", W.Oss. *māyā* "moon, month", Prs. *māk* etc. V. *ma'hōk*.

*mēhīn* T "monthly, of a month". *zu mēhīn-a* "he is one month old".

*maha'bat* G "love". Prs.

\**mahačiči?* *sō bōre mahačiči-ka-i šu 'kala-i āwīzān-a* T (Phon.), *'kunj-e 'mahačiči, kunj-e butzānāv'ka* T (Phon.). The word is repeated three times and is quite distinct. It seems to mean something like "castle, fort".

*ma'hak, mhak* G "straight to, at, towards that, exactly there" (?). *mahak dha-ram tar* "to the ground there (*da hamū zamīn: dūr*)" (but: *ha'wī dharam tar* "to the ground here, *da hamī zamīn: nezdik*"); *mhak dāl xā tar-ē* "dar hamū pēš-e šū-iš"; *mahak dha'ram tar-ē dhī; deḥī mahak xīṭ tar-e bi'yā*. Prob. *ma* + *hak*, cf. 133.

*ma'hōk* M, G, *ma'hōk*, D, P "moon".

*ma'hōk āle'si* M, *ma'hōk gu'rīn ēš* D

"the moon was eclipsed". Cf. *mēhī*.

< \**maha-*? Cf. Khorasan Kurd. *mehak* "month".

*'mhākam, maha'gam, maha'kām* G, T

(مُحْكَم) "forcibly". *'mhākam-ē 'āleš*

"*mākām bigir-iš*". Prs.

*mhō'lāt* G, *mūlat* T "respite, delay".

Prs. *muhlat*, cf. Bal. *mholat*.

*'Mahmad, 'Māmad Ha'nīfa 'Sāheb* T

"n. of a person".

*Mah'mūd, Mā'mūd, Mhāmūd* G "n. of a person".

*mēh'mān, mhe'mān*, G, T, *mē'mān* M, G

"guest". Prs. V. *mēmā'nī*.

*ma'hīn* G "fine, thin, a small grain of rice (*berenj-i mahīn*)". Prs.

*'meher* G "love". Prs.

*mehra'bānī* G "friendliness". Prs.

*'mhētar* G "groom". Prs. *mihtar*.

*mu'jā* M, *me'zā* G, *me'jān* pl. T "wimpers". Prs. *miža, muža* (Taj. *miža*, Pash. S lw. *mižū*, Bad. *muža*). Prob. all the Par. forms are borr.

*'majma* G "a dish, plate (*yurī*)". Prs.

*mu'j'rā* G "reward". Prs.

*mā'khān* M, G, T "our". Gr. 113.

*ma'khār* (مقهر) G "in the middle of (*ma'yz-i, mābain*). *ma'khār-e dar'yā pa'rā*. Prs. *muqhar* "subdued, defeated"?

*ma'kān* G "dirt" (?) *ma'kānān 'astarōr* sweep away the dirt". Or: "sweep the house", cf. Prs. *makān*?

*makān-rūya'kān* (pl.) G "sweepers".

*Makkatul'lā* T "Mekka".

*makr* T "fraud". Prs. \*

*Maqet, Maqed* T "n. of a warrior".

*Mu'qātel* T "n. of a king".

*'maīla* G "festival, fair (*mēla, jašna*)".

Ind.



- māl* M, G, T "property, cattle". Prs.  
*ma'lak* G "movement". *ma'lak xūr*  
 "he moved". Prs. *malaq*, "canter,  
 gallop".  
*ma'lek* G "headman of a village". Prs.  
*mulk* M, G, T "country". Prs.  
*ma'lāik* T "angel". Pl. *malāikān*. Prs.  
*malā'ik* pl.  
*'mullā* G, T "mulla". Prs.  
*mā'lūm* G, T "known". *mā'lūm kan*.  
 Prs.  
*ma'lāmat* G "reproof". Prs.  
*'mūlat* T "delay". V. *mhōlat*.  
*ma'lax* M, G, P "grashopper". Prs.  
*mē'lēw-* G "to plough". *jōwāri-īman*  
*mē'lēwtan*.  
*'māma* M, G, T "mother". Pash. S *mā'mā*.  
 Cf. *ā'i*, *'māsi*.  
*mīm* G "the letter m". Prs.  
*mēmā'nī* G "feast". Prs. V. *meh'mān*.  
*mā'mūr* T "engaged in" (?). *mardu'mān*  
*mā'mūr chēm* 'yūs o pu'lāu 'kurma  
 tar "the people were engaged in  
 eating meat and pillau and hash".  
 Prs. *ma'mūr* "fixed, determined".  
*mu'maiz*, *muba'iz*, *mu'bayaz* G "umpire,  
 judge". Prs. *mumayiz*.  
*ma'nā* G "starling". Ind.  
*mēn* M, G, T, D "waist". Prob. < Av.  
*maibya-na-*, cf. Sak. *myāna-*. Prs.  
*miyān*, Luri *min* etc. Cf. however  
 Shgh. *mēnd* "waist-band" etc. Gr. 57.  
 Cf.  
*mēn*, *mē* M, G, T "within, among". Gr.  
 220.  
*mun* etc. M, G, T, D "me". < Av. *mana*.  
 Gr. 112. \*  
*'mānda* G "left, remaining; tired". *yū'lū*  
*'mānda chēm*. Prs. (Cf. semasiologi-  
 cally Ishk. *frinduk* "tired": *frin*  
 "he remained" < \**wi-ri-na-*; Wkh.

- warexk* "tired": *warecñ* "to remain";  
 Si. *virō-*: *virto* "to be wearied".  
*'mendē* M, G, T "this" (acc.). Gr. 128.  
*'mundē* M, G, T, *mōnde* G, T "that".  
 \* *mandān* pl. D. Gr. 131.  
*men'dhēk* G, T "this very (*hamī*)". Gr. 135.  
*mun'dhēk* G, T "that very (*hamū*)". Gr.  
 135.  
*mā'endar* G "stepmother" (*mādarandar*,  
*ambāy*). Par. *mā* + Prs. *mādandar*.  
*'mindūt* D, P "apricot". Cf. Orm. K  
*matat*. V. *zar'dālū*.  
*ma'nōk* G, D "ram" < \**maišna-*? V.  
*'kuca*, *nē'rōk* *γa'rō*.  
*ma'nān* M, G, T "my". Gr. 112.  
*min'nat* M, *'mennat* G "entreating".  
 Prs.  
*mu'nāsib* M "fit, proper". Prs.  
*'māneš* G, T, *'māniš*, *'māneš* D, P "man  
 (homo)". Ind., cf. Waig. *ma'naš* etc.,  
 but Pash. *ādam*. V. *ādam*.  
*manša'hūr* (منشهور) G "famous". Prs.  
*mašhūr*.  
*menth-* M, G "to smear, rub, wipe".  
*li'wōn-em* *'menthetūn* M "I smear  
 with fat"; *dōs'māl pen-em ara'qān-*  
*um* *'menthetūn* (*a'stārtūn*) M "I wipe  
 away the sweat with my handker-  
 chief"; *'menthemān* M "bumālim";  
*'menthem-e* G. Gr. 61; cf. Wkh.  
*mandāk*, Waz. Psht. (*kṣē*)-*mandəl* "to  
 shampoo"; Si. *manan* "to sham-  
 poo", Shina *manoiki* "to rub" etc.  
 But Hi. *mādnā* "to rub, knead" etc.  
 < *myd*.  
*man'yār* G "mist, fog". Taj., cf. Shgh.  
*manyār* "steam".  
*may'dō* M, G (Phon. *may'du-m*), *may'dō*  
 D, *man'dō* T (مند) "neck". Ind.,  
 Pash. L *manda*, Ō *man'dō*, Ashk.

- man'dā, Welsh Gypsy mend (Si. mañi "vertebrae of the neck"?).
- muṇḍa'rān M, G "thigh", Cf. Pash. Sh. muṇḍa'rān. V. rān.
- 'Maṅgal T "n. of a tribe".
- maṅ'gīr G, T (maṅ'gīr, 'mōgīr Phon.) "occupied, engaged". maṅ'gīr-em T "kār dāram".
- mer-: muṛ (مر) M, G, T, D "to die". howi ādam-a 'mertān M; fə'lānī muṛ M, G, 'mērem-e M, G, D. < \*mrya-, Av. mrya- etc.
- mēr-: māt (میر: مات) M, G, T "to kill". 'mā 'mendē 'ādam 'mēriman M "we kill this man"; hē 'ādam 'mē'ren chī M "this man was killed"; 'mendē ādam-an māt M "they killed this man"; mērtōn-ē-a G "he is killing him"; mērtan astan G 'mekuštand"; ma bi'yā-e ma'nā cū'rān 'mātō T "the thieves have killed my brother". < \*māraya-: \*marxta- (cf. Av. marək- "to kill", Orm. māk "withered" = 'mātō < \*marxtaka-). V. jan-.
- mē'rō G "death".
- mu'rā-i puṭ M "spine". Cf. Pash. S. murupūšt.
- \*murō G "ant". murō-i sur'khō "red ant"; murō-i 'paddō "black ant". Prs. V. mūrēō.
- mur'cē M, G "sparrow". < mrya-ē, Av. mērəya-, Prs. mury "bird"; Psht. muryāi, Orm. K mīrgā, Ishk. muryuk "sparrow".
- mur'cāl T "breastwork (saggar)". Prs.
- mu'rād G "aim, desired object". Prs.
- 'mardum, maṛdum G, T also maṛ'dām "people". šēr za'hī dāl maṛ'dām, 'mardum ja'rī: xub ker-ā T "the lion came to the people; people said: it is a good deed". Prs.
- mur'yāwī M, D, muryā'wī T "duck". Prs. V. kury-e ā'wī.
- maryu'zār G, T "meadow". Prs.
- 'maruk M, G "a kind of pea (mušung)". Cf. Pash. S. maxāk V. "mašung"? mar'kaḍ G "sepulchre, pilgrimage (ziyā-rat)". Prs. marqad "sepulchre".
- Mī'rān T "n. of a man".
- Mīrasan T "n. of a man".
- Mar'zī G "n. of a place".
- Mir'zā T "n. of a man".
- Mir'zā G "a nobleman, mirza". Prs.
- maṛ- M "to smear" (?). šū maṛimān "let us smear it with clay". Cf. Skr. mṛd-. V. Orm. maṛ-.
- ma'rō M, G "soft". Cf. Skr. mṛdu- (Psht. maṛwand "wrist"?).
- mēr M, G, T, D "man (vir)", P "husband". < Anc. Prs. martiya-, cf. Psht. mērə etc. (EVP. s.v. maranaī). V. xāi.
- muṛ v. mer-.
- 'muṛō G "dead". V. mer-.
- maṛ'dī G "courage (maṛdiga'vī)". Prs.
- 'maṛdum v. 'mardum.
- 'murda T "corpse". Prs.
- ma'rōk G, T "slow(ly), softly". V. ma'rō.
- ma'sī G "ankle-ring". Cf. Psht. masai an ornament for the head"? Ind.?
- 'masō M, G "fish". < Av. masya-. V. mā'hī.
- ma'is M, G, ma'iz T "dried mulberries". Pash. L. maiz "id.", from Prs. mawiz "raisins".
- mes G "brass". Prs.
- ma'sāla G "ingredient, spicery". ma'sāla-e dastī'kā "the contents of the cooking pot". Prs.
- māse'lī T "bribe, money" (?). (rūpā). risā'lān kun-ē māse'lī dā. Prs. māqil "small (present)"?



- mesl G, mēzl M "similar, resembling".  
*ba mizle mušk u ambar*. Prs.  
 mī'sāl G "resembling".  
 musul'mān G, T "Moslem". Prs.  
 mau'sum G "time, period". Prs.  
 ma'sti G, T "merriment, madness".  
*'jang u ma'sti-an koṛ* T "they fought madly". Prs.  
 ma'stāna G "coquettish". Prs.  
 mās M "bean". Prs. mās "pease".  
 muš v. muž.  
 mūš-i par'rān D "bat". Prs. V. šaupā'rak.  
 mašk G "inflated skin". V. sanda'rā.  
 Prs.  
 mušk G "musk". Prs.  
 mušt M, G, T, D "fist". Prs.?  
 māt v. mēr.  
 Mī'āt G "n. of a king".  
 mula'bar M, mōta'bār T "rich, powerful". Prs.  
 'mātal G "respite". 'dōs ruč-um 'mātal ku'ō.  
 'mōtar (موٹر) "motor-car". Engl.  
 'maṭṭa G "dirt, mud". Ind., Lhd. maṭ "alluvial deposit", Psht. maṭṭa "clay".  
 mēwa G, T "fruit". Prs.  
 māwe'hā G "mother and daughter".  
 'huddi m<sup>o</sup>, 'hušše m<sup>o</sup>. V. bāwe'hā.  
 Pash. L. āyowyā.  
 'māwul G "uncle, mother's brother" (said to be a Pachaghani word). Pash. S. mau'lū etc. V. kā'kī.  
 'māncar T "woollen jacket (cagman)".  
 mēx M, mīx G "nail". Prs. (both forms?).  
 mux M, G, T, D, P "face, cheek". mux-e xudāi'kā 'dēfē G; "rū-i xu'dā 'dāri" (an oath); mux-ē hō G "he is silent", ba 'mux-ē āya G "he vomited"; dī 'mux-e 'chačō G "two red cheeks".  
 Cf. Psht. max, Orm. mux, Skr. mukha.  
 \*muxke'ān G (Phon.) n. of a part of

- the body, mentioned between da'nānān "teeth" and ala'sān "jaws".  
 'maxsād G "object, aim". Prs.  
 max'sūd G "aim, purpose". Prs.  
 \*max'sōr G, T "myself (xud-i mā)". =  
 ma xu sōr. V. xu'sōr.  
 maza G "taste, flavour". Prs.  
 ma'zāi G "taste". ma'zāi čašem.  
 ma'iz v. ma'is.  
 mēz M, G "table". Prs.  
 mīz G, D "urine". mīzi kanem D. Prob. genuine. Cf. Orm. mīzi. V. šāša.  
 'mōza M, G "shoe". 'mōza 'pā-i koṛ G "he put on a shoe". Prs.  
 maz'dūr, muz'dūr M "servant". Prs.  
 ma'zāk (مزاق) G, T "entertainment, jest, deceiving (sāattēri, firēb)". ma 'mun ma'zāk na ka'na G "do not let him deceive me"; masti u ma'zāk-au G; ba ma'zāk T "softly, slowly (ba čatarzōnak?)"; cf. Psht. pō maza? Prs. mīzāh "jest, joke", mazāh "a jester"?  
 mēzl M v. mesl.  
 maza'nāk G "tasty". yu'lū 'kārī maza'nāk āyō "it tastes very good". Prs.  
 ma'zār G "tomb of a saint". Prs.  
 muš, muš (موش) M, G, T, D "go", pl. mu'zōr. muš 'paraman G "come, let us go". Pash. L. muš-, muč "to flee". V. par-, čī.  
 me'zāz G "pulse, temperament". 'na gu'ri za'if-e 'Kābul, me'zāz-ē 'xunuk-a "do not take a woman from K., her pulse is cold". Prs. mīzāj.

## N

- na M, G, T "not". Also in prohibitions, as in colloquial Prs.: na berkh T

"do not fear". Repeated in 'na 'dêrê 'yus tar-au na 'mâl u 'zar tû T "you have neither riches nor gold in your house". Cf. Prs. na etc.

nâ (𐭌𐭕) G "no". nâ nâ. Cf. na.

nâi M, G "reed". Prs. V. qumb.

nê êe, na êe T, na'î êe G "lest, if not, that not". aga 'mu kun bi'yâ bē, 'kârî bē;

'nê êe na 'bē, 'kaçal bi'yâ 'heç na bē T "if I shall have a brother, he must be good; if he is not that, I will have no bad brother (aga nê ki na bâša, nâbût heç na bâša)"; 'na êe he'wyak bite pa'nân-ê gu'ri-a, 'kâwun pa'ri-a T "that he will not take this road again, but will go somewhere (else) (na ki hamî râra bâz bigira, kudâm taraf burawa)"; na'î êe 'wâ tar 'lejjâ G "lest he shall feel ashamed by your presence (nê ki az šumâ šarminâ bâša)".

nî G, T "today". mun nî-xa'wân 'xôm dhôr G "I had a dream this last night"; nî guda'ri "this day passed away"; nî wyâr "this night". Shgh. nur, Sogh. nur "today", Cherkess nyč'epō "tonight" (< Ir. nū-āšapar, Troubetskoy, MSI. 22, 248). Also Pash S, L nū, Waig. etc. ōnū.

nî: nar'γō M, G, T "to go out, away". nîm-ê G "mebrâyam"; taf nîlō G "taf mebrâya", nîlō Phon.; 'ânê gap-e tû... na 'nîm T "I shall not break your command (na mebrâyam)"; sel nar'γō M "the flood came down"; nar'γēm 1 sg., nar'γē 2 sg., ma bôr nar'γēm G "bêrûn brâmadum". < Av. niš-ay: \*niš-gata-, cf. Orm. niš: nayōk; Sar. narjēs: narjēd "to pass through", Chr. Sogh. nîz. Gr. 71. Cf. also Pash. S nē "to go out".

nō M, G, T, P, nū D "9". < Av. nava.

nō M, G, T, nū D "new, fresh" < Av. nava-.

'nūbat G "time, turn". Prs.

'nauca G ('naoca Phon.) "young, fresh".

wō 'nauca ne'hâl. Prs.

nâ'dân T "foolish". Prs.

nâf M, G "navel". Prs.?

'nafar G, T "person". ha'zâr nafari'ka T "one thousand men"; pen'jâ 'nafar T; dōs nafaren (?) γurca-en G "da nafar gušna ast". Prs.

ne'gâr G "picture, beauty: beloved".

'xirō ne'gâr-um. Prs.

nigâ'wân T "protector". Prs.

'nâya G "guilty (jurm "crime")". ân dâl tō nâya chēm "mā pēš-i tū nâya šudam". Prs.?

na'γûl G, na'γûl D "staircase". Prs.

nîγōl, nâγûl.

na'γōn M, G, D "bread". âne na'γōn xa'rēm D. Cf. Psht. nayan etc. (v. EVP. s.v.).

na'γōn-pe'cāk G "baker (nân-bâi)". Cf.

na'γōn-pā'kō G "baker". V. pēc.

noγ'râ v. nuq'ra.

na'γâra T "drum". Prs.

nî'hêk M, G, nî'hak D "today". nî'hêk

pa'nân-e dâ'rîn chēm M "I have walked a long way today". V. nî.

ne'hâl G, T (ne'hâl, nî'haal Phon.) "a young shoot". Prs.

nhâmuy G "forgetful, forgetting". ma-

'nân nhâ-muy-um chî "I have forgotten it"; 'tân nhâ-muy-a chî? < \*rhâmuy

< \*frâmysta, cf. Prs. farāmuš(t), Minj. fprmišk', Orm. šramōt. Gr. 63.

nhên: nhânt M, G, D "to make to sit down, place". mā-iman mā tō nhēn-

man M; âne ma tō nhēnəm D; mā-iman mundē nhēntan "we make him



- sit down"; *mā ma tū nhānt* M. Cf.
- nhīn-*, *n<sup>o</sup>hīn-*: *nhašt*, *n<sup>o</sup>hašt*, M, G, T, D (نہشت: نهشت) "to sit down". *nhīneman* G "let ut sit", *n<sup>o</sup>haštō-a* "he is sitting", *nhōšt* "he sat down", *'nhaštam* "I sat down". < \**ni-hīdna-*: *ni-hasta-*, cf. Sūmn. *nīn-*: *niāst* etc., Prs. *nīšn-*: *nīšast* (v. BSL., 24, 205 ff.). *Najmān* T "n. of a man".
- nājōr* G, T "ill, sick". *hē ḡspān nājōr hastan* G "these horses were ill"; *cān jōr hēn, ḡān nājōr hēn, hēwyakān yulū nājōr hēn* G "these are well, those are ill, and those there are very ill". Prs.-Ind., cf. Psht. *nājōr*, Afgh. Prs. *nājōr*. V. *jōr*.
- nōju'wānī* G "youth". Prs.
- nāk* G "pear". Prs.
- nēk* T "good". *nēk u bad*. Prs.
- ne'kā* G, T "marriage". Prs.
- nōk* v. *nōrk*.
- nūk* M, G, T "point (of a knife etc.)". *nūke ḡlī'ka* T. Prs.
- naql* "tale". Prs.
- noql* T "dried fruits (*mēwa-i safed*)". Prs.
- nuq'ra* G, *noy'ra* M, *noo'ra* D, *nok'ra* P "silver". Prs. V. *chaḡa'l*.
- nū'kar* G "servant, soldier". *tū 'mun pen nū'kar dhar* "stay with me as a servant". Prs.
- nūka'ri* M, G "service". *mā āyeman nūka'ri-a kaneman* G "we have come to enter your service"; *pa'nān-om nūka'ri tar qar'γō* G. Prs.
- nūl* M, G, D "beak". Prs.
- nā'lāj* G "without remedy, helpless". Prs.
- na'mā* M, G, *na'mā* D, *na'mā* P "salt". Cf. Prs. *namak*, Psht. *mālga* etc.
- na'mā* from \**namābaka-* (Gauth., MSL. 20, 19), cf. Gr. 52.
- na'mō* G "felt". Cf. Prs. *namad* etc. V. *na'mat*.
- hām* M, G, T "name". Prs.?
- nīm* M, G, T "half". *nīm-e sebe'kā* M "half an apple"; *nīm azār rupa'i-an ghīt* M "they took 500 rupees"; *nīm-e xa'wān* T "midnight". Prs.
- nīm'rōz* M, T "noon". Prs.
- nams* "19". (*nāms* Phon.). Cf. Sede, Gaz *nūnzē*, Sivend *nūnzā*. Gr. 62.
- na'mat* D "felt". Prs. V. *na'mō*.
- ne'māz* G "prayer". *ne'māz-e šām* "evening prayer". Prs.
- nemā'yān* T "appearance, sign". Prs.
- na'nū* G "husband's sister (*xāika xi-m*)", *'nannu* M "husband's brother's wife (*zan-e hēwar-om*)". Afgh. Pers. *na'nū*, Lhd. *nināy* etc., v. EVP. s.v. *nandrōr*.
- nar* M, T "male". *šēr-e nar* T. Prs., v. *nē'rōk*.
- nar-*: *na'ri* M, G, T "to be able". *xar-rēn-ē (te) na na'rem* G, M; *nartōn-em* G; *agar na'rīm sa'bā 'zīm* G "if I can, I shall come tomorrow"; *agar na-m narī, na-ē 'zīm* G; *ān 'zīm-om na narī* "I could not come"; *'zīm-e na na'rem* G "I cannot come". Gr. 158. Cf. W. Oss. *nārsun* "to swell", *nard* "thick". < \**nar-* "to be powerful", cf. Skr. *nar-* "man", Ir. *nerī* "virility", *nerīaim* "I strengthen" etc.?
- nāra* G, T "shriek, cry". *nāra dhī* G "ḡy zad" = *nāra jō*. Prs. *na'ra*.
- nūr* G "light, brightness". *nūr-e dl teḡhān-um* "the light of my two eyes". Prs.
- narbuḡ* G, *narbus* M "he-goat". Prs. Cf. *buḡ*. V. *taka'ca*.
- nē'rōk* G, *nē'rōk* D "male" *nē'rōk ya'rō*,

γa'sō G "ram, male calf"; nē'rōk  
ōsp D "stallion". < Av. *nairyā-*. Cf.  
*nar*.  
nōrk G, D, P, nōk(?) M "nail". < \**naxra-*,  
cf. Sangl. *narzak* etc., v. NSgh. s.v.  
*nāxān*.  
na'rāsp M "stallion". Prs. V. *nar*, nē'rōk.  
Nārwāfi T "n. of a place near Lārom".  
Nārwāfi'ān tar.  
nirx G "price". Prs.  
nep-: nōf M, G, T "to pull out". *zū*  
*zāi neṛem* M "ēzira 'mēkašam";  
'*neṛem-ē* G; nōf-om, ba'dē-m 'nōt G  
"āli *kašida-im*"; (ān) na'tō T "I have  
pulled out", mā cāi āwō nōf M "I drew  
water from the well", manān sōr γōš  
naṣ "hair has grown on my head".  
Cf. Orm. K *nawor*: *nawolak* "to take  
out, draw water", acc. to Grierson  
< Av. *nis-bar* (*niš-*)? Phonetically  
the derivation of *nep-* < \**nišr* <  
\**nišbar*-is difficult; possibly < \**nibar-*,  
with introduction of the *r* into the  
present from the original preterite,  
and the formation of a new preterite?  
Gr. 65.  
nar'γō v. nī-.  
nask M "lentil". Prs.  
'*nasak* T "mutilating". *yalā'ba 'nasak an*  
*udhe'kē ku'γō* "they have tortured  
him very much". Prs. *nasag kardan*  
"to punish by mutilating the crimi-  
nial".  
nesp G, T "middle, half". *ma 'nesp-e*  
*āšmā* "in the middle of the skies",  
*nesp-e wyāri'ka* = *nesp-e xa'wānika*  
T "midnight" (v. s.v. *nīm*); *du nesp*  
"two halves". Prs. *nigf*.  
nī'sōr G "the shady side of a hill".  
< \**nī-syāwara*? (v. EVP. s.v. *siyā*),  
cf. Panjshir Prs. *nīš'ar* (Andrew), Psht.

*sēwrai* etc. Prob. borr.; Prs. *nasd(r)*,  
*nišwāra*, *nasar* etc. V. *para'fāf*.  
*neš'iyat* T "advise". Prs. *našihat*.  
nēš T "point". *nēš-e kūcānōkika* "the  
point of the knife". Prs.  
nōš "a draught" Prs.  
nī'sān M, G, T "a sign, signal, target".  
*nišān-eman dhaita* M "we are show-  
ing". Prs.  
*nāšpā'fi* T "pear (*nāk*)". Prs.  
nēšt M, G, D, P "nose". < \**nāstī*, cf.  
Av. *nāh*, Sabzuwari nus, Soghd. *nas*  
etc. In Pash., too, we find, a stem  
*nāst*- (corresponding forms in other  
Ind. languages).  
na'tī G "nose-ring". Ind., cf. Psht. *nata*,  
Lhd. *natth* etc.  
nāteq G "manifestly, clearly (*cūrt*, *bil-*  
*kull*)". Prs.  
nōf v. *nep-*.  
na'wā G, *nawā'γār* T (pl. *nawā'γārān*  
G), *na'wāsa* P "grandchild". *na'wā* <  
Av. *napāt*-; *na'wāsa* is Prs.; *nawā'γār*  
seems to be a contaminated form  
(\**nawāγ* = Prs. *nawāda* < \**napātaka*-  
+ \**natār* < *naptārm*).  
*nāwa'lāt* T "unknown, unaccustomed".  
Prs. *nā + walā'at* "authority"?  
nī'wišta M, G "written", *nī'wišta kan-*  
"to write". *ē-a nī'wišta kantūn* M  
"he is writing" Prs.  
*nāx* G, *nāx* D "roof-gutter". \**nāw-xa-*,  
cf. EVP. s.v. *nāwa* "gutter", Kurd.  
(Soane) *nāwkh* "gutter".  
*nāxēu'ri* P "rainbow." Cf. *to'fang-i*  
*Ru'stam*.  
*nāxt* (ناخت) G "cash". Prs. *naqd*.  
*Nāx'tān* T "n. of a mountain near  
Shutul".  
*niyat* G "intention, purpose".  
*naza* G "weak".



- 'naiza G "spear". Prs.  
 nâz G "coquetry". Prs.  
 naz'dik M, G, D, nez'dik G, T "near".  
 hamsâ'yân-e nez'dikî G. Prs.  
 'nâzûk G "coquettish". Prs.  
 nâza'nîn G "beautiful, delicate, elegant". Prs.  
 na'zar G "glance". Prs.  
 nužda M "19". Prs.  
 Nîz'rau G "Nijrau".

## P

- pa "at, to". pa wakhe kan- "to lift up";  
 pa bhâi gurê- 'to buy'. < Av. paîti.  
 pâ, pl. pâ'nân M, G, T, pâi D "foot".  
 pâ < Av. pâda, pâi Prs.  
 pē M, G, D, P, G also pī "milk". <  
 Av. payah-. Psht. paī, Shgh. pai.  
 Gr. 37.  
 pī (پی) M, G, D, phī T "spade". phī-e  
 šaš'pār T v. šaš'pār. Cf. Minj. fšya,  
 Shgh. fe, fay, Wkh. pây (Zarubin),  
 Prs. fah "shovel". Pash. L. pēka'fī  
 from Ir.? V. bhamkī.  
 pī G "to this side". pī wo pū "in all  
 directions". < Av. \*paîti aētat. Cf. pū.  
 pō G "understanding". 'ân-em 'pō 'kantō,  
 mun pō koṣ. Cf. Psht. pōh "aware,  
 intelligent" etc. V. fām.  
 pū M, G "to that side, away (ūsun,  
 ūbar)". an'dāzem-e pū M "ūsū mē-  
 partam-iš". < Av. \*paîti avat. V. pī.  
 pač G, T "before, in front of". pač-e  
 mux "pēš-i 'āi". Cf. Shgh. pēc "face"  
 < \*paīša-. Soghd. pač- < \*paīša-  
 (Gauth. p. 126). V. apačē, 'pačetar.  
 pēč: phōk M, G, pōk D "to cook"  
 (پيچم: پيوک). 'pēcēm-e G; pēcetūn

- M; zā-em 'pēcītō D "I am cooking  
 something"; yūs-um phōk G; mōn  
 yūs pōk D "I cooked meat"; pa'kū-m  
 D "I have cooked"; phakōi-a G "puxta  
 asl". < \*pāčaya-; \*paxwa- Av. pak,  
 Shgh. pīj- etc. (Gr. 58).  
 pōē M, G, pōc D "wool". Cf. Pash. pāē  
 "cotton".  
 pīča'dār T "having short hair". pīča'dār  
 u 'kākulī. Prs. pēča "a lock of curling  
 hair".  
 pača'gī da'nân G "back-tooth". Cf. Av.  
 pasča, Keshe pēc "behind", Sak.  
 pāteo "afterwards, again". Reg. č  
 < sč cf. Tedesco MO. 1921, 209 ff.  
 But prob. borr. from a Pash. form  
 related to Pash S. pača'wā "after,  
 behind". V. pšš.  
 puča'la-i ēxi'ka G "eggshell". Cf. Turki  
 počaq "shell, skin of a fruit"?  
 'pačetar G "before". na'yōn-an pačetar  
 lam dā "(she) put the food before  
 them"; 'gap-e sax'ti ma'nā 'pačetar  
 āyō "a difficult affair has risen in  
 front of me". V. pač.  
 paī'dā M, G, T "born, produced, appear-  
 ing". paī'dā čhi M "was born",  
 'laškar paī'dā čhi G "the army  
 appeared". Prs.  
 'paddō M, G, 'paddu D, pa'dū P "black".  
 Skr. padma- "lotus-hued" could scar-  
 cely come to denote "black".  
 Pad'dō-khandi T "Tegh-i Siyah, n. of  
 a mountain in Shutul".  
 'pādšā M, G, T "king". Prs.  
 pādšā(h)i G "kingdom". Prs.  
 phī (پي) G "blowing, breath". ān 'phī  
 ka'nem. Cf. Khov. phūik, Yidgh.  
 phūah "to blow", Wkh., Sar., Pash.  
 S puf "blowing". Par. phī from Ind.,  
 Pash. puf from Ir.

*phāk* v. *peē*.

*'phunqōd* G "swelling, inflammation".

Ind., cf. Lhd. *phunqāy* "to swell".

*'phāri* G, T "from that side (*az ū sun*)".

*'phāri-r-* 'āya T (Phon). Cf. *'phyāri* pī, pū.

*pher-*: *phe'ri* G "to turn, be converted into". *ma'sō* *'pherē* (پهره), *phe'ri*

"she was converted into", *pherō* (پهرو). Ind., cf. Lhd. *phiran*, *pheray* "to turn, go round".

*pha'rāt-*: *pharā'ti* M, G, T "to sell".

*mā zū ōsp pharā'ti* M "I sold a horse".

< \**parā-waxta*, cf. Orm. *prawak* (and Prs. *furōxtan* < \**fra-waxta*).

*phē'rēw* G "to turn (trans.), convert, transform".

*phē'rēwem-ē*. *ma māneš*

*ōst ē'spō phē'rēwētōn* "she used to transform men into dogs (*mēgaštānd*)";

*phē'rēwō bōn* "had transformed". Lhd.

*phirāwāy*, v. *pher*.

*phōr*, pl. *phar* M, G, T "corn, grain, fruit".

*zū phōr ganum* M "one grain of wheat"; *zū phōr biz* G "yak dāna

*tuxm*". *zū phōr zā* T "a grain of something"; *zū phōr āmar* G "one

apple"; *ēāwār phar āmar* G "some apples". Ind., cf. Pash. L *pāl*. Note

*r* < *l* (Gr. 26, 67).

*phīš* G "to strew, scatter, sow". *biz*

*'phīšem* "tuxm bupāšum"; *rha'ām-*

*iman zō phīštān* "we sow barley in the spring". < \**pršaya*, Prs. *pāšidan*,

Psht. *pūš* "sprinkling".

*phyō* (پيو) M, G, T, *phyū* D "wet".

*zōx-e phyō* G "greenwood (*ēub-e tar*)".

< \**pītaka*, cf. Skr. *pīta* "soaked, saturated with".

*phyōbuj* G "water-melon (*tarbuz*)". Transl.

from Prs. *tarbuz*, analyzed as "wet

goat" (!). With Prs. *tarbuz(a)* and

*turb(uz)* "radish" cf. Skr. *trapusa-*

"coloquint."

*'phyāri* G *phyāri* T "from this side (*az*

*i sun*)". V. *'phāri*. Cf. Bal. *phēda*

"here", *phōda* "there" Gr. 150.

*pa'jāl* G "footprint". Prs.?

*pal-*: *pa'li* G "to walk about (*gaštan*)".

*pā'nān tar-e ha'wi nāyōn-pečaki-kā*

*pa'li*. Ind., cf. Skr. *palati* "to go"

(*Dhātup*)?

*pel* G "vein".

*'pālān* G, T "pack-saddle". Prs. *pālān*

< \**paridāna*? Cf. Shgh. *bōdān*

"saddle" etc. < Av. *paitidāna*.

*pa'ilān* G, T "before, in front of".

*pa'ilān tar-ē* G "in front of him

(*pēšwā-iš*)"; *pa'ilān tar-an* G "be

\**pēšwa* (*dūcār*)-*išān*"; *mā'khān tar*

*pa'ilān* T, *pa'ilān ē* 'kaštē 'ghit T "he

seized the girl before him". Ind.,

cf. e.g. Panj. *pahilā* "beginning".

*pa'lang* M, G, T "panther". Prs. V.

*pa'rāy*.

*pa'lās* G, D "rug (knitted)". Prs. *palās*,

but Pash. L. *palas*, Khow. *pelesk*,

Shgh. *pe'les*.

*'paltan* G, T "regiment, army". *hōt*

*ha'zār paltan* T "7000 soldiers". Ind.

*pa'l'tūn* M, G, *pa'lūn* M "trousers". <

Ind. Cf. Psht. (Hazara distr.) *partun*,

ordinary Psht. *partūg* + *pa'lūn*.

*pa'lāw* G, T, *pu'lan* T "pillan". Prs.

*pa'lēw* G "to roll together". *mun'dhēk*

*pa'lēw*; *pa'lēwem-ē* "bupšānem". V.

*pal*.

*pālā'wān* G, T "hero, warrior". *'pādšā*

*ma 'dūt-ē zū pālāwā'nī kun dā* T

"the king gave his daughter to a

warrior". Prs.



- Pālawān-sang* T "n. of a place in Shutul".
- pan* M "sneeze". *pan-eman dhētan* "I am sneezing". V. *atsa*.
- pān*: *pānt* M, G, T D *pān*- "to know, recognize". *mā-iman* 'mende 'zā *pāntūn* M "I know this thing (*mā* I ēz *mēdānam*)"; 'mende 'ādam-em *pāntūn* M "I know this man"; ān-em *ma tō pāntōn* M, *ma tō pāntu-hem* D "I know you"; G. 'pāntōn-em; *mā ma wā pānta-iman* M "we know you"; *tū ma 'mun pānē* M "do you know me?"; *har ke ēe... pāna* G "everyone who knows", *pānt-om* "I knew, understood". Pash. *Spiān*-, "to know, recognize" (Pash. L. *paicān*-?) < \**pati-jñā*- (cf. *Kaṭṭi pa* < *patī*)?
- pen* M, G, T (پن) "with, by help of". Gr. 98. < \**upāntai*?
- pōn* G, *pōn* D, *pōn* M "feather, leaf". *pōn-e tika* G "the leaf of a tree", *pōn-ta* M "it is a feather". < Av. *parəna*-, cf. EVP. s.v. *pāṇa*. Gr. 63 V. *parr*.
- pōnē* M, G, T, *pōnē* D "5". < Av. *panča*. *pōnēu'mī* G "fifth".
- paṇḍ* G "advice". Prs.
- pen'dī* G "squeezed". *pen'dī ka'nem*, *pen'dī kor*. Ind., cf. Skr. *piṇḍi* *kṛ*- "to press together".
- Pāindagul* G "n. of a man".
- pin'dar* D "gums". V. *penḍar*.
- pan'jā* M "finger". Prs. V. *yušt*.
- pin'jā* D "50". Prs.
- pan'jbed* G "a kind of occult knowledge" (= *taryāk-e bed*, q.v.). *elm-e pan'jbed*-(ik)a. Prs. *panj* + *bed* "Veda, knowledge"?
- pan'jāl* M, *pan'jān* G (pl. of. *panja*) "claw, talon". Prs.
- pōn'ju'mī* T "fifth". Infl. from Prs., or incorrect for *pōnēu'mī* (q.v.).
- Pen'jir* G, T (پنجیر) "Panjshir".
- Pen'jiri*, *Pan'jiri* G, T "an inhabitant of P.".
- pa'nān* M, G, T "road". < Av. acc. sg. *pantānam*, n. pl. *pantānō*, Shgh. *pūnd* etc.
- pa'nir* M, G "cheese". Prs. V. *ka'tex*.
- paēs* M, G, D, P (*paēs* Phon.) "15" < Av. *pancādaśa*. Gr. 62.
- pāzda* M "15". Prs.
- pōnē'bāf* G "with five braids". *jā'lān-e pōnē'bāf*. Par. + Prs.
- pōnē* 'yuštak D "100". Cf. *pōnē*, *yušt*. V. *sō*.
- penḍar* P, *pin'dar* D "gums". Ind., cf. Skr. *piṇḍa* "ball, lump" etc.? V. *yuč-i danāni'ka*, 'wīrā.
- pa'pā* G "standing". < \**patipāda*-. V. *a'pā*.
- pa'pō* M, G "lung" (G "jigar"), *pa'pō* D. Ind., Pash. L. *pa'pū*, cf. EVP. s.v. *parpūs*.
- par*- M, G, T, D "to go, become". *pa'ram* G "I go", *paraman* G "let us go"; *pa'rame zāi dhēwem* M "burrim ēzi mētalbam". Pash. *par*- "to go, become", Kal. *pāri* "go", Waz. Psht. (lw.) *parēdōl* "to run".
- pa'ri* G, T "fairy". Prs.
- 'paira* G "watch, guard". Prs.
- pīr* T "saint". Prs.
- pīra'zāl* T "old woman". Prs.
- Pa'rāci* M, G "the Parachi language". V. Introduction.
- pa'rič* G "to shake a sieve". < \**pari-ucāč*-, cf. Shgh. *parwiz*- etc. Cf. EVP. s.v. *pēzōl*. V. *pa'ričōn*.

*par'cāl* T "top of a wall".  
*pa'ričōn* G, *pa'ričūn* D "a sieve". \**pari-waičana*, V. *pa'rič*.  
*pai'ra'dār* G, T "watchman, guardian".  
 Prs.  
*Parā'j'ān* G "n. of a village near Panjshir". Survey Map: Farajghān.  
*Parā'j'ā'nī* G "a man from P.".   
*pī'ra'ki* T "an old woman". Prs.  
*pōrk* G, D "excrements of sheep or goats". < \**prš(a)ka*. Prs. *pušk* (cf. Pash. L *puš* "dung". Gr. 65. V. *gū-i yarōi'ka*.  
*par'kāla* G "armour (*wasla*)", T "part, piece". *sōr-ē dī par'kāla chī* "his head was split into two pieces (*sar-iš dū ferix čud*)". Prs. *parkāla* 1) "pars, frustum", 3) "genus panni s. vestis e bysso vel bombyce crassioris similis panni generis" (Vull).  
*pa'rōn* D, *pa'rōnd* P "panther". Related to Prs. *palang*, Psht. *prāng* (Waz. *prōng*), Khov. *purdūm* etc.? V. *pa'lang*.  
*parr* G "feather", D "wing". Prs. V. *pōn*.  
*pur'sān* v. *pur'sān*.  
*pēri'cān*, *pērai'cān* G "angry, distressed (*yussaman*, *xafa*, *jigarxūn*)". Prs. *parēcān*.  
*para'tāf*, *pa'tāf* G "the sunny side of a hill (*paitau*)". Afgh. Prs. *pētau*, *pītau*. Cf. Psht. (Waz.) *paitōwai* (EVP. s.v. *tōd*).  
*par'wā* G "care, consideration". Prs.  
*Par'wān* G "n. of a place in Kohistan, Parwān, Jebel-us-Seraj".  
*par'wāna* G "moth". Prs.  
*pa'rīz* T "abstinent". Prs. *sā xūrō tar pariz hem* "I abstain from eating anything".  
*(par-): pa'rī* T "to regard". *pa'rī* "sail

*kat*"; *pariēr* "you are regarding (*dēari astīn*)". Cf.  
*'pari* G, T "regarding". *ka'māl-e ma'nān*  
*'pari kan* T "behold my perfection";  
*pa'rī ka* T "*dēari kun*". Pash. S  
*pa'rī katōyēm* "I am looking at".  
*par'da* G "veil, curtain". Prs.  
*pur'sān* G, *pur'sān* M "question". Prs.  
*pa'rāsūr* G, *pa'rāsūr* M "last year".  
 Cf. Wkh. *pard* < \**parut* and *sar*  
 "year"? But note *r* < -*ru-* (cf.  
*zītō*), M *r*. Cf. *āsūr* "this year".  
*'paisa* T "pice". *'bay-e paisa'ka* "a  
 pennyworth". Ind.  
*passa'bā* M "the day after tomorrow".  
 Prs. V. *šīruč*.  
*pī'sār* D "front". < \**pati-sarah*?  
*pa'stō* D "down". *pastō uzgiem*. \**pastaka*.  
 cf. Prs. *past* V. *wačā'nē*.  
*pūst* M, G, D "skin". *pūst-e tika* G,  
*pūst-e bhini'ke* D "bark". But also  
 D *pūst-i teci'kē* "eyelid", *gū'ki pūst*  
 "cow-hide". *pūst* Prs.; *pūst* genuine?  
*pōsta'ki* "sheepskin coat, posteen." Prs.?   
*pūs'xand* G, T "smiling". *pūs'xand-e*  
*ka'nem* G "I smile"; *bā 'Haidar*;  
*pūs'xand ko'* T "he smiled at H."  
 Prs. \**pōz-xanda* "laughing with the  
 lips".  
*pa'sa* M, D "mosquito", D "fly". *gūika*  
*pa'sa* G "horse-fly", *ghān pa'sa* G  
 "large fly, cleg". Prs. *pašša*, Sivend  
*paxšē*, Talahedešk *paxšā* < \**paxšaka*.  
 cf. Skr. *pakṣin-* "a bird or any  
 winged animal".  
*'pašō* M, *pa'sō* G, T (pl. *pašā'wān*), *pa'sō*  
 D "axe". Cf. Skr. *par(a)śu-* "axe",  
 Ashk. *pōs* etc. V. *'tašō*, *ta'warcā*,  
*wen'qā*.  
*pēš* M, G, T "behind, after, for the sake  
 of (*pas-i*, *barāy-i*). *mhak pēš gūy-e*



- bāwika-i* T "behind his father's ear";  
*peš'sōr-e Ali'kā* T "(hunting) for the head of A."; *peš tū tar* M "behind you"; *peš taxt tar* T "behind the purdah". Cf. Av. *pasca*. Prs. *pas*, Kohrud and other diall. *peš* (cf. Tedesco, MO. 1921, 209 ff.). V. *a'pešt*, *pača'gī* *peš'chan*, *pešt*.  
*pēš* M, G "before (*pēš*)". *pēš-i* (پیش) *bōr-au* "I came to your door"; *pēšanīm(?) zū paidā chī* "*pēš-i mā yak paidā šud*". Prs.  
*puš* M, G, T, D, P "son". *hē māniš cōr puš dēra* "this man has four sons D". < Av. *puθra*.  
*pūš* T "covering, cap(?)". *tofangika pūš sōr tar-ē*. Prs.  
*peš'chan* (پیش چین) G, T "after, behind (*pastar*)". *Mu'yūl tar-ē dā*, *Zai'yūn pešcha'n-ē* T "M. went in front and Z. behind"; *'ē pešcha'n-ē nar'ūd*, *'jin-ē 'tartar-ē* "he went out after her, and his wife before him (*da pas-iš, pastar-iš*)"; *cā ruč pešchan* "some days afterwards" V. *pēš*, *wa'chan*.  
*pešk* G "list of names for the purpose of conscription". Prs. *pišk* "lot".  
*pi'sak* M, G, D, P. "cat". Prs.  
*pēška'lā* M "(the back of the) head". Cf. *pēš*, *kal* V. *sōr*.  
*\*pai'skamb-əm, 'škamb-əm(?)* Phon. "names of parts of the body mentioned after *lau'cān-um*".  
*piš'kaš* T "a present". Prs.  
*piš'kaus* G "knife". Prs. V. *kūca'nōk*.  
*pēšman'qō* G, *pēšman'qū* D "back of the neck". V. *pēš*, *man'qō*.  
*pē'sāna* T, D "shoulder". V. *pēš*, *'sāna*.

- pī'sānī* M, T, *pišā'nī* G "forehead". Prs. V. *pi'sār*.  
*pēš'pā* M "heel". V. *pēš*, *pā*. Cf. *sumb*, *khu'ri*.  
*pēš'pāi* G "a kick". *pīš'pāt-a-te dahem*. V. *pēš'pā*.  
*pēšpa'rīruč* M "three days ago". Prs. *pasparirūz*. V. *časōruč*.  
*pēš'puš* G, T *piš'puš* D "the back". *pēš'puš-om 'thārem* G "I look behind my back". V. *pēš*, *puš*.  
*'pešte, pēš'li* M, G, T "afterwards, behind".  
*'pēšte xuš'waydi-an kor* M "afterwards they made merry"; *pēšti chd* M "walk behind me"; *'har čē ē 'kor 'pēšte* (پشته) *xu 'elā na 'dā bā'lo* G "whatever she did, the boy did not let her go afterwards"; *e'dī pē'stī* G "after this (*az i pas*)"; *pē'stī 'Māmad Ha'nīfa Sāhebi'ka* Phon. "after M. H. S." Cf. Sāmnani *pāsti* "behind". V. *a'pešt*, *pēš*, *pēš-thēra*.  
*pišt* G, T "mulberry-flour". *'pišt-i ka-būt* G "blue mulberry-flour", *ma'iz o 'pišt* T. Cf. Prs. *pišt*, Shgh. *pišt*, Ishk. *put* etc.; Skr. *piṣṭa*.  
*pušt* G, T "before, in front of (?)".  
*'pušt-e pā'nān-e bāwika cha'rī* G "he fell at his father's feet"; *cha'rēm ma 'pušt-e 'pā-ē* G; but *pušt-e sō'rī zū 'lazma 'bārik-ē 'nōf* T "he drew out a thin strap from (behind) his neck (?)". < In the last sentence *pušt* seems to mean "back" as in Prs.; but this meaning does not suit the first two examples.  
*pušta* G "the back". *pušta'i uz'gī* "descended from the back (of the horse)". Prs. *pušt* "back", *pušta* "shoulder blades".

*pušta* G "a plain". Prs.  
*pūšt* "skin", v. *pūst*.  
*peš'therā* G "afterwards". *ba'di'na xa'rēm*,  
*pēš'thēra-ē xa'rēm* "I will not eat it  
 now, I shall eat it later". Cf. Pash.  
*L. peišta'ra* "afterwards" (borr. from  
 Par.?). V. *'pešte*.  
*pe'stina* T "the hindmost (*pasina*)". V.  
*'pešte*.  
*patl* G "down of a bird". Pl. *pat'tān*  
 Ind., cf. Skr. *patra*?  
*pe'tē* Nijran (acc. to G) "paternal uncle".  
 Cf. Shgh. *pe'tiš* "cousin". Connexion  
 of some kind with Av. *ptar* "father"  
 is poss. V. *a'mū*.  
*peṭ* T "hidden, concealed". Ind., cf.  
 Psht. *puṭ* V. *teṭpeṭa'kā*.  
*puṭ* M, G, T "the back". *ēḍa' puṭ ka'nem*,  
*gu'rīm*, *'ēīm* G "hēzum *pūst* kunum,  
*bigīrum*, *biāyūm*"; *pēš* *poṭ* T "behind  
 the back". Ind., cf. Lhd. *puṭh* etc.  
 Gr. 65.  
*pi'a'wā* G "soup". V. *šur'wā*.  
*Pax'mān* G "Paghman, near Kabul".  
*'puxta* G, T "prepared, completely".  
*'gap-aw-um 'puxta ku'rō* G; *de'hī*  
*dha'ram tar 'puxta* T "he struck him  
 hard against the ground" Prs.  
*pi'yāla*, *pi'āla* M, G "cup". Prs.  
*pī(y)āz* D "onion". Prs. V. *teka'i*.  
*pai'zār* D "shoe". Prs. V. *kausa'yā*.  
*peṭ'mān* T "regret". Prs.

## R.

*rā* T "way". In *sōr tar-an te yunan*  
*rā* "they will find their way to us".  
 Prs.  
*rau* T "quickly". Prs.

*rū* D, P "iron". Cf. Orm. *rō*, but Prs.  
*rōi* etc. "copper". V. *'āhen*.  
*rū* G, T "face". In *rū ba rū* "face to  
 face". Prs.  
*rō'bā* M, T "fox". Prs. V. *rūya'sdk*.  
*ru'bāb* G "guitar". Prs.  
*ruē* G, D "flea". One should expect  
*\*rhuē* < *\*fruē*, cf. Orm. K *šrak*, pl.  
*š'acī*, Waig. *prūē* etc. Ashk. *puē*,  
 Pash. K, D *vlūē*. Cf. the Ir. forms,  
 EVP. s.v. *wrēza*, and Minj. *frīga*,  
 Yazg. *frēš*, Shgh. *ferey'j* (Zar.). V.  
*kaik*.  
*rūē* M, G, T, D, P "sun, day". *rūē naṭ'γō*  
 G "the sun rose"; *pōnē ruē* M, G, *šī*  
*rūē* D; *wyār o rūē* G; *ēā ruē* G  
 "some days", *hō'wī ru'ēi* G "from  
 that day". < Anc. Prs. *rauēah* "day",  
 Zaza. Bal. *rōē* "sun", Prs. *rōz* "day"  
 etc.  
*ru'cān* M "morning, daylight". Cf. *rūē*.  
*'rūcōn* M, G, *'ričūn* D "smoke-hole". <  
 Av. *roačana*, Prs. *rōzan*.  
*rū'dā* M, G, D "entrails". *'xāitōn ēē*  
*rū'dān-a ne'rēm* G "do you want me  
 to tear out your guts?". Prs.  
*radd* G, T "repulsion, parrying, refuta-  
 tion". *šam'sēr-ē 'rat koṭ* G "he par-  
 ried the sword"; *'radd-ē kuṭ* T "he  
 parried"; *'dī sūy 'radd o ba'dal kan*  
 G "speak two words in refutation  
 and in exchange (: discussion) (*mābain-  
 iš guftagū kun*)". Prs. Cf.  
*radd o badd* T Prob. = Prs. *radd badl*  
 "argument, discussion".  
*rūf* G, T "pursuing". *rūf kanem* G;  
*ma mō ēūrān rūf koṭ* T "the thieves  
 pursued me". Prs. *rūftan* etc. "to  
 sweep"?  
*ra'fuq* M, *ra'fiq* M, G, T "comrade".  
 Prs. V. *aṇḍi'wāl*.



rag T "vein, artery". 'rage dharami'ka  
'kaš-ē kor "he contracted the veins  
of the earth: made the earth shrink".

rig M, G "sand". Prs. V. se'ya.

rūya'sōk G, D, P "fox". < \*raupasa-ka-  
(reg. γ v. Gr. 48), cf. Bal. rophask,  
Minj. rūšá (Gauth.), Soghd. rieps(yh)  
etc.; but Prs. robāh, Phl. rōpās, Oss.  
robās etc.

'rahō G, ra'hō D. 'rahō P "husked rice".  
Ind., with a < unstressed i (Gr. 30).  
< \*(w)rih-. V. be'renj.

rā'hī, rā'i G, T, ra'hī M "departing".  
ra'hī kanem M "I send away"; rā'hī  
chī G "he departed". Prs.

ruh- : rhīnt (رهينت, رينت) M, G, T, D  
"to weep". 'ruhem-e G, ro'hem D; na rō  
G "do not weep"; rōita-im M, 'ān-em  
rhōitūn, rō'hētu hēm D "I am weeping";  
'rhīnt-um G; a'ze-an am rhīnt M "we  
wept yesterday, too". < \*rud- : \*rudna-  
(> \*ruhn- \*rhūn > rhīn + t, Gr. 57,  
73, 199, V.), cf. Av. raod, uruša,  
Kurd. runik, rōndig, rūnek etc.  
"tear".

rha'γām M G, (رهغام) ra'γām D, P "spring"  
(season). išten rha'γām paidā chī M  
"the kid was born in spring". < \*fra-  
gāma-. V. EVP. s.v. waryūmai "a  
male kid" (cf. also Minj. frā'γomay).  
Cf. Av. aiwi-gāma- "winter".

rahm G "compassion". Prs.

rhammī G "compassion". Prs.

'rhīnē M, G, D, P "daylight, light, fire".

rhīnē chī M "it became light"; 'rhīnē-m

lagētū M "I am lighting the fire".

< Av. raoxšnā, Orm. rūn "fire".

Zeb. rōšni etc.

rhānt v. rēm.

rhīnēkōr G "torch". V. 'rhīnē, kōr.

rhīnt v. ruh.

'rhīntō T "weeping". 'jīnē-ē da 'rhīntō  
chī. V. ruh.

ra'hīs G, T "chief". 'malek o 'xān o  
ra'hīs. Prs. ra'īs.

ruš M "half rupee (krān)". Prs. (?) <  
Turk. g(u)ruš (غروش) "piaster,  
groschen".

rhāz- : rhā'zī G, T; rhāz- M "to fly".

badē kargas rhāza M "the vulture  
will fly now"; rhāstōn-a G, 'ā wa'khē  
rhā'zēm G "I flew up". < Av. frā-  
vaz, Shgh. rewāz- etc.

rhāzō'ī T "blown away, broken (parrīda,  
maida)". šāx-e 'rāst-e šēri'ka-m  
rhāzō'ī-a "the lion's right horn is  
fallen off, too". V. rhāz-, cf. Afgh.  
Prs. az 'āyina 'tā 'ba 'sumb-iš 'gōšt-iš  
par'vīda bāt "the flesh had fallen  
off from the knee down to the hoof".

rhēz- v. rēz.

rhīz- : rhī'zī (رهيز, رهيز) M, G, T "to lie  
down, to go to sleep" (cf. Psht. cam-  
lāstəl). 'rhīzeman, 'rhīzem, 'rhīstōn  
G; rhī'zī G, T; 'rhīzō 'hastam G "I  
was lying in bed, sleeping". < \*fra-  
vāza-, Av. raz- "to stretch".

re'kāb G "stirrup". Prs.

ram- : ra'mī M, G "to go round, walk".

ramēm M, ramēm-ē G "mēgardam".

ra'mī M "gašt". Cf. Prs. ramīdan

"to be terrified, to fly in terror".

Talāhedeshk ram- "to run"; Sak.

naram- "to go out", (t)tram- "to go".

rēm- : rhānt G, T "to turn" (trans).

'rēmēm "mēgaštānem"; rhānt "gašt-

ānt". < \*rāmaya- (but why rh-?).

Cf. ram-.

rīm G "matter, pus". Prs. If the form

rhīm, which I have also noted, is

correct, the word must be genuine,

and may, together with Prs. rīm, be

derived < \**raifman*-. (V. Horn Neup. Et. 639).  
*rūi'māl* M, *rūi'māl* T (Phon.) "handkerchief, towel". Prs.  
*'ramma* M, G "herd of cows etc." *'ramma* → *bujika*, *gūika*, *šuturika*, *yarwika* M. Prs.  
*ra'mūz* G "mystery". *ra'mūz-e ešqīkā*. Prs.  
*rān* D "thigh". Prs. or genuine, Av. *rāna*-. (Psht. *werūn*, EVP. s.v. *rūn* poss. contains a prefix, cf. Wkh. *brīn* "knee" < \**upa-rāna*?).  
*rāng* C, T *rūṅ* D "colour". Cf. Prs. *rang*.  
*ran'jō* G "distressed, troubled". Prs. *ranja*.  
*rūpa'i* M, G, T "rupee". Ind.  
*rū'pās* T "veiled". Prs.  
*re'sāla*, pl. *resālān* T "cavalry". Prs.  
*rāst* M, G, T "right, true, prepared".  
*dōst-i rāst-um* M "my right hand";  
*wa'zīre rāstīka-m* T "the vizier of my right hand"; *rāst jaṛ* G "speak the truth"; *sūy rāst-a* G "the word is true"; *'jā-e ma'nā 'rāst kanē* G "prepare a place for me". Prs.  
*rāst* v. *rēz*.  
*rā'stī* T "truth, truthfully". *'jaṛ tu rā'stī*. Prs.  
*rust* G, T "high, elevated". *rust kan* "to lift". *'rust u wa'chan* G "high and low"; *rust-e koṛ dharamī* T "lifted him up from the ground"; *šam'šer-an rust koṛ* G "they raised their swords". Cf. Prs. *rustan* "to grow", Av. *raod*.  
*rus'wā* G *ru'wā* T "disgraced". Prs.  
*rus'wā'i*, *ru'wā'i* T "disgrace". Prs.  
*rēš* v. *šī'rēš*.  
*rī'sā* G, *rī'sā* D "root". Prs. V. *'kōrdi*.

*ru'sān* G "bright". *fā'nūs-e ru'sān*. Prs.  
*ruša'nī* G "daylight", T "illuminated".  
*mar'qu'zār ruša'nī-a* "čirāyān ast". Prs.  
*rī'stan* M "thread, cord". *'mende rī'stan ge'rē-am koṛ*. Prs. V. *tār*.  
*rōt* G "valley". Prs. *rōd*.  
*raw*, *rau* G, T "quickly". *raw čhī dāl Haidar* T "he went quickly to H.". Prs. *raw* "go thou".  
*ra'wā* G "lawful, right". *'čhō-au ra'wā nā*. Prs.  
*rēw* T "fraud, trick". *rēw kan* "to dodge". Prs.  
*ra'wān* M "starting, leaving". Prs.  
*ru'ba* G "facing, towards". *ru'ba ba 'yus-ē* "towards her house".  
*ru'x'sāla* G "cheek". Prs. *ru'x'sār*.  
*ru'x'sat* M, G, T "leave". *waxt-e ru'x'sat*; *'ru'x'sat ghīt*; *čirāy ru'x'sat kan*; *āṛs ru'x'sat (= gūl) kaniman* M "let us extinguish the fire" (cf. Andreev p. 61 *ru'x'sat kardan = gūl kardan*. This expression is prob. a trace of the ancient veneration of the fire). Prs.  
*ru'x'sa'tī* G "leave". *ru'x'satī na dērem*. Prs.  
*rūy*-. *rūt* G "to sweep". *'rūyem*, *'rūtom*. Cf. Prs. *ruften*, *rōbam*.  
*rāz* T "secret". Prs.  
*re'zā* G, T "consent, agreement". *ke Xu'dā be re'zā*. Prs.  
*rēz*-. *rāst* M, G "to make, build, prepare".  
*yus rēzem* M "I build a house (= *andāzem*, *yuhem*)"; *jāy-a te rēzem* G "barā-i jā-i tū mēsāzum"; *yus-um rāst* M. But I also heard *rhēzem* G, T *'mēsāzam*; *kīr-e te nī royār rhēzem* T "*kārīša imšab mēsāzam*"; *'rhēzōr* "besāzi". *rēz* < \**rāzaya*-. if *rhēz*- is the correct form it must be



- derived from \**fra-rāzaya*; cf. Av. *raz*, *rāst* must be a secondary form instead of \**rāst*. V. *al*.
- rīza* *rīza* G, T "in small pieces (*maida maida*, *rēza rēza*, *janu janu*)". *ōsp-ē* *rīza rīza* *chī* T (Phon.). Prs.
- rūz* G, T "day of the week; day of ill-luck". *rūz-e aw'wal* G "the first day"; *rūz-e cāršam'bē* T "Wednesday"; *ma* *mān zū* *rūzi guda'rō sōrī-m* T "a day of ill luck has fallen upon me". Prs. V. *rūc*.
- rūzi* G "daily bread; every day". *rūzi* *šī rupa'i dhaitō-i* M. Prs.
- ruzwā* v. *ruswā*.

## S

- sa'i* G "exactly, completely". *sa'i* *ce ha'wī e'spō Sul'tān Maha'mūd bin* "so that this dog was exactly like S. M." Prs. *ṣaḥīḥ*.
- sī* "is, is present, exists" (inanimate), preter. *sō bōn*, pl. *sē bēn* G, T. Gr. 169, 178. Prob. Ind., cf. Pash. S etc. *šī*; not genuine Ir. < Av. *saēte* (represented in modern Ir. only by Wkh. *nasūn*, 3 sg. pres. *nīsīt* "to lie down").
- sō* G (صو) "100". < Av. *satm*.
- sō* (سو) M, G, T "on". V. *sōr*.
- su* M, G, T, *sō* D "daughter-in-law". *suw-a* T "your daughter-in-law". Cf. EVP. s.v. *nāṣōr*, NSgh. s.v. *zenāz*; but Par. s. scarcely < *su-* (cf. *su'nī*). Gr. 68. V. *su'nū*.
- sa'bā* M, G, T, *sa'bā* D "tomorrow". *sa'bā* *zū* *ōsp-i* *zāi pha'rātīman* M "we shall buy another horse tomorrow"; *sa'bā na*, *šīrūc zē* D "do not

come tomorrow, but the day after". Prs.

*sēb* M, G, T, *sēw* T "apple". G also "female breast". Prs. V. *āmar*.

*subda'mī* M, *subhōda'mī* G "dawn, day-break". Prs. V. *sār*.

*sēb'jī* M "hip". Cf. Orm. *Lu'jī*, Shgh. *sevje* (Hjuler *sevje*). Prob. bor., but apparently not from Prs. Derived from Prs. *suft*, Shgh. *sīvd* etc. "shoulder"? V. *ṭōngōk*.

*sa'bak* G "lesson". *sa'bak gu'rī*; *ōst...* *sa'bak nī'sā dhaitōn*. Prs.

*su'buk* M, G "light, easy". Prs.

*sa'bal* P "centipede". Cf. Pash. *šōbla*, Bal. *šōwāsa*, Waig. *šawōra*, Pash. L. *šarwāi*? V. *čelpāt*.

*sa'bab* (سبب) M, G, T "reason".

*ēr'sabap-ā-ā* T (Phon.) "what is your reason?" Prs.

*sabr* G, T "patience". *sabr-e mā'nā ba Xu'dāe* G; *tu sab ka* G "be patient". Prs.

*sābz* G "green". V.

*sabza* v. *sauza*.

*šī'cīn* M, *sō'cīn* G, *su'cīn* D "needle". < \**sūcainā*, cf. Prs. *sōzan*, Bal. *sūcīn*, *šīcīn* etc. With assimilation of the initial sibilant Minj. *šīzna*, Kurd. *šūzin*, N. Bal. *šīšīn*, and (with dissimilation of *š-c* > *š-f*) Ishk. *šōtun*. Through a mistake Skr. *sūci-* is compared NSgh. s.v. *sej*. Skr. *sūci-* and *śūci-* are prob. two separate words.

*sad*, *sat* T "100". *šī ha'zār u* *šū sa'dā* "3300", *šī sat* "300", *dī sat* "200". Prs.

*sa'dā* M, G, T "voice". Prs.

*said* G "game (*mury-i kohī*)". Prs.

'sāda T "simple, foolish (laūda)". *ān o tō ba har ker-an sāda-eman*. Prs.  
 sāda'i G "poor, weak (yarib, ajiz)". Prs.  
 sau'dāgar, sau'dāgar T "merchant". Prs.  
 saudāgarī T "trading". Prs.  
 sāf G "clean, clear, in order". Prs.  
 sef'la T "self-conceited (xiyāli)". Prs.  
 sa'far G, T "journey". Prs.  
 se'ya D, P "sand". Cf. EVP. s.v. *šega*,  
 Minj. *šga. šgva* (Zar.). Prob. bor.  
 from Ind., cf. E. Pash. *seā* < *sikatā*,  
 but W. Pash. *sēl, siyēl* < Skr. *sikātīla*.  
 V. *rig*.  
 se'y, se'x M, G, D, T "shade". *ine'hak*  
*se'y-a, okestak rūc-a* M "there is shade  
 here ; but there is sun there". <  
 \**sāyakā*, Phl. *sāyak*, Prs. *sāya* etc.,  
 or < \**sayākā*, cf. Orm. *syākā*.  
 sūy G, T "word, affair (gap)". *ēi sūy*  
*tar band ūzāē?* T "da ēi gap mānda-i?".  
 Cf. Sar. *sang* "proverb, tale" < \**sōk*  
 < \**sauka*?  
 sa'yōn M, G, D "dung of cows". Cf.  
 Orm. L. *askan* "dung of cows" etc.  
 (v. EVP. s.v. *γōsāk, xaršān*), Minj.  
*γā'skēn* "dung of horned cattle",  
 Prs. *sargīn* (\**sakr-aina*, with early  
 metathesis > \**sark-?*). Pash. L.  
*'sāngān* < *šakan*?  
 san'yāt G "a present". Prs.  
 'sāheb G, T "owner, master". 'sāheb e  
*muxīkā* = 'sāheb e 'sūrāt "a beautiful  
 person". Prs.  
 sa'hōk D, P "hare". < \**saha*. Cf. EVP.  
 s.v. *šoe*, and Sak. *saha*, Wkh. *sui*,  
 Ishk. *sī*, Yd. *sīy*, Orm. *sikak*.  
 su'hān G "file". Prs.  
 sa'har G, sa'hār T, sār T, P "morning".  
*tā ba sa'hār T, sārī ēe chī T*. Prs.  
 seher G "magic". Prs.  
 salā G "advice". *ēā ma'ēi sa'lā kor*

"she gave him advice with some  
 kisses". Prs. *šaldāh* "advice".  
 sa'il M, G, T "regarding, walking about,  
 excursion". *puš-e xu'hān-ē sa'il kor*  
 T "he looked at his own son";  
*sāil-ē dhōr; ēe sa'il u sāmāna!* T;  
*'sāil-e bā'zār chē bīman* M "we had  
 gone for a walk in the bazar". Prs.  
*sair*, Psht. also *sail*.  
 sāl M, G, T "year". *yarpi-ā sāl ba sāl*  
*dhartōn* G "the snow stays from  
 year to year"; *sāl ē ost... kantō* T  
 "every year... he did (*har sāl*)".  
 Prs. V. *sār*.  
 sēl M "flood, inundation". *sēl nar'γō*  
 Prs. V. *sē'lāw*.  
 'sulū, su'lō T "peace". Prs. *šulh*.  
 se'lāba T "sword"? *sēlābān-an lūc*  
*kor* T; *se'lāwa man'qō tar-ē yušt* T.  
 \*Prs. *silāh* "arms"?  
 sa'lām M, G, T "salutation". 'aze ān  
*'āyēm da 'tū ba sa'lām-au* M "yester-  
 day I came to visit you". Prs.  
 sa'lāmat G "in health, safe". Prs.  
 su'lān M, sū'lān D "stair, ladder". Prs.  
*sullam?* V. *zī'nā, šur*.  
 sa'lāt T "prayer". Prs.  
 su'lāt M, T "sultan". Prs.  
 sē'lāw G "flood". *sē'lāw 'āya*. Prs. V.  
*sēl*.  
 sīm G "silver, wire". *sīm u zar* "silver  
 and gold"; *sīm tar-an de'hī* "they  
 telephoned". Prs.  
 sumb M, G, šape'ki sum D "hoof". Prs.  
 sā'mān T "goods, treasures". Prs.  
 'sāmu' M, G, sāmo' D, P "autumn".  
 "the dark season", Skr. *śyāma-*  
 "black" + *ṛtu*, Av. *sāma*?  
 sāmu'fī M "born in the preceding spring".  
*γā'sō sāmu'fī chī*. V. *'sāmu'*.  
 sī'nā G, sī'nō M "breast". Prs.



su'nt-: su'nā M, G, D "to wash". tōn-um su'nīm, 'jān-um te su'nīm G, 'tōn-e su'nīm D "I bathe"; dōstān-om-em sunitūn M "I am washing my hands"; sunitū hēm D; dōstān am su'nāwū M; su'nām G, su'nāem D "I washed". < Av. snaya-: snāta-; Shgh. ze'nē-: ze'nād.

su'nū P "daughter-in-law". Prs. V. su. san'dūg M "box, chest". hawī kūcānōk-īman sō sandūg eēwitan "we are putting this knife on the top of the chest".

sanda'rā G "inflated skiu (mašk)".

Sen'jet Dar'ra, Senjedar'ra G, T "n. of a place near Istalif" (سِنجِد).

Prs. sin'jid "jujube".

Santoxmānd T "n. of a mountain near Shutul".

si'pāt G "soldier". Prs.

se'par G "shield". Prs.

su'pār- G "to entrust". Prs.

su'pāriš T "entrusting, recommendation". Prs.

sar M, T "head". In special expressions: sar ba sar kan T "to pile up", huddi sar qand T "hardiis sar qand, both of them like sugar (?)". Prs. V. sōr.

sarāi "palace". Prs.

sār "morning", v. sa'har.

sār G "wounded". sār chēm. Prob.

Prs. sār "pain", not < Av. sārī "fracture" etc.

sir<sup>1</sup> M, G "satisfied". sir mux tar-āw-om thāren na narī G "rū-i tūra sēr dīda na tānistom". Prs.

sir<sup>2</sup> G "garlic". Prs. V. bln.

sir<sup>3</sup> T "a seer". yūst sir bizeka "20 seers of grain". Ind.

sōr M, G, T, sōr D "head". sōr nōf T "raised the head (in rebellion)"; sōr na dēran T "they have no chief". < Av. sarah.

sōr M, G, T "on, at the top of". sōr hawī ādamī "az sar-i i ādam". Gr. 220, V. sō.

sur<sup>1</sup> G "music (darsāz)". Ind.

sur<sup>2</sup> T "feast" (jāst, bāzi, xušcaxti, hai o hū). Prs. sūr.

sur<sup>3</sup> M, G, D "female mountain-goat (āhū)". Cf. Pash. D ša'rō, Khow. šara, Kati šuru etc.?

surb G, T "lead". Prs.

surba'dal T "exchange". Prs.

\*surfa M "cough", surf-eman kantan. Prs. V. khūf.

sarfe'rāz G "proud, satisfied (xušāl, biland)". Prs.

sargar'dān G "distressed". Prs.

su'rāy "inquiry, investigation". Prs.

surkh G "red-hot", surk(a) P "red". γār surkh-a G. Cf.

sur'khō M, G (سُرْخُو), 'surku D "red". < Av. suzra-. Gr. 59.

sarkā'ri G "government service". Prs.

'surma G. T "collyrium". Prs.

Sū'rāp G "n. pr., Suhrāb".

serr G "mystery". Prs.

sari'sta G "preparation, planning". sari-'sta-e zomā'ka "preparations for the winter". Prs. sar-rīsta "intention, purpose".

'sūrat G, T "form, beauty". Prs.

sār'wān T "camel-driver". Prs.

Sar'wār G "n. of a saint".

sarwaxt G "in time (sarwaxt, sar-i waxt)". ān tāt sarwaxt kun zahem "I may come in time [to save] you". Prs.

sāp M, G, T, sap D, P "year". hē sa'rī

- žā saṛ kun* G "from one year to another". < Av. *sarəd-*, Prs. *sāl*. V. *žusara*, *parásur*, *ásur*.  
*sat* v. *sad*.  
*sāt* G "hour, while". *žu sāt* "at once" (*yak sāt*). Prs.  
*sif* G, *situ* D "sour". < \**suxta-*, Sedé, Keurōn etc. *sutē* "vinegar" (Zhu-kowski), Skr. *śukta-* "acid", Khov. *šut*. V. *turš*.  
*saṭ'ka* T "sacrifice, propitiatory offering". *saṭ'ka pa'ram* "may I be your sacrifice (*tasaduk at*, *sarbadat at šawom*; *tū zinda bāši*, *mā bumuram*)". Prs. *šadqah*.  
*si'tam* G "strength". Prs.  
*'sutra* G "beautiful". Ind., cf. Lhd. *suthrā*.  
*sāattēr* G "enjoyment, passtime". Afgh. Prs.  
*si'tāra* M, G, *si'tāra* D "star". Prs. V. *stēč*.  
*sāṭ* G "village". Pash. L *sāṭ(h)* < *sārtha* V. *de'āt*.  
*sēv*, v. *sēb*.  
*su'wār* M, *su'wār* G, T "riding, horseman". *sōr 'ōsp su'wār 'nhōšt*; *ōsp* ... *su'wār-ē nhōšt*; *sōr 'ōsp ē su'wār-ē čhī*; *sōr 'ōsp-an su'wār kuṛ-an* T; *dī sat su'wār re'sāla* "200 horsemen". Prs.  
*suwa'rī* G "riding". Prs.  
*sēx* v. *sēy*.  
*saxt* M, G, T "hard". *xu'nuk-i saxt-a* M "it is bitterly cold"; *āšu'qī 'saxt-a* T "love is hard". Prs.  
*sax'ti* G "hardness". *gape sax'ti* "a difficult affair". Prs.  
*sauz* M, *sābz* G, *'sauzu* D, *sauza* (ʔ) P "green, blue". Prs. V. *sābz*.  
*sau'za* M, G, D, *sab'za* G "grass". Prs.

- siz* M, G, T "breast (especially female)".  
*puš-a siz da* D "give your son breast";  
*'paraman 'siz ba 'siz-au* G "let us walk heart to heart",

## Š

- šā* T "bridegroom". Prs.  
*Šā-e Mar'dān* T "n. of Ali".  
*Šā-e Zariṅka'mar* T "n. of a warrior".  
*ši, šu* M, G, T, D, P "3". *ši šu'tur, ši sat* T; *ši māneš* G, *ši ruč* D; *šō ruč* M, *šu ruč* G, *šu hazār* G, T; *ši hazār u šu sada, šō hazār u ši sat* T. Gr. 109. < Av. *šrāyō*, *šri-*.  
*ši 'yuštak* D, *šo 'yoštak* P "60". Cf. *ši, yušt*. V. *šast*.  
*ši* G, D "horn, branch". < Av. *srū-*; cf. EVP. s.v. *šōngarai*. V. *šāx*.  
*šu* v. *ši*.  
*šū* M, G, D "clay". The similarity with Pash. L etc. *šu'la* is prob. accidental.  
*šā'bāš* G, T, *'šābāš* T "bravo". Prs.  
*šočču* v. *šuff*.  
*ši'čak* G, D "female". *ši'čak 'ōsp, šō 'ya'rō* G, *šō 'ōsp* D. < \**striči-* + *ak*, cf. Av. *stri-*, Zeb. *šed* "female", EVP. s.v. *šōja*.  
*šād'gārī* G "joy". Prs.  
*'šadrax* P "peach". V. *šaf'tālū*. \**šatray* = Prs. *šaf'trang* "red peach".  
*ši'dōs* M, G, *šedōs* T, *ši'dōs* D "13". V. *ši, dōš*.  
*šadzam'būr* M, G "honey-bee". Prs. V. *sātibham'būr*.  
*šaf'tālū* G, T, *šaf'tālū* D "peach". *tān aṇqī'wāl 'mun kun zū 'phōr šaf'tālū 'dā, mun 'xūr* G "your comrade gave me a peach, and I ate it". Prs. V. *'šadrax*.



'šāgird (*'šāgird?*) T "pupil". Prs.  
 šāgirdī T "apprenticeship". Prs.  
 ša'yāl M, G, 'ša'yāl D "jackal". Prs.  
 šu'yur M, G, D, P "porcupine". < Av.  
 šukurəna- etc., v. EVP. sv. škōp. Cf.  
 Prs. (dial.) šuyur.  
 'šāhed, šāhet G "witness". Prs.  
 'šāher T, 'šātr G "poet". Prs.  
 šāhe'ri T "poetry". Prs.  
 šakikata M "the temples". Said to be  
 Prs. (\*šagq-i kata "the fissure of?").  
 V. čū'ki.  
 šē'kār M, G, T "shooting, hunting, game".  
 šekārān-ē ma 'yus 'bōr T "he brought  
 the game home". Prs.  
 'šūkur G, T "thanks (to God)". Prs.  
 šekār'jāi G, T "shooting-ground".  
 Prs.  
 šauku'rak v. šaupar'ak.  
 šī'kast G, T "defeat". šikast xūr T  
 "was defeated (šikast xurd)", šī'kas(t)  
 dā G, T "defeated". Prs.  
 šāl M, G "shawl". Prs.  
 šēl G "unhusked rice (*berenj-i pōstdār*)".  
 Early lw. from Ind., Skr. śālī, Kati  
 śālī, Waig. šeli-mai.  
 šī'lāqđ M, G "lizard" (*šilēn*). Cf. Psht.  
 šlānda "frog", Afgh. Prs. šilend, Prs.  
 šailūna "tortoise". V. kar'waš.  
 šām M, G, T, šām D, P "evening". šām  
 čū D. Prs.  
 šio'mī T "third". V. šī.  
 ša'mālī G "the north". 'maṛdum-e  
 ša'mālī. Prs.  
 šu'mār G, T "calculation, number".  
 'n-āya bēn šu'mār tar T "they could  
 not be counted". Prs.  
 šam'sēr G, T "sword". Prs.  
 šam'sērī G, T "a swordsman". Prs.  
 šā'nā M, 'šāna G "shoulder". Prs. V.  
 pēšāna.

šā'nā M, 'šāna G, D "comb". Prs.  
 Note ā in G.  
 'šāen G "reason"? mun e'dhēk 'šāen 'čiq  
 jō "I shouted for this reason (az  
 hamī xātīr)". Or, possibly, 'šāen =  
 šā-am. Cf. Prs. šai "thing, cause"?  
 šā'nī G "falcon". Prs.  
 šī'nā T "cradle (*gawāra*)". Ind., cf. Skr.  
 śayana- "bed, couch" etc.; but not  
 known from Pash.  
 šanu'fart G "anger". čōr tō-an šanu-  
 'fart'kōr. Prs. (Ar.) šan' "hating"  
 and fart' "being rashly and injuri-  
 ously reproachful"?  
 šī'nīm 'yūstak D "70".  
 šāzda M "16". Prs.  
 šōqđ M. šuqđ G, T, šuq D "mouth", P  
 "lip". Ind. (but Pash., ūṣṭ etc.), cf.  
 Tirahi šuqđ "lip" etc., v. EVP. s.v.  
 šōqđ.  
 šenge'ri P "hail". Cf. Bal. trōngal, Zaza  
 trōge, Prs. šaganja (\*šrakancaka-, or  
 dem. of \*šagan, cf. ša'yōn); Kati  
 'teṇlik? These forms may be related;  
 but the phonetic correspondences are  
 irregular, and trōngal, trōge may be  
 connected with Prs. tagarg.  
 šāp G "curse (*duā-i bad*)". Pash. L  
 šāp.  
 šup kan- T "to drink".  
 šī'pāi G "tripod". šī + Prs. pāi.  
 šaupar'ak G. šōpa'rak M, šauku'rak D  
 "bat". Prs. šabparak. V. mūš-i  
 par'rān.  
 šāpe'rik D "butterfly". Prs.  
 šār M, G, šār T, G "town". čī zā šār  
 tar dhōr, ma mun jar M "tell me  
 what you have seen in town"; mā  
 ma tō jartān zū zā šār tar-an dhōran  
 "we are telling you about one thing  
 we saw in town". Prs. (šār has prob

been borr. quite recently, while *šār* is an older lw.).  
*šōr* G, T, D "lion, tiger". Prs.  
*šōr*, *šūr* v. *šūr*.  
*šārāb* T "wine". Prs.  
*šīruē* G, D "the day after tomorrow".  
*sa'bā na*, *šīruē zē* D "do not come tomorrow, but the day after". Cf.  
*ši*, *ruē*, V. *pas'sa'bā*,  
*šuru'čina* G "the third day of the week, Monday (*dō šamba*)". V. *xuru'čina*.  
*šārīk* M "partner". Prs.  
*šarm* G "shame". Prs.  
*šar'menda* M, *šar'mūnda* T (Phon.) "ashamed". Prs.  
*šar'mēu-* G "to put to shame".  
*šī'rīn* T "sweet". *šī'rīn* *yārāi* = *xīrō* *yārāi*. Prs.  
*šī'rīnī* M "gift, present, baksheesh".  
*lān ma* *tō šī'rīnī da'hem* "mā tura *šīrīnī bedem*". Prs.  
*šērpur* G "n. of cantonement near Kabul".  
*Šārārā* T "Shahrara near Kabul".  
*šūrēš* v. *šūrīš*.  
*šārā'rā* M, G "waterfall". Afgh. Prs.  
*šūr'šur* T "murmur, purl". *šūr'šur-e* *lāwo*. Prs. *šurridan* "to flow, murmur". Onomat., cf. Lat. *susurrus*.  
*šūr'wā* D "soup". Prs. V. *piā'wā*.  
*šīr'xēšt* G "resin (*sirīš*)". Prs. *šīr'xīst*, *šīr'xūšk* "a kind of manna".  
*šōr* P "stair, ladder". Pash. L *šur*, Kashm. *hēr*, Hi. *sīphī*. V. *su'lān*.  
*šūr* M, *šūr*, *šōr* G, T "agitation, movement, noise". *šōr-e xu'kān-ē* *šūr-ē* *kōr* M "he shook his own head"; *šūr da'hem* G "I move"; *watan-om* *šūr xūr* T "my country is agitated"; *šūr* G (Phon.). Cf.  
*šūr*: *šūrī* G, T "to be agitated, ex-

cited". *khar-ē* *šūrā* G "her anger rises (*'qahr* *'bušūra*)"; *'qhar-a* *šūrī* "qhar-it *šūrīdas*"; *šūrā* G (Phon.). I certainly heard as well *r* as *ř* in these words.  
*šūr*, *šōr* is borr. from Prs. *šōr* "cry, noise, contention, agitation". But the *ř* in *šūr*, *šūr-* remains unexplained. Cf.  
*šūrīš* M "cold", G "snow-storm". *ma* *'bōr* *šūrīš-a* = *xu'nuk-a* M "it is cold outdoors". But also *xunuka wa'tan* *šūrēš* *kōr* M "the cold wind made the country freeze" (?). Originally "blowing, disturbing". < Prs. *šōrīš* "confusion, tumult"?  
*šus* G, T, D "30". < *šrisat*, cf. Psht. *dērš*, Prs. *ši*, but Av. *šrisata*. Cf. *γuzd u dōs* M.  
*šusara* M "a kid, three years old". Cf. *ši*, *šūr*. Cf. Psht. (Waz.) *daršārila* "sheep, three years old". V. *dušara*, *'šusara*.  
*šast* M, G, *šast* *γušt* D "thumb". Prs.  
*šast* G, T "60". Prs. V. *ši* *γuštak*.  
*šā'ša* M "urine". Prs. V. *miz*.  
*šī'ša* G "mirror"? Prs. V. *ā'ina*.  
*šaš'pār* T, in *phī-e* *šaš'pār* "hoe" (v. pl). Prs. *šašpar* "a halberd".  
*šut* G, D "throwing". *šut-e* *ka'nem* G "I throw"; *šut-um* *kōr*, *šut-em* *kan'tū* D. Prob. a past part. in *\*-fta*, *\*-xta*. V. *an'dāz*.  
*šātībham'bur* D "bee". V. *šādzam'būr*, *bham'bur*.  
*Šu'tul* M "the valley of Shutul in Kohistan". V. *Ču'tul*.  
*Šutu'li* M "an inhabitant of Sh.". *lān* *Šutu'li-em*.  
*šātān* G "envious, malicious". Prs. (in this sense in Psht., too).



- šai'tānī M, T "malice (šuyū'li)". Prs.  
 šu'tur M, G, T, D, P "camel". Prs.  
 šutt T, šottl M (šodēū G = šottl chū?)  
 "lame". Cf. Shgh. šut.  
 šāx M, T "horn", M, G, D "branch".  
 Prs. V. šī.

## T

- ta T "below", tai G, T "under". 'ta-ē  
 kor "he unloaded it (farāwurd)";  
 ta-i zū lēf T "under one blanket";  
 ta-i yus kun a G "below thy house".  
 Prs. tah.  
 'tai G, tai T "settled, quiet (qarāri)".  
 wa'tan 'tai chī G "the country set-  
 tled down"; palla'nān-an tai kor T  
 "they subdued the army". Cf. ta?  
 tau M, G "fever". tau ku'rō G "tau  
 kadas, nājōr šudas"; 'tawa le'sim (?)  
 M "I have fever". Prs.  
 tā G, T "until". tā ba T "until, so  
 long as". Used as a particle: "now,  
 then (dīgar)": 'ān ēi ka'nem tā? T  
 "what shall I do then? (ēi kunum-it  
 dīga)". Prs.  
 te M, G, T, D enclitic particle, Gr. 153.  
 ti M, G, D, P "mulberry-tree", M, G  
 "tree". Cf. Prs. tūt. V. bhīn.  
 tū, obl. tō, M, G, T tō D "thou". T  
 stressed tā. Gr. 114.  
 tab G "condition, nature". ān-em na  
 pāntōn 'tab-a "I do not understand  
 your condition". Prs.  
 tāb.<sup>1</sup> G "to heat". Prs. (if genuine \*tēw-).  
 tāb.<sup>2</sup> T "strength, power". 'tāb-e dōsti'ka-i  
 T "the strength of his arfa"; 'tāb-e  
 ha'wī Zaiyū'nā chēn T "they came  
 into the power of, became obedient  
 to this Z."; š ham tāb-e ma'nān-a

- T "he, too, is in my power (zēr-i  
 mā-st)"; 'hēc khīn 'tāb-ē 'n-āwurd T  
 nobody defeated him (hēc kasi tāb-iš-a  
 n-āwurd)". Prs.  
 'tāb T "pain, affliction". kū'kān-e āhe'nī  
 'tāb-ē ka'nōr "torture (pierce) it with  
 iron nails". Prs.  
 Ta'bak(k)al T "n. of a man". Prs. Tawak-  
 kul.  
 ta'bīp (تیبیب) G "doctor". Prs.  
 tečh (تچھ, pl. تچھان) M, G, T, tec D,  
 teč (?) "eye; spring, fountain". 'āwō  
 'chī te'chī-m M "I wept". Not con-  
 nected with Bakht. etc. tēd', prob.  
 < \*dhiā < \*dhiā, Prs. dīda (cf. Rep.  
 p. 8). Connexion with Prs. čašm etc.  
 (through \*čech?) is phonetically im-  
 probable (Oss. cāstā) not, with  
 Hübschmann. < \*časti-, but prob. <  
 \*časn- < \*čas(m)na-. Cf.  
 tečpeja'kā'i G "blindfold (čispuṭakāi)".  
 ma gū tečpeja'kā-i dūcetōn "he is  
 milking the cow blindfold"; tečpeja'kā  
 dūčen na 'nartōn "he cannot milk  
 blindfold". Cf. tečh, peč.  
 Tūdga'i T "n. of a place".  
 taf G "steam". taf nītō "taf mēbrāya".  
 Prs.  
 tu'f G, D "saliva". Prs. V. 'āwō-i šuṇḡi'ka.  
 tō'fang M, G, T, tu'fang D "rifle". Prs.  
 to'fang-i Ru'stam M "rainbow". Prs.  
 V. ka'mān-i Ru'stam, nāxč'u'ri.  
 tu'fan(g)'dār T "rifleman". Prs.  
 to'fangjan'gī T "fighting with rifles".  
 Prs.  
 tag'bīr T "plan". Prs. tadbīr. Differen-  
 tiation bī > gō?  
 tōy M, G "male mountain goat". Cf.  
 Wkh. tuy "goat", Prs. faka.  
 'tāyat T "strength". tāyat na dērem čē

- chestak dharem* "I cannot stand to remain here". Prs.
- thā* G "to cut, shave". *thāem-ē*. Av. *taš-* (*tāsti*) "to cut", Psht. *tōṣel* "to shave", Shgh. *tēṣ-*.
- thī* M, G, D "to burn" (intrans.). *thī-tōn-em* M "I am burning"; *ēṣq tar-au-em* *'thitōn* (تَبِيْتُون) G "I am burning from love of you"; *zur-ē thī* M "dil-*iš* *sōxt*"; *thī-m-e* G "*sōx-tum*"; *thī* D. Cf. Wkh. *ṭi-ūw-* (trans.), *ṭau-* (intrans.), Shgh. *ṭaw-*. Gr. 58, 73.
- 'thōi* G "burnt (*sūxta*)". *naṣṭōnīkā 'thōi* "burnt pieces of bread (*sūxta-i nān*)"; *ṣōk-e naṣṭōnīkā 'thōi* "a piece of burnt bread". Cf. *thī*.
- thāl* (تِهال) G "respite, upshoot (?)". *dā ruč-i zāi ham thāl dā* (read: *ham mathāl?*) "she gave him a few days more respite (*čand rūz-i diḡar ham mātāl ka?*)". ? V. *mātāl*.
- thān* (تِهان) G "thirst, thirsty", *'tana* M, *tan* D "thirsty". *thān-em* G, *thān* < Av. *taršna-* (Gr. 65). Is *tan(a)* a different word, cf. Pash. L. *ta'na* "thirsty" (S *tuš'nū*), and also Waz. Psht. *tanda* "thirst"?
- thār-*: *thā'ri* G, *'thāri* T "to observe, regard". *ān-e 'thārem* G "*diā'ri mēku-nam*"; *thār* G "*diā'ri kun*"; *thā'rōr* G (تَاهَرور); *thā'ri-m* G "I regarded", *thā'ri* (تِهاري) G, but *'thāri-an* T "they saw". Cf. Pash. D. *tarēgam* "I see"?
- ther-* v. *tēr-*.
- thar* M, G "full". *āwə thar-a* M "it is full of water"; *'thar-a* (تِهَار) G. Cf. *ter-*?
- thōr* M, G "hole". *thōr ka'nem* M "I bore". V. *tār-*.

- thōr* v. *ter-*.
- thēw-* G "to lit, burn" (trans.). *thēwem-ē* "I lit the fire"; *thēwōi* "*sūxtānd ast*". V. *thī-*.
- tāj* T "crest of a hen". Prs.
- tāk* G "vine". Prs.
- 'taka* G "kid, two years old". Prs. *taka* "he-goat" (Pash. L. *ta'kū* "he-goat, one year old", *šī'sak-ta'kū* "he-goat, two years old"). Cf. *tōṣ*, *taka'čār*. V. *'dusara*.
- ta'kia* G "leaning on". Prs.
- te'ka* G "mouthful". Prs.
- teka'i* G "onion". Cf. *'tekku*. V. *pī(y)āz*.
- taka'čār* G "kid, one year old", *taka'ca* D "he-goat". Cf. *'taka*.
- 'takku* D "bitter". *'tarku*.
- tā'qīq* T "truth". In *ba tā'qīq* "certainly". Prs.
- 'tekku* G "pungent". Ind. \**tikka* < \**tikna*, Skr. *tikta* "bitter"? V. *'tarku*.
- ta'i'kōl* G "armpit". Cf. *ta*; *kōl* borr. from an Ir. dial. with *l* < *š*? Cf. Prs. *kaš* "armpit", Wkh. *kalbun*. V. *ba'yaḷ*, *banabayaḷ*.
- tāl* v. *tār*.
- tāla* G "hanging, spread out". *tāla ka'nem* "I spread out"; *lēf-a ruč tar tāla kuṣṭ?* "have you hung up the blanket in the sun?"
- 'tāla* G "meadow". Cf. Psht. *tāla* "a kind of delicate short grass". V. *w'lang*.
- tēl* G "oil". *'tēl-e pad'dō* "*tēl-e siyā*". Ind. *tō'lā* M, *'tilla* G, *tī'lā* D, P "gold". Prs. V. *zār*.
- tō'lāi* G "golden". Prs.
- tōl* G, *tūl* T "weight". *ka'nem 'tōl-e tān az zār* G "I shall pay your weight in gold"; *ba tūl zu xer'wār* T "one ass's load in weight". Ind.



*tul-* G "to see, look at" (?). I never heard this word except in the rather doubtful explanation of the name of the Ču'tul valley (v. Introduction, p. 7).

*ta'lab* T "searching". *ma mul'lā-an ta'lab koṛ* "they searched for the mulla". Prs.

*ta'lāf* P "ceiling". V. *kō*.

*ta'l'wār* T "sword". Prs.

*ta'l'wasa* T "quickly (*bēqa'rār*)". *'zur-a te ta'l'wasa pēz'mā ka'na* "your heart will quickly repent". P. *talwasa* "commotion, restlessness".

*talx* M "bitter". Prs. V. *'tarku*.

*talxā* G "parched grain". Prs.

*tam* D "cloud". < Av. *tamah* "darkness", Kurd. *tam* "fog". V. *a'ir*.

*tam'bān* G "trousers (*e'zār*)". Prs. *tum-bān*.

*ta'mām* G "whole, finished". *ta'mām-e kašte'ā* "all the girls". Prs.

*ta'mīm* G "?". *ta'mīm 'pādsā bin*.

*tu'mān* M "a toman". *šu ttu'mān chi*. Prs.

*ta'massum* M, *tawas'sum* D "a smile".

*ta'massum-eman 'khan'tā* M; *tawas'sum*

*khan'tūn* D. Prs. *tabassum*, Pash. S

*ta'massum*. V. *pūs'xand*.

*'Tāmās* T "n. of a king".

*tan-* M "to be thirsty". *'taneman*. Cf.

*tan(a)* "thirsty". V. *thān*.

*tān* M, G etc. "thy". Gr. 114.

*'tāna* T "derision, mockery (*xanda*)".

*'māci 'tāna dā* "his mother derided him". Prs. *fa'na*.

*tōn* G, *tōn* D "body". < Av. *tanū* cf. Prs. *tan*.

*tūnd* G "swift". Prs.

*'tendura, tendu'rō* G "sharp". *tendu'rō-e ka'nem* "I sharpen it"; *'tendura 'ten-*

*dura kūkân-e āhent* "very sharp iron nails". Corrupted from Prs. *tandurust* "vigorous", or connected with Prs. *tund* "fierce, strong" (Panj. lw. *tund*

"sharp")?

*'tunuk* G "thin, fine". *kās-ē 'tunuk-a* "his shirt is thin". Prs.

*tan'xāxūr* G "drawing pay". Prs.

*taq'gī* G, T. "dense, narrow street, straitness, difficulty", Prs.

*ta'pō* M, G "warm, hot" *xu'nōke ta'pō* M "a hot wind". Pash. L. *ta'pē*.

*tūp* T "gun". Prs.

*ta'pēw-* G "to warm". *dō'stān-um 'Le ku'rō, ta'pēwem* "my hands are cold, and I warm them". V. *ta'pō*.

*tar* postposition "in, to, from" etc. Gr. 100.

*tar* G, T "before, in front of". *e'spō*

*'tar-ē dā* G "the dog went in front

of him"; *'kal 'tar-ē dā, 'Qāsem 'bāw-ē*

*peš'chan* T "the bald-headed son went

in front, his father Q. behind";

*xu'xu-ē 'tar-ē dā 'āḡa* G "he him-

self came before her"; *male'kân-an*

*'tar-ē dā* T "the muliks went first

(*pēš šud*)". Av. *tarō* "away from,

beyond". Gr. 220. V. *ta'ri*, *'tartar*.

*ta'ri* G, T "before, near". *ta'ri mun ōst*

*ma 'lō 'lauz-e Pa'rāci 'Mahmad 'a'nī*

*sa'bak nī'sā 'dhailōn* G "M. Gh. used

to teach you the Parachi language

before me (*pēš az mā*)"; *ān chē bēm*

*zū mā'dān ta'ri* T "I had approached

a plain"; *'chī hō'wī 'jāngal ta'ri* T

(Phon.). Cf. *tar*.

*tār* M, G, *tāl* D "a single hair". *zū tār*

*dōš-a* M, *zū tār g'wō* G, *zū g'ina tāl*

D. But cf.

*tār* M, G, *tār* D "thread". *tā'rān-e ru'bāb*

G "guitar strings". Prs.

tēr- (ther-?): thōr M, G, T, D "to drink".  
 tū-yē āwō 'tērtān M "you are drinking water"; mā-īman na'yōn 'xartān, 'wō-er āwō 'tērtān M "we are eating bread, and you are drinking water"; āwō 'te'rēm G; āw-um 'thōr G; t(h)erem, t(h)ereman (تيرمن, تيرمن), thōr. Prob. the present stem originally has *t-*, and T's *th-* is due to the influence of the preterite. Cf. Orm K. *trem*: *tatak*. — *thōr*, *tatak*, < \**tṛšta-*; but *ter-*, *tr-* < \**tṛya-* (\**tṛšya-* seems phonetically imposs., Gr.64). The connexion with Indo-Eur. *ter-s-* "to be dry", Av. *taršna-* "thirst" (v. s. v. *thán*), Skr. *tṛṣṭa-* "dry" etc. seems evident; but the exact nature of the relation is difficult to define. Is \**ter-s-* "to be dry" originally a "desiderative" to a root \**ter-* "to drink"? But in that case why past part. \**tṛ-s-to-*?

turb, v. turp.

tā'raf T "direction". yustara'fī T (Phon.) "from the house". Prs.

tā'rif T "praising". Prs.

tarka'i G "poison". Cf. 'tarku "bitter".

Cf. Prs. *zahr* "poison": *zahra* "bile"? 'tarku 'tarkō (تروكو) G, 'takku D "bitter".

< \**taxra-*, Prs. *talx*, Prs. *taxr*, Paht. *trix* etc. We should expect \**tarkhō* (cf. *surkhō*, Gr. 59); is 'tarkō etc. bor. from some Ind. form?

tā'rik M, G "dark, darkness". Prs.

tā'rānī M, tā'rānī (تارانی) G "a flowering bush, dog-rose". Paht. L. *tāranī* "dog-rose", cf. Prs. *tarān* "id". Cf. Skr. *tṛṇa-* (Woty. lw. *turīn* "grass, plant")?

tōr'pī G "calf, one to two years old".

< \**tarō-payah*, cf. Lat. *dē-licus*; Av.

*tarō-piḍwa-* "having unsufficient food".

turp, turb T "platoon". 'zū turb re'sāla, 'turpe re'sāla.

tars G "fear". Prs.

turs M "sour". Prs. V. *sif*.

'tartar M, G, T "in front of, before, near to (pēš)". 'tartar-e zū 'ādam chī M "he went before a man"; hē 'ādam-a tarta'r-ē 'dhōr M "have you seen this man before?"; kal 'tartar-ē, 'Qāsem 'bāw-ē pēš'chan T "the bald-headed before and his father Q. behind". < Av. comparative \**tarō-tarəm*, V. *tar*.

tari'wāl T "previous, ancient, foremost (pēšina)". 'pādšā-e tari'wāl "an ancient king"; 'ā qur'bān-e hō'wī tari'wālī'ka-i "I am the sacrifice of the foremost of them". Cf. *tar*?

tar'yāk G "antidote". tar'yāk-e bēd = panj'bēd (q.v.) "a kind of antidote, the nature of which he could not explain". Prs.

tār-: tā'rī G "to split, burst". 'zur-um na tā'rī "dīl-em na kafīd". Cf. Sar. *tarō* "to but, strike", Prs. *iftātidan* "to cleave, break" < \**abi-tard-*, Skr. *trā-* "to cleave". Cf. *thōr* "hole" < \**tṛsta-*.

tūr-: tu'rī G "to drip, dribble". 'tūrtōn; -um tu'rī "ēakāndom". Skr. *tur-* "to hasten"?

taisō'rī G "pillow". Prs. Par., cf. Madaglashti Prs. *tai-i seri*, Paht. S. 'tāisari. V. *ta*.

'tašō M, G "a kind of axe, adze? (tēša)". If genuine, < \**rš*, cf. Shgh. 'taršak. Paht. \**taršaj* "adze" etc. V. 'pašō.

tō'sak T "mattress". Prs.

tīt T "distributing", tīt kan "to distribute, throw about". tīt-ē kor.



- tōlī* G "parrot". Prs.  
*tātār* G "musk". Prs. *tātārī* "fine musk".  
*tāw-* G "to braid, plait". Cf. Prs. *tāftan*, *tābam*.  
*ta'wār* G "female dress (*raxt*)".  
*ta'warā* D "small axe". Prs. V. *'pašō*, *'tašō*.  
*tā'wēz* G "charm". Prs.  
*taxm* T "seed". Prs.  
*tax'im* M "partition, division". Prs.  
*taxt* T "curtain (*parda*)". Prs. *taxt* "seat, sofa".  
*taxt u baxt* T. In: *ā ba taxt o baxte tā qasam-um xurō* "I have sworn by your throne and your fortune". Prs.  
*'taxta ba puṭ* G, T "on the upper part of the back (*taxta ba pušt*)". *ma 'tō de'hem 'taxta ba puṭ* "I slap you on the back". Cf. Panjshiri Prs. *taxtā ba pišt* "on the back". Cf. *'taxta-e puṭīka*.  
*Taxta'hi* G "n. of a place near Charikar, Takhtapul".  
*'taxta-e puṭīka* T "the upper part of the back". Cf. *puṭ*. V. *'taxta ba puṭ*.  
*tūyāna* G "price paid for the bride". *tūyānā-w-um ka'fī* (طویانا) "I have paid the price for you". Cf. Pers. *tūy* "feast" ("marriage"?).  
*ta'yār* T "prepared, ready". Prs.  
*ta'yārī* T "preparation". Prs.  
*'lāza* T "fresh, refreshed". Prs.  
*tā'zī* M "bitch". Prs. V. *mādakū'čōk*.  
*tēz* M, G, T "sharp". Prs. V. *'tendura*.  
*tax'ma* T "strap, thong". Prs.

## T

- ṭag* T "mad (*dēwāna*)". *max'sōr-ē 'ṭag yušt* "he feigned to be mad (*dēwāna*)

*partaft*". Ind., Pash. L *ṭhag* "thief, cheat".

*ṭōk* G "piece, morsel". Ind., Panj. *ṭuk* "bit, piece of bread", Pash. L *ṭuk* "to pick up".

*ṭōngōk* M "podex", *fu'fugak* G "hip". Pash. S *ṭafo'na* "hip", Waig. *ṭōtārā*.

## W

*wā* M, G, T "you". Cf. Av. *vā*. Gr. 115.

*wē* M, G, D "roof-beam". Ind., Skr.

*vamsya-*, Shina *bōi*, Waig. *wāš*, Psht.

*bainš* (Waz. *wēša*); cf. Shgh. *wūš*.

From a dial. with *š* > 0 like Pash.

*wo*, *wā* G, T "and". V. o.

*wō* G, *wāe* T "oh".

*wa'chan* (وچان) G "low". *'rust u*

*wa'chan* "high and low". *-chan*

seems to be a suffix, cf. *pešchan*.

*wa- < apa-?*

*wacha'nā* G "bad". V. *xa'rāb*. Cf. *wa'cha*.

*wacha'nē* M, G "below, down". *wacha'nē*

*param* G. V. *'pastō*.

*wacha'nē-yus* G "cellar (*tāxāna*)".

*wachan'bhām* G "evil-smelling". Cf.

*bhām*.

*'wāda* T "promise, engagement". Prs.

*wa'fā* G "fidelity". Prs.

\**wāyar-*: *wāya'rī* G "to dance". *tō* (*edē*)

*wāya'rī* "you did (she did) dance".

\**upa-ā-kar*, cf. Skr. *car*, or cf. Waig.

*wegār* "play".

*wā'yār* G "dance". *'ē da wā'yār chī*

"she started dancing".

*wēh-* M, *wēhew-* G: *wa'hī* (?) G "to flow,

go". *ān šār wēhēm* M "I go to town";

*mā hudinān šār wēhēmān* M; *wā šār*

*wēhēr?* M; *'wēhewem* G = *param*;

*whēwē* "mērawī"; *āwē whēwetōn* G "the water flows"; *ān-em whētōn* T; *te'chī-ā' hīn whētōn* T "blood flows from his eye"; *we'hētōn ōst* T; *whētōn* G (وهتون) 'zur tar-ē wa'hē G "she thought (*da dīl-iš gašt*)"; *wa'hen* T "swinging round (*daur kada*)". Ind., cf. Lhd. *wahan* "to flow, go". But why -ē? Cf.  
*wa'hēwē* M, G, T "to roll". (trans).  
*'zā-īman wa'hēwētan* M "ēzī mēgar-dānam"; *ēarxa-īman wa'hēwētan* M;  
*wa'hēwē-mē* G; *khāmuy wa'hēwē* G "I thresh"; *sōr tar-ē wa'hēwē* T "swung him round his head". V. *wēh*. Cf.  
*wa'hēwa'ld* G "spindle". V. *ēar'xā*.  
*wa'jip* M "necessary" (?). Prs. *wājīb*.  
*wa'khē* M, G, *wa'kyē* D "up, high".  
*wa'khē* paraman M, *wa'khē* param G, *wa'kyē* param D "I go up";  
*wa'khē(i)* *āwē 'zītūn* M "the water is coming down (*az bālā au mēāya*)";  
*wa'khē 'āyā tar* "az bālā āmadan";  
*'dhār wa'khē-a* M "the mountain is high"; *'mhak dāl 'xā tar-ē leq'gān-ē*  
*pa wa'khē kor* G "dar hamū pēš-e šū-iš langhā-iš biland kat"; *hur'ēi*  
*wa'khēi tar* G "on the lofty veranda";  
*wa'khē čemen* G "growing (*kalān šuda*)".  
*wa'khō* G (وكو) "high, splendid (*ālā*)";  
 T "peace". *wa'khō chē* "peace was concluded" (?).  
*wā'khān* G, T, *wa'kān* D "your". Gr. 115.  
*wa'kar* M "to bark". *'kučuk-a wa'kartūn*. V. *jaf*.  
*wa'lē* M, G, T "but, however, certainly". Prs.  
*wēl* G, T (ويل) "while, time". *zū wēl*

"at once, suddenly (*yak gašt, yak sāf*)". Ind., Waig. *wēl* etc.  
*Wālī'yād* T "n. of a man". Prs. *wālī-i* 'ahd "heir apparent".  
*wa'lēkin* M "but". Prs.  
*-wa'nō* G, T "towards". *-wa'nōi* "from". Pash. L. *wanā*, Gr. 102.  
*wēn'gā* G (Nijrau) "axe". V. *'pašd*.  
*'wenger-* G "to bleat". *'buj-a 'wengertō* "buz *wangas mēkuna*". V. *bā'nas*.  
*wān'gēw-* G "to eat, swallow". *wān'gēwem*, *wān'gēwēitōn*, *wān'gēwim*. Cf. Prs. *bunguš* "deglutition", *bungūstan* "to swallow" (\**upa-han-kuš* or a similar form; cf. Skr. *kuṣ* "to gnaw")?  
*wa'pēš*, *wapešt* M "back, again". V. *a'pešt*, *pēš*.  
*'wērā* G "gums". Lw., cf. Pash. S *bī'rā*, Bad. Prs. *wē'rā*. Connexion with Psht. \**ōrai* (Waz. *wrai* etc.) is doubtful.  
*'wārun* M, G (*ārun*? M) "flour". *'wārun-un mālīda kor*. < \**ārtana* (\**upār-tana* -?), Prs. *ārd*, Psht. *ōr* (q.v.).  
*wēra'nō* G "bedding". Poss. < \**whīranō* < \**aβīrstanay* < \**aβīstranay* < \**abištaranāka* (Gr. 45 g, 54) Skr. *abhi-st-* "to cover", cf. Prs. *bistar* "bedding", Soghd. *prštrn* "rug" EVP. s.v. *brastan* "coverlet".  
*wē'sej-*: *wē'sejī* G, T "to send, despatch, order". *wē'sejem* "I send"; *wē'sejim* G "I sent", *wē'seštō* T "is sending", *ma 'xā-ē wē'sejī* G "she sent her husband". Scarcely < \**abi-sāčaya* "to instruct, command", cf. Av. *sāčaya* "to teach", *ānei-sak* "to think of, remember". Apart from other considerations, *j* < *č* would be irregular (Gr. 50).  
*wāskač* G "waistcoat". Engl.  
*wa'spē* G "buttermilk (*dūy*)". \**apas-*



- payāh*, cf. Skr. *apas-* "water" in compounds. Cf. Waig. *wašp*, *išpi* borrr. from Par.? V. *dōγ*.
- wāš* G, D "to rain". *γār wāštū* G, *γār wāštū* D "it rains". Ind., cf. Waig. *waš* "rain" etc.
- wāšī'na* v. *bāša'na*.
- wa'tan* M, G, T "country". *wata'ni-um sa'fār koγ* M "I travelled from my country"; *wa'tana wa'tan laškar āli'sō* T "the army has taken land after land" ("the whole land"?).
- wata'ni* G "tame". Prs. Cf. *dhārī*.
- watan'dār* T "countryman". Prs.
- waxt* M, G, T "time". *wax'ti* "one time". Prs.
- w(i)γār* M, G, T (وَيَار), *wiār* D, P "night". *uk-ē wi'γār koγ* T "he spent the night there"; *nesp-e wyāri'ka* T "midnight"; *wi'γār* T (Phon). Pash. L *wyāl* etc. r < \*? (cf. *phōr*).
- wyāra'wyār* G "this very night (*šawa-šaw*)".
- wa'zir* G "vizier, minister". Prs.
- Wa'zir* T "n. of an Afghan tribe".

## X

- xāi* G "to wish". *xāitōn*. Prs.
- xā(i)* M, G, T, *xā* D "husband". Pl. *xāān* G (not \**xānān*, cf. Gr. 82). *xāika xi-m* G "my husband's sister"; *xā-e xika-m* M "my sister's husband". Cf. Minj. *šwūy* (Ganth.), *šfy* (Zar.), Yd. *šfoh* < Av. *fšuyant-* "peasant, \*householder". Cf. Sak. *kṣundai* with *kṣ* < *fš*-? (cf. s.v. *xu'wān*). Prs. *šūl* (Afgh. Prs. *šūl*, not with *majhul*-vowel, cf. Hübschmann 790) may be derived from the same stem. Prs. *šohar* is difficult; but Horn's and Hübschmann's derivation < \**xšaoda* (\**xšaodraka*), (cf. Av. *xšudra* "semen") is neither phonetically nor semasiologically satisfactory. Words denoting "husband" have usually a social, not a sexual meaning. *šohar* < \**šōhr* (ar from *pidar* etc.) < \**fšauṛ*, \**fšautar*?
- xē* G, T (xē Phon.) "open". *bōr xē kanem* G "I open the door"; *zur-um bāl xē dēra* G "my heart spreads out its wings (*dil-om bāl wāz mē-kuna*)". \**wišāya*, cf. Prs. *gušādan*, *gušāyam* (Barth. < \**wi* + *hāy*), Wkh. *wušūyam* "I untie". Gr. 43, 69.
- xī*, *xu* M, G, T, D, P "6". Gr. 109. Av. *xšvaš*, Shgh. *xduš* etc. < \**xwaša*, dissimilated < \**xšwaša*.
- xī*, pl. *xī'an* M, G, D, P "sister". Prob. < \**hwahl* instead of \**hwahā* (Av. *xwāghar*). Cf. Wkh. *xūi*, Shgh. *yax*, Sangl. *ixwa*, Kurd. (ūr) *x'eh*, Zaza *wai* < \**hwahl*?
- xu* M, G, T, *xō*, *xā* T "self". < Av. *xwātō*, Prs. *xud*. V. *max'sōr*.
- xu* G, T "but, indeed". *aga 'ēnen-ē na na'rem xu xā'rem te* T "if I cannot bring him, I shall at any rate eat him"; *xā param*; *bālō x' bīn* T. Cf. Psht. *xō* "indeed". V. *xu*.
- xūb* M, G, T (خوب) "good, well". *xub-em pāntōn* M "I understand well"; *yu'lū xūb māneš-a* G "he is a very good man"; *xub na dēra* T "it is not well". Prs.
- xū'bi* T "goodness, friendliness". Prs.
- xabar* G "news, informed". Prs.
- Xai'bār* T "n. of a place". *xi-e Xai'bār*.

*xabargîrânî* G, T "asking for information". *xabargîrânî felânî'kâ chê bêm* G "I had gone to ask news about somebody". Prs.  
*xud* M "self". *sarî xud*. Prs. V. *xu*, *Xu'dâ(î)* M, G, T "God". Gen. *xudâ'ika*, *xudâ'yân*. Prs.  
*xu'dâi'* T "alms". Prs.  
*xu'dâi'* T "natural". *'xâl-i xu'dâi'* "a natural mole". Prs.  
*'xudmat* G, T "service". Prs. V. *'xizmat*, *'xudrat* G "power". Prs. *qudrat*.  
*xudrûya* G "selfwilled". Prs.  
*xu'dôs* M, G, T *xu'dôs* D, P. "16". Gr. 109.  
*xudextî'yâr* G "independent". Prs.  
*xudextî'yâr-wâla* T "independent". Prs. + Ind.  
*xa'fa* M, G, *xapa* T "angry, distressed". Prs.  
*xaif* T "terror". Prs.  
*xîyû'rôk* G, *xîyû'rûk* D "sister's son". V. *xî*, *yu'rôk*.  
*xâ'hât* T "a particle denoting the future (*magaram*)". *ma 'mun ham wâ 'ham xâ'hât de'hî* "you will indeed have beaten me, too (*xâhad zad*)". Prs.  
*xî'jinjek* M "sister-in-law". V. *xî*, *jînê*.  
*xâk'bât* M "dust (storm)". Prs.  
*xu'kân* G, T "own". Gr. 138. V. *xu*.  
*xâl* G, T "mole". *'xâl u xî'tâb*. Prs.  
*'xâla* G "mother's sister". *xâlaika puš* "cousin". Prs.  
*'xâlî* M, G, T "empty". Prs.  
*xalk* M, G, T "people". Prs.  
*'xullas* T "in all (*kull-iš*)". *'xullas êa-dôs ha'zâr* "14 000 in all". Ar., Prs.  
*xullas* "pure, sincere"?  
*xâ'lâs* G, T "loose, free". Prs.  
*xâm* M, G "skin, hide". *'xâm-i gû'ika*

M. Prs. (Ar.) *xâm* "an untanned hide" (Prs. *xâm* "raw undressed")?  
*xâm* "raw" in *noqra-e xâm* G "uncoined silver (*nâzarbâza*)". Prs.  
*'xaima* T "tent". Prs.  
*xôm* (خوم) M, G, T *xôm* (xôf) D "sleep, dream". *xôm-ê kanîman* M; *xôm hem* D; *xôm-em buhetê* D "I have a dream"; *xôm-an buş* T "they fell asleep"; *saxt xôm-um dhôş* G "I had a bad dream"; *xôm-ê na buş* G "he did not fall asleep". < Av. *x'afna-*. Gr. 58. N. Turf. *xwamr*, Yazdi *xwarm*, Awrom. *wôrm* etc. < \**hwadm-* < *hwafna-* (cf. Shgh. *xûdm*)?  
*'xamba* G "low". Cf. Prs. *xam*, *xamda* "curved, bent", Shgh. *xambin-* "to bow the head" (Shaw).  
*xân* G "khan". Prs.  
*xân-*: *xâ'nî* G, T "to recite, read". *ne'mâz-ê xânî*. Prs.  
*'xâna* T "house" Prs. (Corrected by G into *yus*).  
*xûn* T "blood". In: *'jigar-um xûn kop* "I am angry". Prs. V. *hîn*.  
*'xandak* T "moat, ditch". Prs.  
*'xenjak* "a tree affording a mastic (*pitstacia khenjak* or *terebinthus*)". Prs.  
*xunuk* M "wind", G "cold". *xu'nôk-i saxt-a*, *xunôk-i tapê-a* M; *ma bôr xu'nuk-a* = *'šûriš-a*; *uk ham 'xunuk-a* G. Prs.  
*'xânem* T "princess". Prs.  
*xar*: *xûr* M, G, T "to eat". *'xarem-ê* G; *'xaram* (?) T; *'xareman* M, G; *na'γôn-ima 'xârta* = *na'γôn xar'ta-iman*, *mâ-ima xar'tân* M; *mâ na'γôn 'xûru* = *na'γôn-um 'xûru* = *'xûru-m na'γôn* M. < Av. *x'ar-*, Prs. *xurdan*. V. *wangêw-*.



*xair* M, T "well". *jōr hē, ba xair hē?*

M "are you well?". Prs.

*xār* G "distressed". Prs.

*'xārī* "distress, toil". *'xārī wō 'zārī* G "distress and complaint" Prs.

*xēr* M, G, D "hay". \**hwarya*, cf. Oss. *xor* "folder", Burushaski (Wershikwar, Zar.) *xork* "hay, straw" (Ir. lw.?).

*'xēra* M, G "water mill". *āwō-i xerai'ka* M "mill-water"; *xēra tar* M "in the mill". < \**hwatāryaka*. Cf. NSgh. s.v. *xedā'rj* (< \**hwatāraka* "self-grinder"), and cf. the forms given by Zar. (Minj.) V. *xēra'gir*.

*'xīra-i zambūri'ka* G "honey". V. *xīra'ī, zam'būr*.

*xīra'ī* (خيرى) G "sweets, present (širini)". Cf.

*'xīrō* (خبرو) M, G, *'xīru* D "sweet". *'māwa-e 'xīrō* G; *'xīrōya 'yār-ai* \*G "o, my sweet friend". < \**xštraka*, Prs. *širin* "sweet", *šir* "milk". Skr. *kṣīra*.

*xā'rāb* M, G, T "bad, destroyed". *ē 'yāš xā'rāb chī* M "this meat has become bad". Prs. V. *wačha'nā*.

*xārē* T "expense". Prs.

*xuru'čina* T "the sixth day (šašumgi)". *'rūze xuru'čina* "Thursday". Cf. *xī, zu; ruč*. V. *šuru'čina*.

*xēr'dān* G "hay-stack (kāhdān)". V. *xēr*.

*xarī'dār* G "buyer". *'mardum-e 'tān*

*xarī'dār* "šauki tura dāran". Prs.

*xēra'gir* G, *xirager* M "mill-stone". V. *'xēra, gir*.

*xar'gōš* M, T "bare". Prs. V. *khōrō'gū, sa'hōk*.

*xē'rāj* G "value". *xē'rāj-e 'mālke Īrān* 'dēra 'kašte. Prs.

*xarkau* G "a kind of bird". Prs. *xarkūf* "a kind of large owl".

*xērī'mān* (خریمان) G "elegant, graceful (*xarimān, xušnumāi*)". *ba hō'wē 'nāzuke xērī'mān čē 'whētōn sō 'zīnā* "ba hamī nāz *xarimān ki tu mēri sar-i zīnā*". Cf.

*xī'rāmānī* (خرامانی) G "graceful". *'čmō-e xī'rāmānī*. Prs. *xīrāmān*.

*xara'nē* G "eatable". V. *xar*.

*xar'puštak* M, D "hedgehog". Prs.

*xur'rāk* T "food". Prs.

*xirs, xers* M, G, T "bear". Prs. V. *uč, uš*.

*xu'rōs* M, T, *xu'rās* G "cock". Prs. V. *bāša'na*.

*xī'rāt* G "wisdom". Prs.

*xer'wār* T "an ass's load". Prs.

*xār* M, G, T "broken, torn". *'xāp ka'nem* G "I break"; *ha'wē 'kōr-īman 'mā*

*'xāp 'kantan* "we are breaking this stick"; *xāp = sulāy* T; *'šāx-ē 'xāp*

*ku'rō bōn* T "he had broken the horn". < \**xšarta*, cf. Prs. *šāridan*

"to flow, trickle, drop", *šarbīn* "a tree from which flows liquid pitch",

*šāša* "urine" (\**xšāršaka*?) < Skr. *kṣar*,

Av. *γžar* "to flow". Cf. Afgh. Prs. *'pāyā-iš šā'rīda būt* "its feet

were torn", *'gōšt-iš par'rīda būt*. V. *rhāzō'i*.

*'xāpa* M, G, *xāpa* D, P "summer". Cf.

Yd. *'wāroh*, Psht. *wōrai* "summer" (Barth., miran M. V, 5 <

\**wāhyt*), Sar. *'wāgh*, *'wug* also with \**rt*. *x* < \**hw*, *hu-w*: \**hu-*

*wāhytaka*.

*'xūrō* G, T "eating". V. *xar*.

*'xasur* M, G, P, *xa'sur* D "father-in-law". Prs.?

*xu'sōr* G "himself". Cf. *xu, sōr*. V. *max-*

*'sōr*.

*xasur'bira* G, *xusurbu'dā* D "brother-

in-law". *xasur'birā-m*; *xasur'birā-i biyāi'ka-m* "my husband's brother" (?). Cf. *'xasur, bə'yā*. V. *'hincar*.

*xist kan* G, T "to rise, jump". *ōsp xist kor* T "xēz zad"; *pu'fi-m-ē 'xis kor*, T "he jumped from my back". Cf. Afgh. Prs. *xēst* "rose", Prs. *xāstan* "to rise".

*xāsia'tān* G "special nature (*kaifiyat*)". *xāsia'tān-e xāra'i'kā*. Pl. of Prs. *xāssiyat*.

*'xāš* G "wish". Prs. V. *xāi*.

*xiš* G, T "family, kinsman". *'xiš u 'kōm-ē huss* T; *huss-e xi'sān-om* T "all my kinsmen". Prob. Prs. *xioš* (but Av. *šōiθrya* "belonging to the home, clan" might poss. result in Par. *xiš*).

*xuš* M, G, *xuš'u* D, *'xušu* P "mother-in-law". *xušū* < Afgh. Prs.; *xuš* genuine < \**huasrū*, Skr. *śvasrū*.

*'xūša* M, G "ear of corn". *'xūša-i 'ganu-mika* M, G; *zū xūša de'rāk* G "a cluster of grapes". Prs.

*xuš'hāl* M "happy". Prs.

*'xēsem* T "anger". Prs.

*xaš'pūš* T "covered". *ma 'hōt 'cā-n xaš'pūš kor* "they covered the seven pits". Prs. *xašš-pōš* "covering a cleft, fissure".

*xišt* M, *xēšt* G "brick". Prs.

*xe'sāwa* G "weeding". *xēšāwa kaneman* "xēšāwa kunīm". Prs.

*xuš'waxt* M, G, T, *xušwayd* G (خشوع) "merry, happy". Prs.

*xušwax'ti* G, T *xušway'di* M, G "merri-ment, happiness". *da xušwax'ti 'kuṛō čī*. Prs.

*xi'tāb* G "conversation". Prs.

*'xatar* G "danger". Prs.

*'xātir* G, T "intention". *az 'xātir ēc* "with the intention to . . .". Prs.

*xatt* T "letter". Prs.

*xif* T "belly (*iškam*)". *'dōst-ē 'bur sō 'xiṭ-e bā'lō*. Cf. Psht. *xēṭa, xiṭa*.

*xa'wān* G, T "night". *a'ze xa'wān* G "last night". *nī xa'wān* (v. *nī*); *pōnē xa'wān* G; *nīm-e xa'wān* T. < Av. *xšapan*, Prs. *šabān-rōz*. V. *u(i)yār*.

*xā'wān* G "master, khan". Cf. Prs. *xudāwand*, *xāwand*. V. *'xāwand*.

*xucān* M, G "shepherd". Cf. Prs. *šubān* < \**fšupāna* (Horn); Yd. *xušucan*, Soghd. *xušp'n* (*xušu-ʔ*) < *fšū-ʔ* (cf. Sak. *kṣundai* s.v. *xā(i)*).

*'xāwand* M, T "master, possessor". Prs. V. *xā'wān*.

*xu'xu* G, T "self". V. *xu*. Gr. 138.

*xō'yā* M, *xō'yā* G "scrotum". Prs.

*xi'yāl* M, G "thought, fancy". *xi'yāl bur* G "he thought; xōm xi'yāl-a G "a dream is a fancy". Prs.

*xaz* T "to hide oneself". *'mēn γus- 'sān-an xa'zēn* "puṭ šudan". Prs.

*'xizmat* M "service". Prs. V. *'xēdmat*.

*xa'zāna* G "treasury". Prs.

*xuš'būš* f "perfume". Prs.

*xušway'di* v. *xušwax'ti*.

## Y

*yā<sup>1</sup>* G, T "O!". Prs.

*ya<sup>2</sup>* G, T "or". Prs.

*yā'bū* G "mule". Prs.

*ya'kīn* G "certain". *ya'kīn-om* "I am sure". Prs.

*ya'lā* T "let loose, free". Prs.

*yāl* M, G "mane". Prs.

*yār* G T "friend, beloved". Prs.

*yax'dān* T "ice-house". Prs.



## Z

\*zá- G "to be born". *gū* 'záwō "a cow is born"; *dugā'nī* 'záwō "twins were born". Cf. Prs. *zādan*, Av. *zan-*.

*zā*, *zāi* M, G, T, *zā* D "a thing, something (*čiz*)". *ha'wī* 'zāik'a bai "the price of this thing"; 'zāi 'dhēm G "čizi metalbam"; *puš'ka* 'zā na 'čō bō T "nothing had happened to his son (*bačē-š čizi na šuda*)"; 'zāē čē 'laškar-ē bin G "whatever army he had (*čizi čē laškar būd*)" 'zāi 'mardum bēn T "all the people there". < Av. *zāta-* "born, existing", Skr. *jāta-* "born, produced, kind, sort, etc."

*ze* G "from, through". In: *ze* 'ēšq-ē ma 'mun 'mātō "she has killed me with her love" Prs. V. *az*.

*zē* M, G "bowstring". Prs. V. *jir*.

*zūbān* M, (in poetry) G "tongue". Prs. V. *bān*.

*zā'if* M, G, D, P "woman". Prs.; Afgh. Prs. *zāif*, Pash. D etc. *zā'ip*.

*zā'gā* G (?). *hē yus khān-e zagā'ika* "this house belongs to somebody else" (?).

\*zāy M "son". Pl. *zā'yān*, 'zāyan (?). *zāyan-a ku hēn?* "where are your sons?"; *zāyan-um ēg na hēn* "my sons are not here". Cf. Psht. *zōe* "son" (EVP. s.v. *zōwul*), Soghd. *zāk*, Orm. K *win-jōk* "son of a co-wife" etc., Waig. *zaya*, Ashk. *zagā* from Par. V. *puš*.

*Zai'yūn*, *ōn* T "n. of a princess".

*zāh-* G, T, *zāh-* M: *zā'hī* G, T "to arrive". *zāhem-e* M, 'zāhem-e G "mērasam"; *zō zhaitōn* G "the barley is ripening"; *ōst na zhaitōn* T "did not arrive"; *zāhēm* M, *zā'hēm* (زاهيم) G "I arrived (*rasidam*)"; *hē* 'ādam 'zā'hī,

*ja'rī* M "I ādam *rasid*, *guft*"; 'tī čē 'nō 'zā'hī G "when the mulberries were newly ripened". < Av. *ā-zā-* "to arrive"? But -h? (Av. *zah-* "to leave" does not suit the meaning.)

'*zahmat* G "trouble". Prs.

*zā'hēw-* G, T "to make to arrive, bring". V. *zah-*.

*zak* G "quick (*čābūk*)" Ar. *zakk* "running"?

*zail* G, T "manner, mode". 'hewē-zail, 'hōwō-zail G "in this, that manner" (v. *haverang*, 'howerang). Shina *zāij* "manner, kind", Burushaski *zail*. From Ar. *zail* "distinguishing, separating"?

*zāl* T "old woman". 'pīra *zāl*. Prs.

*zulf* M, G "curl". Prs.

*zilzila* M, G, 'zilzila D "earthquake". Prs. V. *hanu*.

*zām* M, G, 'zāmā D, P "son-in-law". *zām*, cf. Psht. *zām* < \*zāma- (Barth., Air Wb. 1689), 'zāmā < Av. *zāmātā*, cf. Prs. *dāmād*.

*zō'mā* M, 'zemā, G, D, P "winter". *zemā* āya D. < Av. *zim-*, Orm. *zemāk*, Psht. *zimai* etc. (Prs. *zīj* "snow" (dial.) < \*zinj, cf. NSgh. s.v. *zōmij*).

*zam'būr* M, G "wasp". Prs. V. *bham'būr*, *šād zam'būr*.

*zama'rit* G "dew" (? prob. misunderstood).

*zān* M, G, T "until (*tā ki*)". *zān har ka'bi čē mē'rā* G "until he dies (*tā har kai ki būmara*)"; 'ēčēn *zā Šu'tul* M "from here to Sh."; 'zān 'harōē čī 'mun *ja'rī*, *tu kan* "do whatever I have said (*tā har čī*)". Prs. V. *az ān* s.v. *az*.

*zā'nū* M, G, *zā'nū* D "knee". Prs.

*zīn* M, G, T "saddle". Prs.

zī'nā M, G "stair, ladder". Prs. V. su'lān.  
 'zenda T "alive". na 'murda-i na 'zenda-i  
 "neither his corpse nor his living person". Prs.  
 zan'jir G, T "chain". Prs.  
 za'nuk, ošk M, G, za'nak D "chin". Cf. Bal. zanūk, Pash. L, S zanak (from Par.?), but Prs. zanax.  
 za'nēng G, T "how, in what manner?". za'nēng 'āimō 'dēra G "what a (graceful) walk she has"; za'nēng ba kārīgī ma 'gū dūcī? G "how well did he milk the cow?"; ān za'nēng kanem "what shall I do?"; zanēng-a pāt "how did you know?".  
 za'nēngī T "of what kind?". ō za'nēngī 'kaštē bīn?  
 zar G, T "gold" (in poetry). Prs. V. zita'i, to'lā.  
 zār M "poison". Prs. V. tarka'i.  
 'zāri G, T "complaint". 'xārī wo 'zāri. Prs.  
 zēr M, zīr T "under". zīr-e dōst-om T. Prs.  
 zūr T "force". Prs.  
 zūrī G, T "power, force" mā'khā 'zūrī wā 'huddē bāwe'hā kun 'na za'hā T "my power cannot compare with that of you two, father and son". (Cf. Semenov, Mater. Gorn. Tadž. I, 54: *devero zuri mīn na mirasa* ("СИЛА ДИВА НЕ ИМѢЕТЬ ДЛЯ МЕНЯ НИКАКОГО ЗНАЧЕНИЯ"). Prs.  
 zarb G, T "blow, hit". Prs.  
 'zardak M, T "carrot". Prs. V. gāze'rak.  
 zar'dālū M, G "apricot". Prs. V. 'mindut.  
 za'rūr G "necessary". Prs.  
 zūrāwar, zūrāwar G, T "powerful". Prs.  
 zur zōy M, G, T, D (zur Phon.) "heart".  
 < Av. zərōd, cf. Psht. zṛə etc.

zur'bar G "beloved (dīlbar)". Par. + Prs.  
 zur'gir G "unhappy". ān tō kun zōy-gīrem "mā ba tū dīlگیر astum". Par. + Prs.  
 zur'thō G "eager (dīlsōz)". Cf. zur, thī.  
 zāt T "birth (az mādar tawcalluf)". Al'ā zāt cī. Prs.  
 'zita-i ēxi'ka (zita'i-i?) G "yolk of an egg". Cf. 'zītō, cāfāi-ēxi'ka.  
 zita'i G "maize"; "gold". zita'i-a-te da'hem. Cf.  
 'zītō M, G (زیتو), 'zītu D. 'zita P "yellow". 'rōng-au 'yala'ba 'zīt phe'rō G "your colour has become very pale". < Av. zairita-, cf. Minj. zīt, Shgh. zīvd. Gr. 45, 55.  
 zut D "very". 'zut xu'nuk-a "it is very cold". Cf. Orm. zut, jut "very much", Prs. zūd "quick"?  
 zāw'lāna G "foot-chain". Prs.  
 zaxm G, T "wound". Prs.

## Z

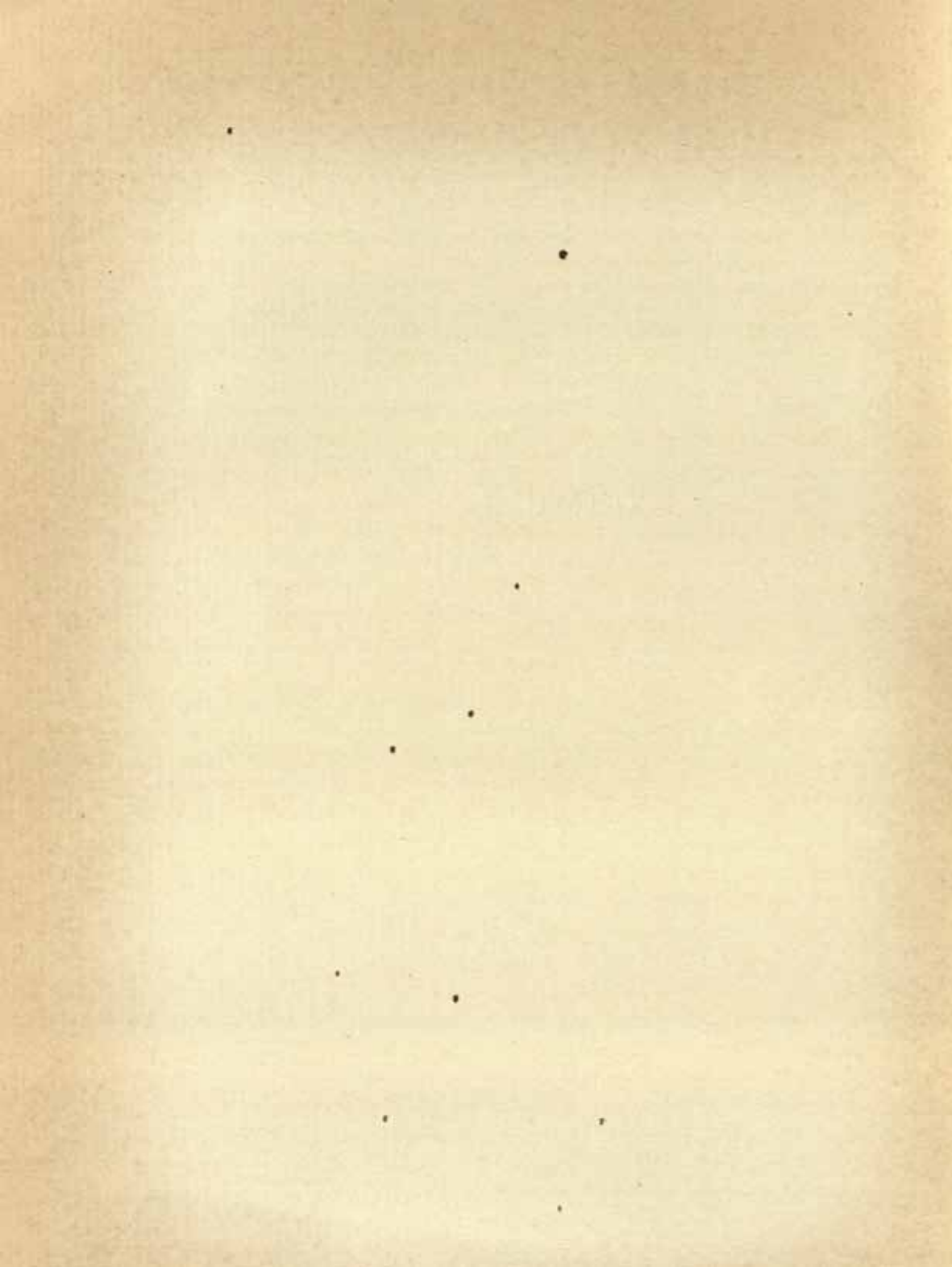
zā, pl. zā'nān (زنان) M, G, T "other".  
 zā-e ēx am dērē "have you another egg, too?" < Av. yūta- "separated", Prs. Judā, Phl. yutāk, Shgh. yīga "other" (Zar.). Cf. Shina mūtū "other" < Skr. mukta-.  
 zē: āya M, G, T, D "to come". zē (زē) M, G, D "come"; zīm M, G, T "I shall come"; zōr T "come" (2 pl.); zīn inf.; zia'mān G "coming (āmada)"; zītōn (زیتون) G "is coming". Cf. Av. āy-, Minj. zā āyom "I come", wā yī "he comes" (Zar.). zē- < ā-yāya- (cf. Tedesco, MO., 1921, 231). Reg. the loss of ā- v. Gr. 43. The type



- \**āya* : (*ā-yāya*) \**āgata* is not restricted to NW. Ir., as stated by Tedesco. V. *āya*. Cf. also Pash. N *zā* : *āgam*.
- zī* M, G, T, D "rivulet, stream". < \**ya-uyā*. Skr. *yavyā*, Anc. Prs. *yauviyā*, Prs. *jōi*.
- zō* M, G. *zō* D, P "barley". *ān men-dānān zō dahem* G "I give them barley". Av. *yava*, Prs. *jaw*. Pash. S *zū* etc. has developed independently from Skr. *yava*.
- zū* (ج, ز) M, G, T, D, P (*zū* Phon.) "1". *sēbān-e mā'khān zū zū phōr 'xukun-an da* G "give us our apples one by one". < Av. *aēva*, Minj. *yū*, Zaza *zau* etc. Gr. 35, 109.
- zūy* G "yoke". Cf. Prs. *juy*, *yōy*, Waz. *zōy* (lw. from Orm.). V. *jauza*.
- zā'hī* G, T "alone, separate". *zā'hī hā* G "he is alone", *γuss-e zā'hī* G "a separate house".
- zāla* v. *jāla*.
- zī'rēz* (زیر) G, T, *rēz* D "partridge". Cf. Prs. *zarij*, Shgh. *zarej* etc., v. EVP. s.v. *zarka*.
- zāsar* G, *zāsar* D "next year". V. *zā*, *sār*.
- zūsara* M "kid, one year old". V. *dūsara*, *šūsara*.
- z(u)wōs* M, *zū(w)ās* G, T, *zū'ās* D, *zū'uns* P "11". < Av. *aēvandaša*, cf. Zaza *zūendās*. Gr. 62, 109.
- zōx* G, T "fire-wood". *zōx-e phyō* T; *ayfi'wālān-um ja'ri ēe : paraman 'zōx ku* Phon. "my comrades said: 'Let us go and fetch wood'". Cf. Wkh. *yax* "twig".

# ORMURI





## INTRODUCTION.

1. For the earliest information about Ormuri (*Ormuri*) or Baraki we are indebted to Babur, who is also the first to mention Parachi. The passages in his Memoirs which refer to 'Bereki' have been quoted above (p. 3).

The first European scholar who is aware of the existence of the 'Vurmúd' tribe in 'Cánigúram' and the 'Barki' language is Leyden<sup>1</sup>. Elphinstone writes in his 'Account' of the Kingdom of Caubul<sup>2</sup>: "The next class of Tadjiks are the Burrukees, who inhabit Logur and part of Boot-Khaik. Though mixed with the Ghiljies, they differ from the other Tadjiks, in as much as they form a tribe under chiefs of their own, and have a high reputation as soldiers.<sup>3</sup> They have separate lands and castles of their own, furnish a good many troops to government, closely resemble the Afghans in their manners, and are more respected than the other Tadjiks. Their number are now about eight thousand families. All traditions agree that they were introduced into their present seats by Sooltaun Mahmood about the beginning of the eleventh century, and that their lands were once extensive; but their origin is uncertain; they pretend to be sprung from the Arabs, but other say that they are descended from the Kurds or Coords."

<sup>1</sup> Asiatic Researches, XI, pp. 363 ff., London 1812.

<sup>2</sup> I, p. 411.

<sup>3</sup> Till recent times the Logaris have been reckoned among the best soldiers in the Afghan army.



Burnes<sup>1</sup> mentions "the Burukee or Kanigrammee spoken by the people of Logur", which "has an affinity to Persian, although those using it claim a descent from Arabia, and assert that they entered the country with Sultan Mahmood".

2. According to Leech<sup>2</sup> "there are two divisions of the tribe, the Barakis of Rājān in the province of Lohgad, who speak Persian, and the Barakis of *Barak*, a city near the former, who speak the language called Baraki". Some of them settled in Kaniguram in the country of the Waziris, and "the Barakis of this place and of Barak alone speak the Baraki language". "We receive a warning from the study of their vocabulary, not to be hasty in referring [?] the origin of a people merely from the construction of their language; for it is well known that the one now instanced was invented by Mir Yúzúf who led the first Barakis from *Yemen* into *Afghanistan*" (in the times of Mahmud of Ghazni). Raverty<sup>3</sup>, too, mentions the tradition about the Arab descent of the 'Bárakais'.

3. Bellew<sup>4</sup> quotes a tradition according to which the Orakzai, Afridi, Mangal, Waziri, Khatak and Khogiani tribes of the Pathans are of Ormuri origin. The Ormurs are described as having been fire-worshippers, and as observing peculiar religious ceremonies. Once a week they congregated for worship, men and women together, and at the conclusion of their devotions the officiating priest extinguished the fire they worshipped, and, at the same time, exclaimed "Or mur", a term expressive of the act, for in Pukhtū "or" (*ōr*) means "fire", and "mur" (*mər*) means "dead", "extinct".

In 'An Inquiry into the Ethnography of Afghanistan'<sup>5</sup> Bellew identifies the Barakis with the Barkaians, who according to Herodotus were transported "from the far distant Libya to the village in Kunduz of Baktria" (!), and he finds support for this theory in a

<sup>1</sup> Cabool, p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> JASB, VII, pp. 727, ff., quoted in LSI, X, 123.

<sup>3</sup> JASB, XXXIII, pp. 267 ff., quoted in LSI, I, c.

<sup>4</sup> Journal of a Mission to Afghanistan in 1857, p. 63 f. Cf. also *Tārīx-i Murassa'*, Kalid-i-Afghani, p. 222.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 61 ff.

— misunderstood — passage from Arrian. Of greater interest is Bellew's statement that the Barakis "besides their head quarters in Kunduz and Logar, have settlements in Butkhak, and at Kani-goram in the Vaziri country, and on the Hindu Kush, about Bamian and Ghorband districts". "Amongst themselves", he continues, "the Baraki use a peculiar dialect, which is more of a Hindi language than anything else, to judge from the few words I have met with". "They are a fine, tall, and active people, with fairer complexions than the generality of Afghans, and are held in consideration as a respectable people. They have no place in Afghan genealogies by that name, being generally reckoned along with the Tajik population". Bellew derives the ruling tribe of 'Bàrakzi' in Afghanistan from the Baraki.

4. Among the authors mentioned above Leech and Raverty are the only ones who have given short vocabularies of the language (the Logar dialect); Leech has also given a few sentences with translation. Most of the words in Raverty's vocabulary are copied from Leech.

5. The first fuller description of the language is that given by Sir George Grierson in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal<sup>1</sup>, and subsequently in the Linguistic Survey of India.<sup>2</sup> His account deals with the Kaniguram (Waziristan) dialect, and is based chiefly on Ghulam Muhammad Khan's *Qawā'id-e Bargistā* supplemented by material furnished by British officials in Waziristan. My indebtedness to these works, both in their descriptive and in their etymological parts, is so great that it has been impossible to acknowledge it in each case in the following pages. I may be permitted to testify once for all how much every page of the following account of Ormuri owes to Sir George's lucid survey of the grammatical system of the language and of its affinities.

6. Our knowledge of the Logar dialect of Ormuri being limited to Leech's and Raverty's short vocabularies, I tried during my stay

<sup>1</sup> Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 1—101.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. X, pp. 123—325.



in Kabul in 1924 to get into touch with Ormurs from this valley. To begin with I was told by people who knew the Logar valley well that Baraki was no longer spoken in Barak-i Barak, the ancient headquarters of the Ormur tribe. Even a man said to be from this village denied the existence of any other language than Persian and Pashto in his native place. After some difficulty I got hold of a young man from Barak-i Barak, who, though not an Ormur himself knew something about the language. The information he could give me was very limited; but it proved on the whole to be fairly correct, and the vocabulary which I got out of him included a few evidently genuine Ormuri words which my second informant did not seem to recollect.

In the beginning of August, just at the moment when I had arranged to go to Barak-i Barak myself, news was received in Kabul that the insurrection had spread to Logar and that the rebels from Khost had crossed the Altimur Pass and entered the valley. But in spite of these difficulties the Afghan Foreign Office managed to fetch an old man, Dīn Muhammad by name, from Barak-i Barak to Kabul. He worked with me for about a week, but could not be induced to stay longer away from his home.

7. Dīn Muhammad said that he was one of the few persons in Barak-i Barak still speaking pure Ormuri, and this statement agreed fairly well with what had been told me by my first informant. According to the LSI,<sup>1</sup> the Ormurs now occupy some four or five hundred houses in Kaniguram. At Butkhak, about ten miles east of Kabul, people said that they belonged to the Ormur tribe; but they all spoke Pashto, and I met with no one there who knew any Ormuri. The Ormurs living in the Khalsa Pargana of the Nowshehra Tahsil in the Peshawar district<sup>2</sup> are also all of them Pashto-speaking. I did not hear anything about Ormurs living in Ghorband, Bamian or Kūnduz (cf. Bellew, quoted above), and I think it is at

<sup>1</sup> X, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> Called *Ormurs* in the Gazetteer of the Peshawar District, 1883-84, pp. 103, 106, 114.

any rate very improbable that they have preserved their original language.

8. Dīn Muhammad was not acquainted with *Bargistā*<sup>1</sup> as a name for his own language, which he called *Ormuri*. According to him the Ormur tribe are Sayyids and are descended from the two brothers *Mir-i Barak* and *Mir-i Barakāt*, who came from *Bar-yaman* (Yemen) into Turkistan, the former being buried in *Anxōi* (Andkhui), and the latter in *Mazar-i Sharif*. *Mir Yūzūf* (cf. Leech quoted above, 2) was the son of *Mir-i Barakāt*.

9. I do not think the traditions about the Arab or Kurdish descent of the Ormurs quoted above are much more valuable than those which make the Pathans Israelites, the Baloches Syrians, the Ūzbin Pashais Quraishis from Mekka, the Chitralis descendants of Alexander's deported prisoners, the Bashgali Kafirs the poorer brethren of the Englishmen, the *nīmā* tribes of Kunar Germans, or the Gurkhas and Burmese Hazaras.<sup>2</sup> Nor is the tradition rendered more credible by being connected with Mahmud of Ghazni. Solomon, Alexander, Ali and Mahmud are the four historical personages to whom popular fancy generally attributes all important events of the past. The tradition about the Ormurs being Kurds, mentioned by Elphinstone, cannot be reconciled with the one which makes them Arabs from Yemen, and cannot be upheld without the support of linguistic facts, a question which will be discussed below.

It is, however, very probable that the tradition of their having emigrated to Kaniguram in Waziristan from Barak-i Barak is true. The names *Baraki* and *Bargistā* seem to indicate that Barak was their old, if not original, home.

Nor is it impossible that there may be a nucleus of truth in the statement that they were 'fire-worshippers' till comparatively recent

<sup>1</sup> Cf. LSL X, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> This "tradition" was probably invented on the spot by my Pathan servant in order to explain the similarity between the Hazaras and those Mongoloid peoples which he knew from his service in the Indian army. According to him Mahmud of Ghazni had conquered the whole of India, and had settled Hazaras in Burma and Nepal!



times. And it is interesting to note that Ormuri is the only modern Ir. dialect, which has preserved the ancient technical term of Zoroastrian theology for "studying", "reading."<sup>1</sup> The account of the extinguishing of lamps at their religious festivals, reminds us of the slanders told about Yezidis, Druses and other sects of Western Asia, and need not have any foundation in fact. And the etymology of the word *Ormur* suggested by Bellew (3) seems rather fanciful.<sup>2</sup>

10. In connexion with these traditions regarding the "lamp-extinguishing" ceremonies of the Ormurs, it is well worth noticing that the only member of this tribe who has played any rôle in history, was the famous arch heretic *Bāyazīd Anṣārī*, the *Pir Rōšan* ('The Saint of Light') of his own adherents, and the *Pir Tārik* ('The Saint of Darkness') of his opponents. According to the *Makhzan-ul-Islām*<sup>3</sup> Bayazid was an Ormur (*Wurmar*) from Kaniguram. And, according to Leyden<sup>4</sup>, the famous and important sect founded by him was accused "of practising the abominations of the unchaste sect termed *Cherāgh-cush*" ('Lamp-Extinguishers'). It seems quite possible that the heretical tendencies of Bayazid were based in some way on religious traditions and practices peculiar to his native tribe.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.v. *aw*.

<sup>2</sup> In Rep. p. 16 I proposed to explain *Ormur* as a Psht. form, derived from *\*ārya-mykyā*. *ārya* would, however, probably result in Psht. *\*ār*, not in *\*ōr*. — The Ormurs of Logar call the Afghans *Kāš* (Kaniguram pl. *kāš* "the Wazirs"). The *š* in this word may be derived from *\*s(t)r*, *\*xšy*, *\*fšy*. Is there any possibility that the original form is *\*Kāfšya*, connected with *Kapīšā*, etc. (cf. Sylvain Lévi, JA, 1923, p. 52 f.)?

<sup>3</sup> British Museum, Or. Mscr. 6274, f. 117 v.; India Office Mscr. 2792, f. 137 a; Dorn, Chresthomathy of the Pushtū Language, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> l. c. p. 378.

<sup>5</sup> In London in 1926 I had an opportunity, through the courtesy of Sir E. Denison Ross, to examine a unique manuscript of Bayazid's theological work, the *Xair-ul-Bayān*, which had been supposed to be lost. The manuscript was written by *Bahār Tūst*, a disciple of Bayazid, and was finished on Wednesday the 20th of Ramazan, A.H. 1061 (A.D. 1650). This book is the oldest Psht. work extant, and presents many interesting orthographic and linguistic peculiarities. But the language

11. TheOrmuri of Kaniguram (Waziristan) and the Ormuri of Barak-i Barak (Logar) are two distinct dialects, the Kaniguram form being, generally speaking, the more archaic.

Regarding phonetics one of the most important points of difference between the two dialects is that Log. has preserved *š* (< *sr*, *str*, *xšy*, *šy* etc.), *ž* which has become *s*, *z* in K.; e. g. Log. *γwāši* "grass": K. *γwāsi*, Log. *rōž* "day": K. *ryūz*; cf. 54, 57. On the other hand Log. has given up the distinction between K. *š* and *š'*; e. g. Log. *šō* "3", *šū* "6": K. *šrē*, *š'h*; cf. 60. In loan-words we find *š* in both dialects e.g. in Log. *šāsta*, K. *šāista* "pretty", *š* in both dialects in Log. *šaitān*, K. *šaitān* "devil" etc.; but e.g. Log. *šār*, K. *šōr* "town", Log. *ušyār*, K. *hušyār* "wise". This variation depends on the date of the borrowing and whether its source is Prs. or some Psht. dialect. — Log. *širwā*, K. *sirwā* "soup" must be an ancient loan-word from Prs. *šōrwā*, *šōrbā*. — K. *ž* has resulted in Log. *g* (v. 65). Regarding the occasional change of *s* < *c* in K. cf. 69; regarding the dropping of *h* in Log., and the prothetic *h* of K. v. 74. Note Log. *g-* "to seize" < K. *gl-* (v. Voc. s.v.).

The vowel system of Log. makes a less original impression than that of K., owing chiefly to the frequent change of *a* into *u* (v. 27). It seems probable that K. *ā* has been changed into Log. *ā* (cf. 29) through the influence of Afghan Prs.

12. The morphological system of Log. has been very much simplified. The geographical position of the two dialects renders it very natural that this should be so. K. is spoken by a comparatively strong community in an isolated part of the rugged Waziristan hills, surrounded only by culturally and socially unimportant Psht. dialects. Log., on the other hand, is a dialect that is rapidly dying-out; the Ormurs of Logar inhabit a broad, open valley, not far

conforms in the main to ordinary literary Psht., which is based chiefly on the Mohmand and Yusufzai dialects. We find very few traces of any influence of the Waziri dialect. Note, however, the word *taštan* "master, husband". Lorimer gives *čōštan* as the Waziri form of the word; but Orm. of Kaniguram has *taštan*, a form which is evidently borrowed from the local Waziri dialect of this village.



from Kabul, are in constant contact with Persian-speaking neighbours, and for several generations have served extensively in the Afghan army.<sup>1</sup> No wonder, then, that Log. has lost the distinction of gender (v. 81), has simplified the formation of the plural of nouns (v. 82), and has reduced the number of irregular past participles (v. 123). The system of contracted pronouns (v. 102) is also much simpler in Log. than in K., and the use of the particles *ai* and *di* has been discarded on account of its intricacies.<sup>2</sup> Regarding the termination of the aorist 2 sg. v. 118. I have been able to detect one instance only of greater morphological archaism in Log., viz. the preservation of the aorist 1 sg. in *-im* (v. 120).

13. While K. has borrowed freely from Waziri Psht., the vocabulary of Log. has been influenced by other Psht. dialects, and, to a still greater extent, by Prs.

A number of genuine Orm. words found in K. seem to be missing in Log., although it is of course possible that they may, after all, exist in the dialect.

We find e. g.:

K. <i>hōnd</i> "blind":	Log. <i>kōr</i> .
» <i>hins</i> "bear":	» <i>xirs</i> .
» <i>nōrš</i> ( <i>narm</i> ) "soft":	» <i>narm</i> .
» <i>pis</i> "to write":	» <i>nimišta k</i> .
» <i>rō</i> "iron":	» <i>āin</i> .
» <i>rawas</i> "fox":	» <i>rōbā</i> .
» <i>sikak</i> "hare":	» <i>xargōš</i> .
» <i>šrak</i> "flea":	» <i>kaik</i> .
» <i>tusk</i> ( <i>xālī</i> ) "empty":	» <i>xālī</i> .
» <i>winjōk</i> "son of a co-wife":	» <i>bačandar</i> .
» <i>xwarinc</i> "right (hand)":	» <i>râst</i> .
» <i>yānak</i> "ashes":	» <i>xākistār</i> .

Cf. also words such as K. *sukal* "porcupine", *pīn* "honey", *imbāi* "friends", *hēncēi* "tears", *š'amōt* "forgetting" etc., of which

<sup>1</sup> V. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. LSI., X, p. 219 ff.

I found no corresponding forms in Log. K. *nwastak* "to lie down" was probably discarded because it became Log. \**nustuk* and could be confused with *nustuk* "to sit down" < K. *nastak*.

On the other hand we do not find recorded among the words from K. such good Ir. words as Log. *undərəw* "to sew", *bēš* "rope", *γōš* "snow", *jusp* "span", *kālī* "knife", *mālī* "husband", *mōž* "to loosen", *nefak* "navel", *nimēk* "salt", *ʔskan* "cow-dung", *pōm* "wool", *šinī* "needle", *zemāk* "winter", *zināk* "chin" etc. The interesting loan-word *grām* "village" is also peculiar to Log. (K. *kʷlai* from Psht.).

14. The dialect of Logar does not seem to have changed very much since Leech published his vocabulary in 1838. The forms found in his vocabulary and collection of sentences, and in the vocabulary published by Raverty, agree very well with those I heard. We find e. g. *she* "1" (Log. *šē*, K. *sō*), *rosh* "day" (Log. *rōž*, K. *ryūz*), *yāsp* "horse" (Log. *yāsp*, K. *yāns*), *wokh* "water" (Log. *wōk*, K. *wʷk*).

Most of the innovations of Log. had already taken place. Thus *ž* had become *g* in *glon* "thou takest", *pabega* "above"; *wa*, *wē* had resulted in *o* (*u*) in *ar-ghoshṭakai* "you did fall", *ghok* "said"; there was no distinction of gender, *shuk* "became", for instance, being used as a masculine; the termination *-on* had been introduced into the aorist 2 sg. (cf. 118), e. g. *on* "thou art", *ḍaron* "thou hast"; *shera* "gives", *shok* "gave" correspond to the modern Log. forms (v. Voc. s. v. *šēr*-) etc.

In some cases we find more archaic forms surviving than in present day Log. Thus we find *ghe* (\**šē*) "3" (Log. *šō*, K. *šē*), *khuranak* "hungry" (Log. *xrunuk*, K. *axwəranak*), *glon* "thou takest" (Log. *g*-, K. *gl*-), *wrosht* (Rav. *warosht*) "beard" (Log. *aurūšt*, K. *wrʷšt*), *-ner*, *-ne* "in" (Log. *-ne*, K. *inar*), Rav. *w'rizza* (but Leech *rizza*) "rice" (Log. *rezan*, K. *rījan*), Rav. *ra-ḍzai* "come" but Leech *raza* "comes" (Log. *ar-zam*, K. *rī-jam* "I come"), *sugh* (= \**sūš*) "red" (Log. *šūš*, K. *sūš*). Of special interest are the numerals: *khoshty* "60" (Log. *šūštu*, K. *šwaišti*), *hawai* "70" (Log.



*awaitu*, K. *awāi*), *hashtai* "80" (Log. *câr jistu*, K. *haštāi*), *nuvî* "90" (Log. *niwê*, K. *nawî*). *shîst* "30", *tsasht* "40", *panzast* "50" are more archaic forms than either Log. *šistu*, *câštu*, *panjāstu* or K. *šrîstû*, *cāštû*, *panjāštû* (cf. 99).

15. The affinities of Orm. within the range of the Ir. languages has been discussed in Rep. pp. 26 ff.

With W. Ir. and Par. Orm. shares the preservation of initial voiced stops (cf. Par. Gr. 7). The development of *dw* > *b* and the loss of intervocalic dentals, changes which are characteristic of N.W. Ir. and Par., are also found in Orm. But the points of special resemblance between Orm. and N.W. Ir. are not so many as those between Par. and N.W. Ir. mentioned p. 9. E.g. Orm. has *n-* "to sit down", but Par. has *nhîn-*, Säm. *-nin-*, Orm. does not possess the verb *\*ā-nî-* "to bring" etc.

According to Tedesco<sup>1</sup> Ir. *\*-ah* became *-i* in E.Ir. I have tried<sup>2</sup> to show that this development was not universal in E.Ir., and we find no trace of it in Orm. On the contrary, we find Orm. K. *sō* "1" (Log. *šē* with palatalization due to the *š*, v. 28) < *\*syō*, *\*syah*, Orm. *kōk* "who" < *\*kō-ka* < *\*kah*, and probably Orm. Log. *aŋō* "that" (K. *haŋō* m., *haŋ* f) < *-ō*, *-ah*.

There seem to be no linguistic facts in support of the tradition of the Kurdish origin of the Ormurs. The only point of special resemblance that I have been able to detect, is the employment of an extra *l-* suffix in the word denoting "egg": Orm. K. *hanwalk*, Log. *wulk*; Kurd. *hîlka* etc.

16. Regarding the relations between Orm. and Par. v. above pp. 9 f. There are, however, profound differences between the two languages, cf. e.g. the treatment of the groups *ft*, *xt*, the demonstrative pronouns, the personal pronoun 1 pl. Par. *mā*, but Orm. *māx* etc.

17. Rep. p. 36 n. I have pointed out the possibility that Bal. may contain some elements borrowed from an Ir. dialect spoken in

<sup>1</sup> Monde Oriental, XV, p. 256; ZII, IV pp. 127 ff.; cf. my remarks Rep. p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> NShgh., p. 84.

the country before the advent of the Baloches. To the examples adduced there may be added Bal. *gwaš*- "to speak": Orm. Log. *γōš*- (\**γwaš*-); cf. also Bal. dialect forms, such as *šai* "3", N. Bal. *ša*- < \**fra*- (e.g. in N. Bal. *šamušt'a* "forgotten"; Orm. K. *š'amōt*), *goi* "ear" etc. When the Baloches first came into contact with the Indians, they still retained *w*-, as appears from the Khetrani loan-word *vahor* "snow": Bal. *gwahar*, and from Bal. *gwač* (recent borrowing *wač*) "buffalo-calf" < Sindhi *vachi*. Possibly the transition from *w*- to *gw*- in Bal. is due to the influence of an Ir. substratum akin to Orm., *gw*- being substituted for *γw*-.

18. Orm. contains several words which are known only from E. Ir. (cf. Rep. p. 32). A certain number of such words are included in the list Par. Gr. 9. Others are:

*ban*- "to throw down": Psht. *lwan*-, Yazg. *ḍevan*- etc., Av. *dvan*-.

K. *hōnd* "blind": Sak. *hana*-, Minj. *yādēy*, Av. *anda*-.

K. *mēršr* "sun": Minj. *mīra*, Av. *mišra*-.

*šē* (K. *sō*) "1": Sak. *šsau*.

*šir* "good": Sak. *ššira*-, Soghd. *šir*, Av. *srira*-.

*waw*- "to obtain": Sak. *byau*-. Av. *avi-ap*-.

K. *xwarinc* "right (hand)": Soghd. *xwarant*, Sak. *hvarandau* acc. sg., *hvaramcaini* "on the right hand".

This last word is possibly an ancient loan-word in Orm.

19. But the E. Ir. language with which Orm. has been in the closest contact for centuries, and which has exercised a profound and far-reaching influence on the development of the language, is Psht. Orm. possesses a great number of Psht. loan-words; but the connexion between the two languages is of a much more fundamental nature, and appears to me to exclude the possibility that the contact dates only from the time of Mahmud of Ghazni.

In the first instance there are several words in the two languages which, although showing a special relationship, have developed phonetically on different lines. Some of these words may be Psht. loan-words in Orm.; but the phonetical divergences show that the borrowing must have taken place a long time ago.



Rep. p. 33 f. I have mentioned Orm. K. *γark* "lost"; *γwāšī* "grass"; *gišī* "tooth"; K. *bazar* "fore-arm"; K. *wan* "co-wife"; K. *winjōk* "son of a co-wife"; K. *duškī* "a little", *prân* "yesterday"; K. *râš'ai* "brother's son"; K. *xwarkai* "sister's son"; K. *tā* "paternal uncle"; *xwâš* (K. *xwâš'*) "sweet", *nas-* (K. *nis-*) "to take out" etc.

Other instances are: Orm. *bruš-* "to glitter": Psht. *brēšēdāl*; Orm. *γanj* "bad", *γūnj* "rag" (cf. 51); Orm. K. *mrīg*, *mrīk* "slave": Psht. *maryai*; Orm. *n-* (pret. K. *nastak*) "to sit down": Psht. *nāstāl*; Orm. *nāk* "wife": Psht. *nāwē* "bride".

The most striking morphological correspondence between Orm. and Psht. is the use of the so-called contracted pronouns (cf. 102). There is evidently some connexion between the Psht. and the Orm. forms, even if its exact nature cannot be determined. Note also Orm. *tōs* (K. *tyūs*) "you": Psht. *tāsū* (Waz. *tus*); Orm. genitive particle *tar*, *ta*: Psht. *da* < Av. *tarō*.

The transition of *č* > *c* in Orm. is due to Psht. influence, cf. also Log. *g* < *č* (v. 65).

All these features show that, notwithstanding the profound differences in the original dialectical bases of the two languages, Orm. and Psht. must have been neighbours for a lengthy period, and there is no reason to assume that Orm. was introduced from the west of Iran.

20. Orm. is at present completely separated from the Dard languages; but it contains a few loan-words which point to an earlier contact. The most important word is Log. *grām* "village"; cf. also *ping* "cock", K. *pinga* "the time just before dawn": Khw. *pinga-čhūi* "cock-crow, early dawn", and possibly *drī* "hair" (v. Voc.).

GRAMMAR.  
PHONOLOGY.  
Phonetical System.<sup>1</sup>

Vowels.

21. *a* (*a*) is rather advanced: *ca're:s* "14", *tar* "of". After *š* it becomes still more palatalized: (*šā(:)ndas* "11." When stressed, the *a* is frequently lengthened: *da(:)s* "10.", *na(:)k* "not"; in some words, such as *šā:n* "today", *a:št* "8", I usually heard a long vowel; but I do not think that this *a:* ought to be considered as a separate phoneme. In final position a very short *a* (*ä*) occurs. It corresponds to K. (LSI.) *a* (the Psht. sounds written *a* in the LSI. belong more or less to the *a*-group).

*a:(ä)* resembles the corresponding Par. and Afgh. Prs. sound. Before nasals and in the neighbourhood of *š* the *a:* is perhaps slightly rounded; but the difference is much less marked than in Par.: *ca:r* "4", *ya:sp* "horse", *na:m* "name", *ca:št* "40". Note *'kla:nak* boy, but also *kla(:)'nak*.

*ä* occurs in the diphthong *är, ar*; as an independent phoneme I heard it in *nä(:)* "9"; cf. *šä'ri:*, *ša'ri* "small".

*e, ɛ* is of rare occurrence: *cere'vi:* "grazes", *pəšt'ennä*, *-ännä* "question".

*e* is a very frequent sound: *še:* "1", *pe:nc*, "5", *ne:r* "house", (*y*)*e:* "is", *spe:v* "white". It is usually rather high; but varies a little

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the system of transcription employed in this section v. p. 18, note.



according to the neighbouring sounds. It is occasionally segmented in *p<sup>(h)</sup>e:* (*pyē*) "father", *k'e:* "why", *d'e:k* "saw".

*i:* is comparatively high: *n'v'e:* "90", *'širi(·)m* "I give", *'ne:ri* "in the house", *ki* "to", *di* "from" (shortened forms of *ki:* *di:*). In some cases (in the neighbourhood of labials?) we find *i:* *'mĩnzi* "in the middle", *fĩkr* "thought", *'jĩm*, *jẽm* "under"; but also *zĩnda* "alive".

*i:* in *di:* "from", *'ji:st* "20", *a'vi:m* "I read" etc.

*u* is usually rather high and advanced: *zut* "very", *xui* "self", *'šĩ:stu* "30", *umr* "life". The character of the *u* differs very much according to the nature of the surrounding consonants. The *u* of *'yušim* "I say" is more palatal than that of *'yušim* "I fear", but less so than that of *'jušim* "I see". We find *'šũkum*, *šukum* "I became" but *'bukum* (*o*) "I was"; *šũk*, *š<sup>h</sup>u(:)k* "became", *šũ:š* "red".

*u:* is heard in *tu(:)* "thou", *mu(:)n* "me", *bu(:)k*, *bu:<sup>h</sup>k* "was", *šũ:le:s* "16"; but it is not certain that it is a separate phoneme. Similarly *o:* occurs as a lengthening of *u:* *zũk*, *zũ:k* "beat", *kũk*, *k<sup>h</sup>ũ:k* "who", *umr*, *o:<sup>h</sup>mr* "life", *-ũk*, *-o:<sup>h</sup>k* termination of the past part. In other words *o:* was always heard: *ɣ<sup>h</sup>(ũ)ũ:k* "said", *uũk* "water", *a'ũo:<sup>h</sup>* "that", *o:<sup>h</sup>n(d)* "some", *š<sup>h</sup>(ũ)ũ(:)* "6". Probably *u* and *o:* are separate phonemes; but they overlap to some extent, stressed *u* resulting in *o:*, and unstressed *o:* approaching *u*.

A wider *o:* occurs in a few words: *do:* "2", *uũo:* "7".

*ö:* was heard in *šö:* "3".

*o* occurs as the result of the reduction of full vowels: *'šustøk*, *'šustuk* "wept", *pəš<sup>h</sup>tānna*, *pu-* "question". Also inserted in *t<sup>h</sup>ũxan* "bread", and, optionally, before initial groups of consonants: *(<sup>h</sup>)stur* "big" etc. The diphthongs are *aɪ*, *äɪ* (*ai*) and, rarely, *aũ* (*au*). E.g. *a'vairu* "70", *'bummār* "on the ground", *aũz* "tank".

Nasalized vowels are very rare: *a:š<sup>h</sup>t* "8" (but *ya:sp* "horse": K. *yānsp*).

## 22.

## Consonants.

	Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Alveolo-Palatal	Retroflex	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive . . . .	<i>p, b</i>		<i>t, d</i>		<i>ʈ, ɖ</i>	<i>k, g</i>	<i>q</i>	
Affricate . . .			<i>c, ɟ</i>	<i>ɕ, ʝ</i>				
Nasal . . . . .	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>		<i>ɳ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>		
Lateral . . . .			<i>l</i>					
Rolled . . . . .			<i>r</i>		<i>ɽ</i>			
Fricative . . .	<i>ɸ, v (u)</i>	<i>(f)</i>	<i>s, z</i>	<i>ʃ, ʒ, y</i>	<i>ʂ</i>	<i>x, ɣ</i>		<i>h</i>

23. *q* occurs in loan-words, but is often replaced by *k*. *ŋ* occurs in the group *ŋd* and in *ru:ŋ* "fire".

*r* is more alveolar than dental.

*ɸ* is heard in *a'ɸo:* "that"; but the initial *f*, e.g. in *fikr* "thought", is probably labio-dental.

*v* is frequently velarized into *u*, *ɔ* before velar vowels: *qa:k* "obtained", *(u)ustuk* "rose", but also *uʊk̄, uōk̄* "water".

*ʃ* is rather advanced; before *u*, *o* it is markedly rounded: *ša:m* "before", *ʃun* "blood", *ʃo:ʃ* "boiling". Regarding the palatalizing influence of *ʃ* on a neighbouring vowel, v. above *s* vowels. *ʃ* is probably one single phoneme; but its acoustic quality is very different in different positions. It is rounded and retracted e.g. in *ʃo:m* "showing", *ɣo:ʃ* "snow", but more advanced in *ʔuʃim* "I fear", *ʔuʃim* "I see"; advanced and unrounded in *ʃi:stu* "30". Before a *t* the acoustic effect approaches that of a velar fricative, advanced in *a:ʃt* "8"; retracted in *ʔuʃtuk* "feared" (sometimes nearly pronounced *ʔuxtuk*), *ʃo:ʃtu* "60". In this position the *ʃ* is pronounced with an elevation of the back of the tongue, and the retroflexion of the front of the tongue is less marked. Consequently the *t* in *ʃt* does not become *ʈ*.

Note that K. *ʃʔ*, *ʒ* have become Log. *ʃ*, *g* (cf. 60, 65).

24. The only consonants which are doubled are *m*, *n*, *l*. E.g. *bummä* "earth", *pəʃtännä* "question", *mulluk* "died". In K. we find also *rr* and *zz*: *stirrak* "star", *bizzi* "cooks".



### Rules of Sandhi.

25. Regarding the interchange between *-a* and *va* cf. 101.

Assimilation of consonants occurs. Cf. e.g. 'ca-d bu 'da:k "what did you do?" with *-d < -t*; frequently *p' < b'* (*bu*) before unvoiced consonants. Note *γušna'gi: d'bri:m* "I am dying from hunger" < *di 'mri:m; mak'so:n* "do not become" < *mak 'so:n*.

### Historical Phonology.

#### Vowels.

##### Ir. a.

26. Ir *a*<sup>1</sup> is preserved in a number of cases: *az* "I" (Av. *azəm*), *das* "10" (Av. *dasa*), *bar* "door" (Av. *dvar-*), *ban-* "to throw" (Av. *dvan-*), *amar-* "to hear" (\**ā-mar-*), *awēs* "17" (Av. *haptadasa*), *skan* "cow-dung" (\**sakan-*), *γaf-* "to weave" (\**waf-*), *nāk* "not" (\**na-ka*), K. *nwastak* "to lie down" (Av. *nī-pad-*), K. *wan* "co-wife" (Av. *hapaθnī-*), *zan-* "to beat" (Av. *jan-*), etc.

In some words the *a* is occasionally lengthened (cf. 21), e. g. *dās* "10", *šāndas* "11". An early lengthening has taken place in *yāsp* (K. *yānsp*) "horse" (Av. *aspa-*), *mālī* "husband" (Anc. Prs. *martiya-*), *kālī* "knife" (\**kartyā-*). In the last two words the change of *rt > l* has caused a compensatory lengthening to take place (cf. K. *xwālak* m. "ate", *xwāl̄k* f., cf. 42, b.).

27. Frequently we find *a > u* in the neighbourhood of labials and *š*; but I have not been able to lay down any rule regarding this change: *mun* K. "me" (Av. *mana*), *spuk* (K. *spuk*) "dog" (\**spaka-*), *xr-* (K. *x(u)r-*) "to eat" (Av. *xar-*). In Log. this tendency is more marked than in K. E. g. *xui* (K. *xwai*) "self", *γuskak* (K. *γwac*) "calf" (\**wasā-*), *γuš-* (K. *γwašr-*) "to fear". In K. *gunum* (Log. *ganum*) "wheat" the first *u* may be due to assimilation, and in *jusp* "span" to the influence of an original labial semi-vowel (\**γwyasp* < \**witaspī*); but in *gustuk* (K. *gastak*) "to take away", *nustuk* (K.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Par. Gr. 28.

*nastak*) "to sit down", *asul* (K. *asal*) "this year" we find a spontaneous change  $a > u$ .

With labialization and compensatory lengthening:  $\gamma\ddot{o}\check{s}$  "snow" (Av. *vafra-*), K. *nō(r)š* "soft" (Av. *namra-*), *pōm* "wool" (\**paxšman-*), K. *cōm* "eye" (Av. *čašman-*),  $\check{s}\ddot{u}$ ,  $\check{s}\ddot{u}$  (K.  $\check{s}^ah$ ) "6" (Av. *xšvaš*). The development of Av. *čvant-*  $>$  *cōn(d)* "some" may be due to the *v*; but note K. *hōnd* "blind" (Av. *anda-*), with stressed  $a > \ddot{o}$  before *n*.

In *wō* (K. *hō*) "7" (Av. *hapta*), *tōk* "hot" (\**taftaka-*) the original *f* may have labialized the vowel (but cf. 59, and v. below).

In *sō* "100" (Av. *satəm*), *zōk* m. "beat" (\**jataka-*) etc. (cf. 50; 126), *-ata-* seems to have developed into \**awa-*  $>$   $\ddot{o}$ . But note the difference in stress: \**sātam*: \**jatākahya*.

28. Regarding the palatalizing of *a* through *i*-epenthesis cf. 38. In *pēnc* "5" the  $\ddot{e}$  seems to be due to the influence of the original palatal  $\check{n}$ , cf. Psht. *pīnjə*, Shgh. *pinj*, *p'ins* etc. But unstressed: *pan'jēs* "15", *pan'jāstu* "50" (Psht. \**panjōs*), cf. 54. —  $\ddot{e}$  in *pan'jēs* etc.  $<$  \**aya-*  $<$  \**ada-* cf. *nīmēk* "salt"  $<$  \**nimadaka-*? Cf. 36, 50.

Ir. *-ah*,  $-\ddot{o}$  in K. *sō* "1" (palatalized in Log. *šē*), *kōk* (K. *kūk*) "who" (\**kō-ka*)?

### Ir. $\ddot{a}$ .

29. Ir.  $\ddot{a} > \check{a}$  (K.  $\check{a}$ ): *dwās* "12" (Av. *dvādast*, *māwā* "mother" (Av. *mātā*), *māi* "month" (Av. *māhya-*), *numāž* "prayer" (Prs. *namāz*), *dāk* (K. *dāk* f.) "made" (\**dātakā*) etc. But *pan'jāstu* "50", v. 99.

30. Unstressed  $\ddot{a}$  is shortened: *amar-* "to hear" (\**ā-mar-*), K. *ayōk* "reached" (\**ā-gatāk-*), *asul* "this year" (\**ā-sarda-*), K. *dōk* m. "made" (\**dāwāk*  $<$  *dātāk*, cf. 126), *mar'zā* "brother" (\**hamātyzāta-*), *wulk* (K. *hanwalk* f.) "egg"  $<$  \**āwyālakā-*? Cf. 41.

$-\ddot{a}m-$ ,  $-\ddot{a}n-$   $>$   $-\check{a}m-$ ,  $-\check{a}n-$  (K.  $\check{a}m-$ ,  $\check{a}n-$ ): *nām* "name" (Av. *nāman-*), K. *hām* "unripe" (Skr. *āma-*); *prân* "yesterday" (\**paāna-*, Psht. *parūn*), K. *šwān* "shepherd" (\**fšupāna-*), K. *yānak* "ashes" (\**āsnakāh-*?). In *pōn* (K. *pōn*) "roof"  $<$  \**pāna-*, the  $\ddot{o}$  must be due to the *p*. Cf. also *wōk* (K. *wōk*) "water" (\**āpaka-*), *tōa* (K. *tūwā*) "sun" (\**tāp-*?).



Ir. *i*.

31. Ir. *i* > *i*, *e*: K. *pištak* "wrote" (\**pišta*-), *zemāk* "winter" (\**zimaka*-), *mi'zī* "urine" (\**miz*- or *maiz*-?), *nīmēk* "salt" (\**nimadaka*-?), K. *nyōk* "put" (\**nihādaka*-), K. *syōk* "broke" (\**sid*-), *p(y)ē* (K. *piē*) "father" (Av. *pitā*), K. *š'ī-buk* "stinking" (\**friḍya*-).

Unstressed *i* > *a* (cf. Par. Gr. 30): *na'γōk* "went out" (\**ni-gataka*-, but cf. *nīmēk*), *nawar*- "to take out" (\**ni-bar*-), *nustuk* (K. *nastak*) "sat down" (\**ni-hastaka*-), cf. K. *nvastak* "lay down" (\**ni-pastaka*-). Probably *eā*, *ea* "what?" (Av. *čīt*) is a proclitic form.

Before *š* we find *ē*: *mēš* (K. *mērš'*) "sun" (Av. *miθra*-), *nēšta* (K. *nīšt<sup>a</sup>*) "outside" (cf. Av. *nīštara*-); but v. *pištak* above. With *spō'i* "louse" (Av. *spiš*-) cf. Par. *spō*, Prs. *supuš*.

Ir. *ī*.

32. Ir. *ī* is preserved in: K. *š'īn*- (Log. *šen*-) "to buy" (\**xrīnā*-), K. *rījan* (Log. *'rezan*) "rice" (\**wrij*-), *šīr* (K. *sir*) "good" (Av. *srīra*-?).

Ir. *u*.

33. Ir. *u* is preserved in: (*w*)*ust*- "to rise" (Av. *us-stā*-), K. *tusk* "empty" (\**tusaka*-), *ga'nūm* (K. *gumum*) "wheat" (Av. *gantuma*-), *muz* "face" (Skr. *mukha*-), *šūk* "became" (\**šutaka*-), *šustuk* "wept" (\**fra-rustaka*-), K. *sukal* "porcupine" (Av. *sukurōna*-). *u* has been lengthened in: *šūš* (K. *sūš'*) "red" (Av. *suzra*-), K. *dūk* f. (Log. *dōk*, *duk*) "milked" (\**duxtakā*), *dūa* (K. *dūw<sup>a</sup>*) "daughter" (\**duxtā*), *wōkā* (K. *wyūk*) "dry" (Av. *huška*-).

Apparently unstressed *u* > *a* in *parγan*- (*parγa'nīm*) (K. *parγūn*-) "to dress" (\**pari-gund*-). Note K. *š'ak* "flea" (\**fruškā*-?).

K. *wuzmau*- "to test, try" (\**uz-mā*-) > Log. *izmau*- (*'zmau*?).

Ir. *ū*.

34. Ir. *ū* in *būk* (K. *byōk* m., *buk* f.), *'bummā* (K. *būmm<sup>a</sup>*) "earth"; *šūm* "inflamed, wounded" (Av. *xrūma*-?).

Ir. *r*.

35. K. has *w<sup>a</sup>lak* f. *w<sup>a</sup>lk* "brought" (\**ā-bṛtaka-*), *xw<sup>a</sup>lak*, f. *xw<sup>a</sup>lk* "ate" (\**hw<sup>a</sup>rtaka-*), *mulak*, f. *malk* "died" (\**mṛtaka-*), *kw<sup>a</sup>lak* f. *kwalak* "copulated" (\**kṛtaka-?*), *dilak*, f. *dalk* "reaped" (\**dṛtaka-*), *hatak* f. *hōtk* "abandoned" (\**hr̥štaka-*), *tatak* f. *tōtk* "drank" (\**tr̥štaka-*). Cf. Log. *wūluk*, *xulluk*, *mulluk*, *wutuk*. The rules regarding the distribution of *u* and *a*, "are not clear.

Other instances of Ir. *r* are K. *pat* "back" (Skr. *pr̥sthā*, Av. *par̥šta-*, with *ar* = *r*); K. *šramōt* "forgetting" (\**frām̥ṣta-*); *mušaw-* (K. *muzaw-*) "to rub" (\**mṛš-*). In *kir̥žī* "hen" (\**kṛčyā-*), *girī* (K. *grī*) "mountain" (Av. *gairi-*), *mirgā* "sparrow" (\**mṛgī-?*), *g<sup>a</sup>lak* (K. *gilak*) "rat" (\**gr̥dyaka-?*), K. *hiṇs* "bear" (\**ṛṣī-*, cf. 66), *hiṇl-* "to be ground" (\**ṛnya-*) the *i* is probably due to epenthesis. Regarding *trunuk* (K. *tranak*) "thirsty" v. 66.

Ir. *ai*, *aya*.

36. *ai* results in *ē*: *mēi* (K. *mai*) "female sheep" (Av. *maēši-*), *spēw* (K. *spīw*) "white" (Av. *spaēta-*), *spēk* (K. *ispēk*) "barley" (\**spaika-*). *i* before *n*: K. *pīn* "honey" (\**paina-*). But also *wīs-* (K. *wēs-*) "to enter" (if \**upa-isa-*, but poss. \**abi-isa-*); unstressed: *pi'kāk* (K. *pīkak*) "(butter)milk" (Av. *payah-*), *mizī* "urine" (\**maiz-?*), *ras-* "to spin", K. *las-* "to lick" (2 sg. *lēsi*, 3 sg. *lasī*) with *ais*, *aiš* > *as*, cf. EVP. s.v. *maž*.

Final *-aya* > *i* in *zli* "heart" (Av. *zərōdaya-*), prob. *gi'ri* "mountain" (Av. *garayō*), *-im* (\**ayami*) cf. 120. Rounded, after *š* in *šō* (K. *šrē*) "3".

*ē* < \**aya* < \**ada* in *panjēs* "15" etc., K. *mēx* "locust" (Av. *madaṣa-*), *nimēk* "salt" (\**nimadaka-*).

Ir. *au*, *awa*.

37. Ir. *au* > *ō*: *rōž* (K. *ryūz*) "day" (Av. *raoča-*), *gōi* "ear" (K. *gōy*) (Av. *gaoša-*), *gōi* (K. *giyōy*) "cow" (Av. *gav-*), K. *rō* "iron" (\**rauda-*), *pōz* (K. *pyūz*) "mouth" (Prs. *pōz*), K. *ma-ryōk* "moon" (\**rauka-*), *mōž* "to loosen" (\**mauč-*). *ū* before *n*: *rūn* "ghee" (Av. *raoṇa-*), *rūṇ* "fire" (K. "bright") (Av. *raoxšna-*).



āwa (āwa) > ā: nāk "wife" (\*naw(y)akā-), gāk "meat" (gāwakā-?); cf. prāk, dāk (v. 126).

awā > ō? Cf. ōzuk "remaining" (\*awa-zātaka-), ōn "so much" (\*awānta-?). In final position u: nūw (K. nyūw) "new" (\*nawahya? Av. nava-), tū "thee" (Av. tava). nā (K. n<sup>h</sup>) "9" is prob. borr. from Psht. — Note K. rawas "fox" (\*rawas < \*raupasa-), nēs (K. unēs) "19" (< \*nwayas < \*nawādasa).

#### i- and u- Umlaut.

38. gišī (K. gas) "tooth", cimī (K. cōm) "eye", drišī "lie" (\*drušš-). si-kak "hare" (\*sahya-, cf. Ishk. sī, Yd. sīy, Wkh. süi etc.), zi'nāk "chin" (\*zanyaka-, cf. Waz. Psht. zanyē etc.); biš- (K. bēz-, biz-) "to cook" (\*pāčaya-), nēla "presence, with" (Av. nazdyō), bēga "above" < \*barzyah-. Possibly tēš "bitter" < \*taxrī-(?), zēš "thorn" < \*jaðrī-bēš "rope" < \*bastrī-. Regarding K. 2 sg. γēfī etc. v. 120.

Apparently *l* < *rt* prevents the epenthesis: mālī "husband" (\*martya-), kālī "knife" (\*kartyā-). Note a'waitu (K. awāi) "70" (Av. haptāiti-), but nūwē "90" (Av. navaiti-); winjōk "stepson", but stressed *a* in wan "cowife" (Av. hapaðnī-).

39. u-Umlaut occurs in K. dyūr<sup>a</sup> "firewood" (Av. dāru-), possibly in pu'xōk (K. f. pyūck) "cooked" (Av. pazva-). Regarding -ōn < -antu(?) cf. 116.

#### Final Vowels.

40. -ah, -ā (cf. 78), ī(h), -ahya, -ahi, -aya, -a have been lost, except in monosyllabic words. -ati results in -a (v. 117), -ātiš in -ē, -āi (v. 99). -ayah, -(ī)yah (-iyā), -ayahī, -ayati all become -ī (cf. 78, 111).

#### Elision of Vowels.

41. As in Par. (Gr. 43) unstressed initial vowels have been elided, māk "we" (\*ahmāxam), nar'zā "brother" (\*hamātrzāta-), nēr "house, within" (\*antarya-), war- "to bring" (ā-bar-), K. wan "co-wife" (hapaðnī-), wīs- "to enter" (\*upa-isa-? v. 36). The elision has taken place at an earlier date in bōy (K. bōi) "near" (\*upāya-), probably on

account of its being weakly stressed; cf. Par. *pen* (\**upāntai*?). Regarding *jēm* "below" cf. 46.

Elision of medial, unstressed short vowels in *jist* "20" (cf. Par. Gr. 43), *šistu* "30", *cāštu* "40", *panjāstu* "50" (cf. 50), *prān* "yesterday" (\**parāna*-), *skan* "cow-dung" (*sakān*-), *paryan* "to dress" (\**pari-gund*-), *syākā* "shade" (\**sayākā*-) etc.

### Stress.

42. Regarding the following attempt to reconstruct the stress-system of the ancient Ir. dialect, from which Orm. is derived, cf. Par. Gr. 44 ff.

a) A long penultima was stressed: *prān* "yesterday" (\**parāna*-), *mar'zā* "brother" (\**hamātrzāta*-), *syākā* "shade" (\**sayākā*-) *wan* "co-wife" (\**hapāñni*-), *awaitu* (K. *awāi*) "70" (\**haftāti*-), *jusp* "span" (\**witāspi*-), K. *š'amōt* "forgetting" (\**frāmṣṣta*-). Corresponding to this last-mentioned word Par. has *nhāmuy* (\**frāmṣṣta*-, cf. Par. Gr. 45 b); it is possible that the Orm. word ought to be derived from *frāmṣṣtahya* (v. 125). *spēw* "white", *yāsp* "horse" etc. may be derived either from the nom. \**spaitah*, \**āspah*, or from the oblique \**spaitahya* etc. Probably the latter is the more probable derivation, considering the nearly exclusive use of the oblique form of masculine nouns and adjectives (cf. 125).

b) A long antepenultima was stressed before a short penultima: K. *nāsk* f. "sat down" (\**nihāstakā*), K. *yānak* (pl.) "ashes" (\**āsnakāh*), *wōk* "water" (*āpakā*), *rezan* (K. *rījan*) "rice" (\**wrījanāh*; now a secondary pl. *rījannī* has been formed in K.), *panjāstu* "50" (\**pančāsata*-), *cāštu* "40" (\**čāwārsata*-), *māli* "husband" (\**mārtiyahya*). *nāsk* and *yānak* show that a short penultima was not stressed before a long final syllable, as was possibly the case in pre-Par. (45 c)). Regarding *ga'nun* cf. c).

c) A short antepenultima was stressed before a short penultima: *mustuk* (K. *nastak* m.) "sat down" (\**nastākahya*), *skan* "cow-dung" (\**sakānahya*), K. *winjōk* "stepson" (\**hapañni-zātākahya*), K. *carwōk* "sheep and goats" (\**čāwār-pādūkahya*), *txan* "bread" (\**nagānahya*?),



K. *rawas* "fox" (\**raupāsahya*), *zi'nāk* "chin" (\**zanyākahya*), *'zemāk* "winter" (\**zimākahya*?), *ga'num* (K. *gunum*) "wheat" (\**gantūmahya*, or with secondary stress-shift \**gāntumāh*?), *nāk* „wife" (\**nāwakā*), *gākā* "meat" (\**gūwakā*), *aṣ'tēs* "18" (\**aštādasa*), *nēs* (K. *unēs*) "19" (\**nwāyas* < \**nawādasa*), *jīst(u)* "20" (\**wīsatī*), *ṣīstu* "30" (\**ṣrisata*), *ni'wē* "90" (\**nāwati*-, cf. 99), K. *tusk* "empty" (\**tūs(y)akah*, from the nom.). Note e.g. *da'rīm* (K. *dar'am*, cf. 120) < \**dārāyami*, but Par. *dērem* (\**dārayami*), cf. Par. Gr. 45 f); similarly *pan'jēs* (\**pañādasa*), but Par. *'paes* (\**pāñādasa*).

d) *zli* "heart", *'giri*, *giri* (K. *grī*) "mountain" are probably not derived from \**zṛdayah*, \**garāyah*, but have been subject to a subsequent shifting of accent.

### Semivowels.

#### Ir. y.

43. There is no instance of Ir. *y*- in Orm. except possibly *yūz* "plough", *yūḡ-luṇ'da* "yoke", which may, however, be lw.s. K. *yas-* "to boil" (intr.), *yasaw-* (trans.) are probably borrr. from Psht. *yašēdēl*, *yašawul*.

A prothetic *y*- occurs: *yum* "I am" (Psht. *yəm*), *yāsp* "horse", K. *yānak* "ashes" etc.

Regarding -āya v. 36; *bōy* "near" (\**upāya*-). *ō(i)y* > *e* in *cawam*, *cum* "I go"; *šy* > *š* in *šūk* (K. *suk* f.) "became", but *sam* (K. *s'am*) "I become"; *sy* > *š* (K. *s*) in *šē* (K. *sō*) "1", cf. 69; but *tusk* "empty" (\**tusyaka*, or \**tusaka*-); possibly *ṣy* > *ṣ* > *o* in K. *imbāi* "friends" (\**hampāṣya*-?), *rāi* "road" (Av. *raiṣya*-, or lw.?).

#### Ir. w.

44. Initial *w*- > *γ(w)* (cf. Par. Gr. 48): *γōš* "snow" (Av. *vafra*-), *'γwāšī* (K. *γwāši*) "grass" (\**wāstra*-), *'γuskak* (K. *γwac*) "calf" (\**wasa*-), *γōr-* "to rain" (Av. *vār*-), \**γūz-* (K. *γwaz*-) "to fall" (Av. *vaz*-), *γuš-* (K. *γwašr*-) "to fear" (\**wi-ṣrah*-), *γuṣaw-* (K. *γuṣraw*-) "to wash" (\**wi-fraw*-), *γuš-* (K. *γwac*-) "to speak" (\**waxšya*-), K. *γaf* "to weave".

(\*waf-), K. *ɣwar* "oath" (Av. *varah-*), K. *ɣwaž-* "to take an oath" (Av. *varəz-*).

45. \**wy* resulted in *j* (through \**ɣwʲ*): *jusp* "span" (\**ɣʲusp* < \**wyasp* < \**witaspi-*), *juš-* (K. with dissim. *jüš-*) "to see" (Av. *vi-darəs-*), *jīst* "20" (\**ɣʲīst* < \**wīsati-*). But original *wy-* through early *j* > *j*: K. *jāk* "place" (\**wyākah-*).

*wr* > *r* as in Par.: *rezan* (K. *rījan*) "rice" (\**wrījana-*). Regarding *hw*, *xšw* v. 74, 57. — *čw* > *c* (v. 47), *θw* > *h* > *o*: *cār* "4". *dw* > *b*: *bar* "door" (Av. *dvar-*), *ban-* "to throw" (Av. *dvan-*), *bē* (K. *bī*) "other" (\**dwitya-*). *dō* (K. *dyō*, *dū*) "2" < \**duwā*, *ducās* "12" < \**duwādasa*; K. *dīm* "second" is a secondary formation from the cardinal.

Regarding *-awa-* etc. v. 37.

Prothetic *w* is common before *ō*, *u*: *wōk* "water", *wutuk* (K. *hatak*) "left, placed", (*w*)*ustuk* "rose".

### Consonants.

#### Initial Plosives and Affricates.

46. Initial plosives remain unchanged before vowels (cf. Par. Gr. 49); *k* "to do", *kīlī* "knife", *kir'žī* "hen", *gōī* "cow", *gi'rī* "mountain"; *tū* "thou", *tōk* "hot", *das* "10", *dāk* "made"; *pēnc* "5", *pyē* "father", *bēš* "rope", K. *bazar* "arm from the wrist to the elbow", *bēga* (K. *bēža*) "above". The palatal affricates result in dental affricates (*j* further > *z*) as in Psht.: *cār* "4", *cōn* "some", *zan-* (K. *jan-*, *zan-*) "to beat", *zēš* "thorn" (\**jaθrī-*). Cf. also *jēm*, *zəm* etc. (K. *jēm*) "below" (\**hača-adama-*) with early loss of the initial *ha-*, (v. 41) and *-zäy-* (K. *-ja-*) "to arrive", the compounded form of *caw-*. — The derivation of *čān* (K. *cān*) "year" is unknown.

47. Before *sk*, *sp*, *st* a very short vowel is sometimes heard: (ʲ)*spuk* (K. *spuk*) "dog", (ʲ)*skan* "cow-dung", (ʲ)*stōr* (K. *stīr*) "tired" etc.

No instance of original *gr-* is known (*grām* "village" from Ind.); *dr-* in: *drišī* "lie" (\**dručš-*); *dri* "hair" is probably a lw. If K. *braz-* "to burn" represents the regular development of *br-*, K. *rāš'ai*



"nephew", *rāṣṛa* "niece" are probably borrowed from early forms of present Psht. *wrārə*, *wrēra*. The *-ai* points to borrowing, but is not found in Psht. in this word, and *ṣṛ* < *ṣr* (> Psht. *r*) would point to very early borrowing.

Regarding *č(i)y* > *č* > *c* v. 43, *čv* > *c* in *cōnd* "some" (Av. *čvant*).

48. The lenition of original initial surds in *bīž-* (K. *biz-*) "to cook", *gu'dā* "where?", K. *gān*, *kān*, "when?", *dar* "contracted pron. 2 prs." must be due to sandhi.

#### Non-initial Plosives and Affricates.

49. Ir. *k* remains after vowels and *n*: *sikak* "hare", *spuk* "dog", *nīmēk* "salt", *ṣkan* "cow-dung" (\**sakana*-), K. *sukal* "porcupine" (Av. *sukurāna*-), K. *sank* "rock". K. *mrig* and *mrik* "slave" (\**maryaka*-, Psht. *mrayai*); *sūg* "beard of wheat or barley" is possibly borrr. from Pfs.; K. *sag<sup>a</sup>* "sand" is borrr. from Psht. — In Ishk., too, the intervocalic unvoiced guttural shows a similar special power of resistance.

Intervoc. *g* becomes *γ*: *drāγ* "long", *parγan*- (\**pari-gund*-) "to dress", *na'γōk* "went out". *txan* "bread" prob. < \**dγan* (\**dγ*- being an unstable group) < \**nγ*- < \**naγ*-, \**nag*-; the derivation of K. *galγ* "shoulder" is uncertain. After *r* we find *g* (through differentiation): *mirgā* "sparrow" (*drāγ* "long" with early metathesis < \**dārga*-); probably after *n*: *uγgušt* "finger" (possibly lw.). The derivation of K. *yānγ* "embrace" is uncertain.

In K. *-k*, *-g* are palatalized before the pl. termination *-i*: *spuk* "dog", pl. *spučī*: *pīng* "cock", pl. *pīnjī*. But Log. *ṣpuk*, pl. *ṣpuk'ī*, *-čī*; *pīng*, pl. *pīngī*.

50. Intervocalic *t*, *d* are elided. *t* in: *p(y)ē* "father", *nīwē* "90", *sō* "100", *dāk* "made" (\**dātaka*-); possibly with the development of a labial glide in *māwā* "mother", *spēw* "white", *zōk* "beat" (cf. 27). *d* in: *n-* "to sit down" (Av. *nī-had*-), *aštēs* "18" (Av. *aštadasa*), *nīmēk* "salt" (\**nimadakk-*), K. *rō* "iron" (\**rauda*-).

As in Par etc. the *t* was preserved through early contraction of vowel: *ṣīst* "20", *ṣīstu* "30", *cāštu* "40" etc. (cf. 41).

51. *nt, nd* > *n*: *ga'nūm* "wheat", *xan-* "to laugh", *par'yan-* "to dress", *nēr* "house", *cōn* "some". K. *band* "a large stream" is borrr. from Prs. *band* "dam". *undərəw-* "to sew" is an ancient compound (\**han-dyb-*, cf. Par. *an'darf-*); *šāndas* "11" has been influenced by *das* "10". But final *nd* after a long vowel has been preserved, or restored, through segmentation in K. *hōnd* "blind" (Av. *anda-*), *cōnd* (= *cōn*) "some" (Av. *cwant-*). Cf. *γēnḏ* "penis" < Psht. *γēn*, *au'zānd* "hanging" < Afgh. Prs. *auzān(d)*, *waz'mīnd* "heavy" < Prs. *wazmīn*; v. Voc. s.v. *xrīnd*. A similar tendency is found in Waz. Psht, *armōnd*, *darmōnd* < *armān*, *darmān*, possibly in Psht. *drūnd* "heavy" < \**grūnd* < \**grūn*, cf. Pash. L. *g'rānd* "pregnant" < Prs. *girān*.

*γūnj* "rag" is prob. borrr. from Psht. \**γūndʷ*. (cf. EVP. s.v. *āγustəl*); with *γanj* "bad" (\**γandʷ*) cf. Psht. *γandəl* "to dislike". K. *xwarīnē* "right" (Soghd, *xwarant*) is also probably a lw.

52. *rt, rθ, rd* result in *l*, thus deviating from the usual development in E.Ir.: *mulluk* "died", *xulluk* "ate", *mālī* "husband", *kālī* "knife", *zāl* "old", K. *sālā* "coldness", K. *dīl-* "to reap"; *gal-* "to weave" (\**garθ-*); *zli* "heart", *a-sul* "this year", *g-* (K. *gl-*) "to take away" (\**grd-*), *gəlak* "rat" (\**grdyaka-*). *mār* "flour", *mar-* "to knead, pulverize" must be borrowed from some other Ir. dialect. *aḏḏu-gaḏ* (*ardugaḏ*) "both" with recent assimilation of Prs. *hardū*.

53. Intervocalic *p, b* become *w*: *waw-* "to get" (Av. *avi-ap-*), *nw-* "to lie down" (Av. *nī-pad-*), K. *carwōk* "goats and sheep" (\**čadwar-pādaka-*), K. *wan* "co-wife" (Av. *hapaθni-*), K. *rawas* "fox" (\**raupasa-*), *wōk* (K. *w<sup>a</sup>k*) "water" (\**āwēk* < \**āpakā-*), *tōa* (K. *tūwā*) "sun" (\**tāpa-*), *war-* "to bring" (Av. *ā-bar-*), *aw-* "to read" (Av. *aiwi-ah-*), *wīs-* "to enter" (\**upa-* or \**abi-isa-*?) etc. — *bōy* "near" (\**upāya-*) with early loss of *u-*, cf. 41.

*mp* > *mb*: K. *imbāi* "friends" (\**hampāθya-*?). *rb* in K. *gurū* "kid" (Av. *garəwa-* "foetus", Sar. *γērv* "kid"). Cf. *undərəw-*, 51.

54. Intervocalic *č* > *ž* (K. *ž*): *rōž* (K. *ryūž*) "day", *nūmāž* "prayer", *mōž-* "to untie", *bīž-* "to cook". In K. *γwac-* (Log. *γuš-*) "to speak" *c* has been secondarily developed from *s* (cf. 69) < *š* < *xšy* (Av. fut. *vaxšya-*, v. 57). The derivation of *mlič* (K. *mliž*) "apple" and of



č (K. *hinc*-) "to be able" (\**hakya*-?) is uncertain. — Intervocalic  $j > \dot{z}$  in *uṣṇaw*- (K. *wazn*-) "to kill". In *jēm* etc. (K. *jēm*) "below" (\**hača-adama*) *ha*- has been lost at an early date, and  $j$  is treated as in initial position (cf. 41, 46). But *rezan* (K. *rijan*, with  $j < z$ ?) "rice" (\**wrijanā*). The normal development must, however, have been that intervocalic  $-j-$  lost its occlusion as well as  $-č-$ . — In Psht.  $-č-$  results in  $-j-$ , but  $-j-$  in  $-ž-$ . In this language the dentalization of palatal affricates took place at an earlier date than in Orm., where both  $-č-$  and  $-j-$  had lost their occlusion before the introduction of this phonetical change.

$nč > ne$  in stressed, final syllable: *pēnc* "5"; but cf. *pan'jēs* "15", *pan'jāstu* "50". —  $rč > rž$  in *kiržī* "hen" (\**krčyā*). But K. *marcōi* "ant", with suffixal  $č$  treated as an initial, cf. Prs. *mōrča*.

55. Regarding *dw* v. 45. *st* e. g. in *mustuk* "sat down"; but *jusp* "span" (\**witaspi* < \**witasti*-) with dissimilation? (Cf. Charpentier, JRAS. 1927, pp. 115 ff.) *sp* e. g. in *yāsp* "horse". Regarding *šk*, *sč* v. 72. *zd*, *žd* > *l* in *nēla* "presence, with" (Av. *nazdyō*), *šulēs* "16" (\**xšwaždasa*). Probably through \* $d > r$  (cf. Psht. *špāras*), cf. *rd* > *l* v. 52.

#### Fricatives.

56. Initially before vowels the only Ir. fricative which occurs in Orm. is  $x$ : *xan*- "to laugh", *xar* "ass" (lw.?).

Between vowels  $x$  and  $f$  are preserved: *mux* "face", *mēx* "locust" (Av. *maḍaxa*-), *māx* "we"; *yaf*- "to weave", *nefak* "navel". K. *pan* "wide" may be genuine (Av. *paṣana*-), or borrh. from Prs. *pahn*.

57.  $\theta w$  is reduced in *cār* "4",  $\theta y$  in *rāi* "road" (Av. *raiθya*-), K. *imbāi* "friends" (\**hampāθya*-?); but *xw* >  $x$ : *puxōk* "boiled".

Ir. \* $\theta s$  >  $s$  in *yuskak* "calf". It is improbable that  $c$  in K. *ywac* has really preserved the occlusion of the original *ts* (cf. 69).  $fš > š$  in K. *šwān* "shepherd".

$xš > š$ : *šō* (but K. *šīw*) "night" (Av. *xšap*-), *šin* (K. *šin* from Psht.?) "green" (Av. *axšaēna*-), K. *m<sup>a</sup>šī* "fly" (Av. *maxšī*-), K. *baš*- "to give" (Av. *baxš*-), *drišī* "lie" (\**druxš*-?). But  $xšy > š$  (K. *s*),

as in Psht.: *duš-* (K. *dūs-*) "to milk" (\**dauzšya-*), *yuš-* (K. *yuac-*, cf. 69) "to speak" (\**wazšya-*). K. *brūš-* "to glitter" (cf. Psht. *brēšēdēl*) scarcely < \**upa-rauzšya-*. *xšw-* in \**šū* (K. *š<sup>h</sup>*) "6". *šūštu* (K. *šwaištī*) "60". Regarding the derivation of *šipi* "curds" v. Voc.

58. Before a nasal, *θ* (and probably other fricatives) lost its specific articulation and was elided: K. *wan* "co-wife" (Av. *hapaθnī-*), K. *mēmni* "female guest" (\**maiθmn-*). Cf. also *rūn* "ghee" (Av. *raoyna-*), but *rūn* "fire" *raoxšna-*), v. 71.

59. Before occlusives *x* and *f* were assimilated so early that the resulting *t* was elided in the same way as original intervocalic *t*. It is at any rate doubtful, whether the *x* and the *f* have left any trace in a respectively palatal and labial glide (cf. 27, 126). *xt* in: *dukā* "girl, daughter", B. *dūa* (K. *dūk<sup>a</sup>*, *dūw<sup>a</sup>*), *γōk* (K. *γwēk*) "said" (\**waxtaka-*), *dūk* "milked" (*duxaka-*), *mōk* "untied" (\**muxtaka-*), *prāk* "sold" (\**parā-waxtaka-*), K. *b<sup>h</sup>ēk* "gave" (\**baxtaka-*). *ft* in *tōk* "hot", *hō* (K. *wō*) "7", *a<sup>w</sup>ēs* "17", *wāk* "got" (\**abi-aftaka-?*), *šipi* "curds" (v. Voc.). Possibly *rx* is treated in the same way as *xt*: K. *māk* "withered" (\**marxtaka-*, cf. Par. *māt* "killed"?).

60. *θr*, *xr* and *fr* (and also *mr*, v. 62) result in *š* (K. *š<sup>r</sup>*) initially and between vowels. *θr* in: *šō* (K. *š<sup>r</sup>ē*) "3", *zēš* "thorn" (\**jaθri-*), *yuš-* (K. *yuwāš<sup>r</sup>-*) "to fear" (\**vi-θrah-*), *mēš* (K. *mērš<sup>r</sup>*) "sun" (Av. *miθra-*), K. *rāš<sup>r</sup>ai* "brother's son". — *xr* in: *šen-* (K. *š<sup>r</sup>in-*) "to buy" (\**xrin-*), *šūm* "inflammation" (Av. *xrūma-?*), *tēš* (K. *tēš<sup>r</sup>*) "bitter" (*taxri-?*), *šūš* "red", assimilated from K. *sūš<sup>r</sup>* < Av. *suxra-*. — *fr* in: *šū-* (K. *šaw-*) "to weep" (*fra-rauda-?*), K. *š<sup>r</sup>amōt* "forgetting" (\**frām<sup>r</sup>šta-*), K. *š<sup>r</sup>i-būk* "stinking" (\**friθya-*), K. *š<sup>r</sup>ak* "flea" (\**fruškā-*), *šir-* (K. *š<sup>r</sup>aw-*) "to give" (*fra-ap-* or *fra-dā-*, v. Voc.), *γōš* "snow" (Av. *vafra-*).

This strong cerebralizing effect of *r* on a preceding fricative, which had probably previously lost its specific articulation, is very characteristic of Orm. The development of *θr* > *š* is known from Par., Soghd. and other dialects, the change of *fr* into *š* only from Bal. (*šamušag* "to forget") and Gabri; the corresponding development of *xr* is, as far as I know, not found in any other Ir. dialect.



61. The group *str* (*sθr*) results in *š* (K. *s*): *bēš* "rope" (\**bastrī*-), *γwāšī* (K. *γwāsi*) "grass" (\**wāstrya*-), *gišī* (K. *gas*) "tooth" (\**gastra*-). The etymology of *kāš* (K. pl. *kaši*) "Afghan" is unknown; the *š* may represent *str*, *sr*, *xšy* (v. 67, 57) and possibly other Ir. sounds. (v. p. 312, n. 2). — Note *θr* > *š*(*r*), but *str*, *sr* > *š*. Apparently the *s* has been less liable to cerebralization than the weak sound *θ*. — The contrast between *s(t)r* > *š*, but *rs* > *š* (v. 66) corresponds to that between Psht. *s(t)r* > *š*, but *rs* > *ž*. In both languages *rs* was the weaker group, which was assimilated first and was most thoroughly influenced by the *r*.

*yēwər* "cloud" (*abrya*-) seems to show that voiced fricatives resisted the influence of the *r* better than the unvoiced ones.

#### Nasals.

62. Initial and intervocalic *n*, *m* remain: *nimēk* "salt", *nām* "name", *ban* "to throw", K. *wan* "co-wife", *numāž* "prayer", *māwā* "mother", K. *hām* "unripe", *ze'māk* "winter".

Regarding *nt*, *mp*, *ŋk* etc. v. 51, 53, 49. Regarding \**nō* in *pēnc* "5" v. 54. Regarding *rn*, *sn*, *šn*, *xšn*, *šm*, *zn* v. 64, 71. Cf. *txan*, 49.

Before *r* an *m* loses its nasality and is treated as a fricative: K. *nō(r)šr* "soft" (Av. *namra*-). But cf. *yēwər* "cloud" 61. Cf. *txan*, 49.

63. Regarding nasalization through assimilation v. 75. A spontaneous nasalization of vowels occurs, especially in K. E.g. *āšt* (K. *hānšt*) "8", K. *yānsr* "horse", K. *hišs* "bear", K. *hiñl* "to be ground", *hēncēi* "tears", *hanwalk* "egg", *hiñc* "to be able". The nasalization seems to have something to do with the initial *h*, which is probably pronounced without the nose being firmly closed by the velum.

#### Rolled and Lateral Sounds.

##### Ir. *r*.

64. Initial *r* in: *rōž* "day", *rūn* "ghee", *rūn* "fire". Intervocalic *r* in: *darim* "I hold", *nēr* "house" (as a postposition *nēr* and *nē* "in").

Regarding *rg*, *rb*, *rt*, *rd*, *rē*, *rx* v. 49, 52, 53, 54, 59. *rn* > *l*: K. *sukal* "porcupine", *mlīc* (K. *mlīz*) "apple" (\**marni*°, cf. Psht. *maṇa* etc.?), K. *hīnl* "to be ground" (\**rnyā*). K. *kūn* "deaf" may be borrh. from Psht. *kūn*; *kūn* "to copulate" may also possibly be a lw. *k* "to do" is borrh. from Psht. *kawul*, or represents a parallel development of this frequently used verb.

65. *rz* results in *g* (K. *ž*): *bēg* (K. *bēž*) in *pabēga* "above" (Av. *barəzyah*), *g*- (K. *ž*-) "to leave, place" (Av. *harəz*-, K. *daž*- "to load" (Av. *darəz*), K. *γwaž*- "to take an oath" (Av. *varəz*-, K. *ažan* "millet" (Prs. *arzan* etc.), *xwāš* (K. *xwāšr*) "sweet" (Av. *xarəzišta*), cf. K. *xwāžāwī* "sweetness". It is possible that K. *ž* (in *ž*-) is incorrectly written for *ẓ̌*. \**ẓ̌* was assimilated into K. *ž*, while the *r* was kept apart from the unvoiced *š* in *šr*. The transition of *ẓ̌* into *g* in Log. reminds us of N. Psht. In some transitional Ghilzai dialects, such as in Rustum Khel, and possibly in Pur Khel, we find a similar distribution to that in Orm. Log.: *š* remains (or becomes *ṣ̌*), while *ẓ̌* becomes *g* (Pur Khel also *g'*, \**γ'*). — Note *marzā* "brother" (\**hamātr-zāta*).

66. *rs*, *rš* > *š*: *jūš*- (K. *jūš*-) "to see" (Av. *vī-darəs*), *mušaw*- (K. *muzaw*- for *mušaw*-?) "to rub" (\**marš*-), *cāštu* "40" (\**čadwarsata*), K. *hiṇs* "bear" (the Log. form would have been \**iš*) < \**ršī*- (*š* before *i*, cf. 35. Also Psht. *yaž*, *ig*, *ēž* etc. prob. from the fem.).

In the group *ršn* the *r* developed into *ra*, *ra*, and the heavy group of consonants *ršn* was avoided: *trunuk* (K. *tranak*) "thirsty" (Av. *taršna* = \**tršna*), cf. also *prusnaw* "to sprinkle?" (v. Voc. s.v.).

67. The development of *ršt* into *t* is curious; probably the intermediate sound was a cerebral *ṭ*, which was, however, changed into *t* before the introduction of cerebrals in Ind. lws. Cf. Psht. *t* < *št* (but *št* < *ršt*!). Examples: K. *pat* "back" (Av. *paršta*), K. *šramōt* "forgetting" (\**frāmṛšta*), K. *mutaw* "to rub" (\**mṛšta*), *wutuk* (K. *hatak*) "left, laid" (*hrštaka*), K. *tatak* "drank" (\**trštaka*). The derivation of *gustuk* "took" (K. *gastak*, *glastak*) is uncertain. Possibly \**grsta* > \**grasta*, with substitution of *l* for *r* from the presend *gl* < \**grd*.

*sr* probably resulted in *š*: *šir(r)* (K. *sirr*) "good", possibly < Av.



*srīra*. K. *hēncēi* "tears" (sg. \**hōnck* < \**ōsk* < Log. \**ōšk* < \**asruka*), cf. 69.

Regarding *xr*, *fr*, *ʒr*, *str*, cf. 60, 61; *gr*, *br*, *dr* cf. 47.

#### Ir. l.

68. Ir. *l* occurs only in K. *las* "to lick".

#### Sibilants.

69. Initial *s*, *z* are retained: *sō* "100", *sikak* "hare", K. *sāl<sup>a</sup>* "coldness"; *zli* "heart", *zemāk* "winter". *š* (< *šy*-) in *šūk* (K. *suk* f.) "became", but pres. *sām* etc. *š*- (K. *s*-) < *sy*- in *šē* "1", *šandas* "11", *šām* "before", *šān* "today" (v. Voc. s. vv.). K. *c<sup>an</sup>* "today" with *c* > *s* (cf. *γwac*-, *γwac*, *hēncēi*, 54, 57, 67). Similarly Psht. *cam* (borr. into K. *c<sup>am</sup>*) < *sam* "flat". The *c* probably arose out of a very energetic pronunciation of the *s*. — Regarding *šūš* "red" v. 60.

70. Intervocalic *s*, *z* in *das* "10", *asul* "this year", *nas* "to seize", *nis* "to go out", (\**niš-isa*-, or \**ni-isa*-), K. *tusk* "empty" (\**tusaka*-, or < \**tušk* < \**tusyaka*-); *mēz*- (K. *maz*-) "to break", *pazen*- (K. *pazan*-) "to recognize", *pōz* (K. *pyūz*) "mouth", *marzā* (K. *marzā*) "brother" (\**hamātrzāta*-); but K. *winjōk* "stepson" (\**hapaṇnizātaka*-) with *j* < *z*, cf. *c* < *s* above (and K. *rijan*, 54).

Intervocalic *š* is elided, or becomes *y*: *gōi* (K. *gōy*) "ear", *mēi* (K. *māi*) "ewe", *spōi* (K. *spōi*) "louse", *nis* "to go out" (\**niš-isa*-, or \**ni-isa*-).

71. *s*, *z* and *š* are assimilated before nasals: K. *yānak* "ashes" (\**āsna-kā*-), *šān* (K. *c<sup>an</sup>*) "today" (\**sya-azna*-, Av. *asn*-); *cimī* (K. *cōm*) "eye", *pōm* "wool" (Prs. *pašm*), *trunuk* "thirsty" (\**tršna-ka*-); but, with more recent assimilation, *rūṇ* "fire" (Av. *raoxšna*-). The derivation of K. *prusnaw* "to sprinkle" (\**pršna*-?) is uncertain.

72. *zd*, *žē* > *l* v. 55; *na'γōk* "went out" probably < \**ni*-, not \**niž-gataka*-.

Regarding *sk*, *sp*, *st* cf. 47, 55; *str*, *sr* cf. 61, 67. *šč* and *šk* are assimilated into *c* (< *č*), *k*: *pēc* "back, behind" (\**paščya*-, Av. *pasča*-,

cf. Minj. *ač-pōč* "behind"), *wōkā* (K. *wyūk*) "dry" (Av. *huška-*), K. *šrak* f. "flea" (*\*fruškā-*). Cf. Psht. *wuč* "dry" < *\*uk'*.

73. *št* > *št* (K. *št*, *št*): *muštuk* (K. *maštak*) "broke", *γuštuk* (K. *γwaštak*) "fell", K. *pištak* "wrote", *šūštu* (K. *šwaišti*) "60", *aurūšt* (K. *wraštā*) "beard"; *āšt* (*āšt?* K. *hānšt*) "8", *aštēs* (K. *aštēs*) "18", K. *hištak* "read" (Av. *aiwišti-* "study"), *nēšta* (K. *nīštā*) "outside" (Skr. *niṣṭya-* etc.), K. *ašt-* "to be standing" (Av. *hišta-*). — Orm. *št* > *št* (*št*), but *ršt* > *t* (cf. 67); Psht. *št* > *t*, but *ršt* > *št*. In Orm. the cerebralization of *št* is probably comparatively recent, and did not take place till *ršt* had become *\*št* > *\*f* (but *zd*, *žd* > *d* > *l*, on account of the less energetic pronunciation of *d?* cf. 55). In Psht., on the other hand, the *r* of *ršt* was preserved until *št* had become *\*št* > *\*f*.

#### Ir. h.

74. Initial *h* is lost in Log.: *wō* "7", *awēs* "17", *marzā* "brother" (*\*hamātrzāta-*) etc., *wutuk* (K. *hatak*) "left" *\*hrštaka-*, *č-* (K. *hinc-*) "to be able". In K. *h* is apparently preserved before a stressed syllable: *hō* "7": *awēs* "17"; cf. also *wan* "co-wife" (Av. *hapaθnī-*), *imbāi* "friends" (*\*hampāθya-*?). Intervocalic *h* in *γuṣ-* (K. *γwaṣr-*) "to fear" (*\*wi-θrah-*), K. *hai* "thou art" (Av. *ahī*), cf. *yum* (K. *hām*) "I am" (Av. *ahmī*).

Prothetic *h* is very common in K.: *hām* "unripe", *hōnd* "blind", *hinl-* "to be ground", *hiṣ* "bear" etc. Note K. *hānšt* (Log. *āšt*) "8": *aštēs* "18".

*hw* > *x(w)*: *xui* (K. *xwai*) "self", *xr-*: *xulluk* (K. *x(u)r-*: *xwalak*) "to eat", *xwār* "sister" (lw.?), K. *xwarincā* "right".

#### Assimilation and Dissimilation.

75. Numerous instances of assimilation through contact are found throughout the preceding paragraphs. Cf. also 125. Assimilation at a distance occurs in: *nimišta* "written" (Prs. *niwišta*), *maindān*



"plain" (Prs. *maidān*, cf. EVP. s. v. *mōr*), *nīnī* "nose" (Prs. *bīnī*?), *šūš* "red" < K. *sūš*<sup>r</sup>, v. 60.

Dissimilation in: *layar* "to roll" (Psht. *ɾayədəl*), *bī'yān* "waist" (Prs. *miyān*).

### Metathesis.

76. The following examples are taken from K.: *buzwā* "spider" (\**wabzā*), *waṭk* "walnut" (from \**wakṭ*, bor. from some dialect form of Skr. *akṣotā*? But cf. Waz. *maṭak*), *zway<sup>a</sup>k* "kernel of the pine-nut" (\**ɣwaz*-, Prs. *gōz*), *razūn* "green" (Psht. *zarūn*), *mizdik* (Log. *mazdik*) "mosque" (Prs. *mašjid*, but Waz. *mazdak*). Most of these words are loan-words, and the metathesis may have taken place before the word was adopted into Orm. — An ancient metathesis is found in *drāy* (K. *drāy*, *dāray*) "long", cf. Av. *darəya*- etc., v. 49.

### 77.

#### List of Phonetical Correspondences.

Orm. <i>a</i> < Ir. <i>a</i> (26, 28), <i>ā</i> (30), <i>i</i> (31), <i>u</i> (33), <i>ɾ</i> (35), <i>ai</i> (36), <i>-ati</i> (40).	Orm. <i>u</i> < Ir. <i>u</i> (33), <i>ū</i> (34), <i>a<sup>u</sup></i> (39), <i>a</i> (27), <i>ɾ</i> (35).
» <i>ā</i> < Ir. <i>a</i> (26).	» <i>ū</i> < Ir. <i>ū</i> (34), <i>au</i> , <i>awa</i> (37), <i>a<sup>u</sup></i> (39), <i>uxta</i> (59).
» <i>ā</i> < » <i>a</i> (26, 38), <i>ā</i> (29, 30), <i>āwa</i> (37).	» <i>ā</i> < Ir. <i>awa</i> ? (37).
» <i>e</i> < Ir. <i>i</i> (31), <i>ī</i> (32).	» <i>y</i> < » <i>y</i> - (43), <i>i</i> (31), <i>-š</i> (70), <i>o</i> - (43).
» <i>ē</i> < » <i>ai</i> (36), <i>āi</i> (38), <i>a</i> , <i>ada</i> (28), <i>i</i> (31), <i>-ātiš</i> (40), <i>axta</i> (59).	» <i>w</i> < Ir. <i>-p</i> -, <i>-b</i> - (53), <i>o</i> - (45).
» <i>i</i> < Ir. <i>i</i> (31), <i>a<sup>i</sup></i> (38), <i>ɾ</i> (35).	» <i>k</i> < » <i>k</i> - (46), <i>-k</i> - (49), <i>šk</i> (72).
» <i>ī</i> < » <i>ī</i> (32), <i>ai</i> (36), <i>aya</i> (36), <i>-ayah</i> , <i>-iyah</i> , <i>-ayati</i> , <i>-ayaki</i> (40).	» <i>g</i> < Ir. <i>g</i> - (46), <i>k</i> - (48), <i>-rz</i> - (65).
» <i>ō</i> (ō) < Ir. <i>a</i> (27), <i>i</i> (31), <i>u</i> (33), <i>au</i> , <i>awā</i> (37), <i>ata</i> (27), <i>-ah</i> (28), <i>ā</i> (30), <i>afta</i> , <i>axta</i> (59).	» <i>x</i> < Ir. <i>x</i> (56), <i>-xw</i> - (57), <i>hw</i> (74).
	» <i>ɣ</i> < Ir. <i>w</i> - (44), <i>-g</i> - (49).
	» <i>t</i> < » <i>t</i> - (46), <i>ršt</i> (67).
	» <i>d</i> < » <i>d</i> - (46), <i>t</i> - (48), <i>duw</i> - (45).

Orm. *d* < Ir. *r* + *d* (52).

» *p* < » *p*- (46).

» *b* < » *b*- (46), *p*- (48),  
*dw*- (45).

» *f* < Ir. *-f*- (56).

» *č* < » *kʷ* (49, 54).

» *j* < » *wʷ* (45).

» *c* < » *č*- (46), *čiy*- (43),  
*čw*- (47), *-šč*- (72); (in K.)  
*s* (54, 69).

» *j* < Ir. *-č*- (46), *dʷ* (51),  
*wʷ* (45), K. *č*- (46), *-č*- (54).

» *n* < Ir. *n* (62), *nt*, *nd* (51),  
*γn*, *ɣn* (58), *ršn* (66), *sn*,  
*zn*, *šn* (71).

» *m* < Ir. *m* (62), *ɣm* (58),  
*šm* (71).

» *ɲ* < Ir. *xšn* (58, 71).

» *r* < » *r*- (64), *wr*- (45),  
*br*-? (47), *rb* (53).

» *l* < Ir. *l* (68), *rl*, *rɬ*, *rd* (52),  
*zd*, *žd* (55), *rn* (64).

» *s* < Ir. *s* (69, 70), *-sy*-  
(43, 70), *šy*- (43), *ɬs* (57).

» *š* < Ir. *šy*- (43, 69), *sy*-  
(43, 69), *xšy* (57), *str* (61),  
*sr* (67).

Orm. *š* < Ir. *fš*, *xš*, *xšw* (57),  
*ɬr*, *xr*, *fr* (60), *mr* (62),  
*rs*, *rš* (66).

» *z* < Ir. *z* (69, 70), *j* (46,  
54).

» *ž* < Ir. *-č*-, *-č*- (54).

» *o* < » *h*- (74), *-t*-, *-d*- (50),  
*-ɬw*-, *-ɬy*- (57), *-xt*-, *-ft*- (59),  
*-š*- (70).

» *ɲg* < Ir. *ng* (49).

» *nd* < » *nd* (51), *-n* (51).

» *mb* < » *mp* (53).

» *nc* < » *nč* (54).

» *nj* < » *nč* (54).

» *rg* < » *rg* (49).

» *rž* < » *rč* (54).

» *rəw*, *rū* < Ir. *rb* (51, 53).

» *gr* < Ir. *gr*- (47).

» *dr* < » *dr*- (47).

» *br* < » *br*- (47).

» *st* < » *st* (47, 55), *-sat*-  
(50).

» *št* < » *št* (73), *-rsat*- (50).

» *sk* < » *sk* (47, 55).

» *sp* < » *sp* (47, 55), *st*  
(55).

» *tx* < » *naγ*- (49).



## MORPHOLOGY.

## Nouns.

## Stem-Formation.

78. From ancient stems in -a- e. g.: *yāsp* „horse” (Av. *aspa*-), *γōš* „snow” (Av. *vafra*-), *gōi* „ear” (Av. *gaoša*-), *mux* „face” (Skr. *mukha*-).

From stems in -(a)ya-: *māi* (K. *māi* m.) „month” (Av. *māhya*-), *māli* „husband” (Anc. Prs. *m(a)rtiya*-), *zli* „heart” (Av. *zərədaya*-).

From stems in -ā-: *nāk* „wife” (\**naw(y)akā*-), *šō* (K. *šiw* f.) „night” (Av. *xšapā*-?), *txan* „bread” is f. in K., and K. *γwac* „calf” may be either m. or f. (\**naγanā*-, \**watsā*-?). Cf. also the p. p. f. in K., e.g. *buk* „become” (m. *byōk*). Accordingly -ā (K. *a*) in *mirgā* „sparrow”, K. *rāš<sup>ra</sup>* „niece” etc. is probably due to influence from Psht. — From stems in -yā-: *kir<sup>ž</sup>i* „hen” (\**kryā*-), *kālī* „knife” (\**kartyā*-), but *nēr*, (K. *nar* f.). „house” (\**antaryā*-).

From stems in -ī-: *ju<sup>s</sup>p* „span” (Av. *vitasti*-), K. *wan* „cowife” (Av. *hapa<sup>ni</sup>*-), *mēi* (K. *māi*) „ewe” (Av. *maēšī*-), *būmmā* „earth” (Av. *būmī*-, cf. late Anc. Prs. acc. *būmām*) with secondary -ā. *gi<sup>r</sup>i* „mountain” is prob. derived from the Av. pl. *garayō*. — From stems in -u-: K. *dyū<sup>a</sup>* „firewood” (cf. Av. *dāru*-).

From stems in -r-: K. *dūw<sup>a</sup>* „daughter” (nom. \**duxtā*), *māwā* „mother” (Av. nom. *mātā*), *p(y)ē* (K. *piē*) „father” (Av. nom. *pitā*). *xwār* „sister” is prob. borrr. from Prs. — From stems in -n-: K. *cōm* (Log. *cimī*) „eye” (Av. *čašman*-), *pōm* „wool” (\**paxšman*-); *škan* „cow dung” (\**sakana*- < \**sakan*-. Cf. Skr. gen. *śaknah*).

Stems in -kā- are very numerous. V. Voc. s.v.v. *dukā*, *spuk*, *syūkā*, *š<sup>r</sup>ak*, *žemāk* etc. The -ai, e. g. of *rāš<sup>r</sup>ai* is prob. of Psht. origin. A double -ka- suffix is found in *pikāk* (K. *pīkak*) „milk”, K. *sikak* „hare”.

The ancient Ir. stems are all inflected alike in Orm. Most masculines go back to an oblique form in *-ahya*, cf. 42 a, 125.

### Composition.

79. Prs. compounds frequently occur; but genuine Orm. nominal compounds are rare. Cf., however, K. *gōn<sup>a</sup>-mīrg<sup>a</sup>* "skylark", K. *kaṇ<sup>a</sup>-weraγ<sup>a</sup>* "a kind of crow", *mālīda'rī* "woman whose husband is alive". Ancient compounds are e.g. *mar'izā* "brother", K. *carwōk* "sheep and goats", K. *winjōk* "stepson", K. *kirmai* "hen"; possibly *šīpī* "milk", *tōpī* "buttermilk" (v. Voc. s.v.v.).

As in Par., genitive groups frequently replace compounds: *gākā ta gišī* "gums"; *nas ta pāi* "calf of the leg"; *sumb ta pāi* "heel". These constructions are due to the influence of the Prs. *izāfat*-compounds.

Cf. also verbal compounds such as: *amar-* "to hear" (\**ā-mar-*), *užnaw-* "to kill" (Av. *aiwi-* or *ava-šan-*), *waw-* "to read" (Av. *aiwi-ah-*), *wust-* "to rise" (Av. *us-stā-*), *prāk* "sold" (\**para-waxta-*), *parγan-* "to dress" (*parī-gund-*), K. *š'amōt* "forgetting" (\**frā-mršta-*), *n-* "to sit down" (Av. *nī-had-*), *γuṣaw-* "to wash" (\**wi-fraw-*) etc.

### The Article.

80. The definite article is *a-*: *a-sa'rai* (= K.) "the man" (but *'a sa'rai* "this man", v. 103).

The numeral *šē* "1" is used as an indefinite article: *šē sa'rai* (K. *s<sup>a</sup> sa'rai*) "a man" or "one man".

### Gender.

81. There is no distinction of gender in Orm. Log. A number of nouns denoting female beings end in *-ā* (= K. *a*, cf. 78); but



the adjective or verb does not change, as it does in K. Probably the loss of the *f* is due to the influence of Prs. Example: *šē sarai (zarka) ušyār arzāk* "a wise man (woman) came".

### Number.

82. The sign of the pl. is *-i* or *-iyē* (K. *-i*). Most nouns ending in a consonant take *-i*, e. g. *čān* "year", *zēš* "thorn", *gōn* "stick", *pīng* (K. *pīng*, *pīnji*) "cock", *nūkar* "servant". A final *-k* is palatalized before *-i*: *gə'lak* "rat", pl. *gə'lak'i* (K. *gilak*, *gilacč'i*): *wūlk* "egg", pl. *wūlk'i*; *spuk* "dog", pl. *spuk'i*, *spuč'i* (K. *spuk*, *spuč'i*). Also *dūkā* "daughter" has the pl. *dūk'i*, *dūč'i* (K. *dūk*, *dūč'i*).

Nouns ending in a vowel or diphthong generally have the pl. in *-iyē*: *sa'rai* "man": *sa'riyē* (*sa'riyi*), *aurai* "ram": *auriyē*, *zarka* "woman": *zar'kiyē*, *mar'zā* "brother": *mar'ziyē* (*mar'zāyi*), *mā'hī* "fish": *mā'hiyē*, *gōi* "cow": *gōiyē*. But also: *gap* "stone": *ga'piyē*, *kitāb* "book": *kitābiyē*, *spuk* "dog": *spukiyē* etc.

A few words are always used in pl.: *cimī* "eye" (K. *cōm*, pl. *camī*), *drī* "hair" (K. *drā*, pl. *drī*), *gišī* "tooth" (K. *gas*), *kissī* "tale", (cf. Psht. pl. *xabarē*); *drišī* "lie" (K. *darēšī*). Probably *gi'rī* "mountain" is an original pl. (cf. 36, 78).

After numerals we find e. g. *dō klān* "two sons"; *zut kitāb*; *az zud dukā darīm* "I have many daughters". *kla'nāk* "boy" was said to have the same form in sg. and pl.

83. Acc. to G. the pl. termination *-i* is derived from Phl. *-ihā*. This is, however, very doubtful. More probably we ought to compare Psht. *-i*. The possibility of deriving *gi'rī* "mountain" < Av. *garayō* has been mentioned above (82). It seems possible that *-i* and *-iyē* are merely phonetical variants of an etymologically identical termination.

### Case.

84. As in Par. (Gr. 84), there is no fixed limit between "cases" and postpositional forms. I have reckoned as "cases" those postpositional forms which are not constructed with the genitive:

Nom.	<i>nēr</i> "house".	Superess.	<i>nēr(i) jē</i> .
Acc.	<i>(ku) nēr</i> .	Comit.	<i>(i-) nēr(i) giḍi</i> .
Gen.	<i>ta nēr</i> .	Abl.	<i>(i-) nēr dī</i> .
Instr.	<i>pa nēr</i> .	Adess.	<i>nēri nēla</i> .
Dat.	<i>(ku) nēr kī</i> .	Termin.	<i>nēr tu-manak</i> .
Loc. I.	<i>(i-) nēri</i> .	Voc.	<i>ai nēr</i> .
Loc. II.	<i>(i-) nēri nē</i> .		

### Nominative.

85. There is no agent case, the nom. being used as a subject with the past tenses of transitive verbs. This development is probably not due to any Prs. influence, as it is found in K. too.

### Accusative.

86. The indefinite object is not formally distinguished from the subject: *klanāki jē kitāb bu awīm* "I am reading a book to the boy". But the definite object is marked by the prefix *ku* (corresponding to Par. *ma*): *ku kitāb bu awīm* "I am reading the book"; *ku daraxt bu zanam* "I fell the tree". *ku* is always used with pronouns: *ku mun* "me"; *az bu ku tōs zanam* "I beat you". The derivation of *ku* is uncertain. It corresponds to K. \**kū*, a locative prefix used with proper names. In Log., too, it is used with nouns and pronouns denoting a person in the local cases.

### Genitive.

87. *tar tū ta pē nēr* "your father's house"; *ta xui ta klān i-gardani* "to the neck of his own son"; *šē dukandār ta grām dī* "from a shopkeeper of the village". With postpositions: *ta girī sar* "on the top of the hill"; *ta qabr i-sar* "on the tomb"; *ta rāt (i-)sar (nē)* "on the road"; *ta draxt i-jāmi nē* "under the tree"; *ta kištī mənzi nē* "in the middle of the boat"; *ta nēr i-mīnz dī* "from the interior of the house"; *ta xui ta klān i-mīnzi nē* "amongst his own sons"; *tar tū pēci dī* "from behind you".



With *ta* (before personal pronouns *tar*), cf. Psht. *da*, genitive prefix, Par. *tar* "to, in from" < Av. *tarō*.

#### Instrumental.

88. *pa* (also K.) < Av. *paiti*. \**pa cimi* "(he gave a sign) with the eyes".

#### Dative.

89. *ku sarai kī* "to the man"; *kafō sarai kī šē kitāb bu ar širīm* "I give a book to that man"; *nūkarī kī* "to the servant". In a local sense: *az bu nēr kī cūm* "I shall go home"; *qabristān kī* "to the graveyard"; prob.: *ta xuy i-pē kī* "to his own father" (not \**xuyi pē*). K. has *kī* or *likī*: *i-sarai (li)kī* "to a man". Acc. to G. *likī* is a compound; but it is equally probable that *kī* is a shortened form of *likī*. The derivation is unknown. < \**ardakī*? Cf. Av. *arōda* "side" etc., Sak. *-ālsto* "towards", v. Barth., *miran Mund.*, I, 3 ff.

#### Locative I.

90. The simplest form of the loc., which is also used as a base for other cases, ends in *-i*: *wōki al-γuštuk* "he fell into the water"; *škārī-wa ar-zāk* "he came shooting"; *šē waxti būk* "once upon a time". With prefixed *i*: *i-sar-a* "on her head"; *i-gardani-wa* "to his neck"; *tar mun i-zlī* "in my heart". Also *ta xuy i-Xudāi kī* "to his own God" (or: *ta xuyi*?), cf. 89.

The form in *-i* may perhaps be derived from an ancient loc., Av. *-ē* (*-aē*), *-aya* (but v. 40). The derivation of *i*- is unknown (probably not < \**adi* "to" or \**ida* "here").

#### Locative II.

91. *nēri nē* or *i-nēri nē* "in the house"; *afo sarai jangal (šārī, girī) nē ya* "the man is in the forest (town, on the mountain)"; *sari nē-wa* "on his head"; *kitāb buhmāi nē a (gōn)* "the book is on the ground (put it on the ground)"; *al-γuštuk-ē buhmāi nē* "it has fallen to the ground"; *i-pūšti nē* "on the back"; *bēsi nē* "with a rope".

Cf. K. *inar* "in" (*i-sarai inar*). But forms such as *wōki* (v. 90) prove that we ought to write e.g. *i-nēri nē*, not *i-nēr i-nē*. Cf. Le. *i-ne*, *i-ner*. *nē(r)*, *nar* = *nēr*, *nar* "house" (G.) < \**antar(y)a-*; cf. Prs. *dar*.

#### Supressive.

92. *giri jē a* "it is on the mountain"; *pōn(i) jē* "on the road"; *kitāb mēzi jē gōn* "put the book on the table"; *bummāi jē gōn* "put it on the ground"; *afō a-yāspī jē* "on the back of the horse"; *tar xui šānai jē* "on her own shoulder"; *giri jē bēk sam* "I ascend the hill"; *kančini jē* "(he spent it) on harlots"; *ku tū jē* "(I sold it) to thee"; *giri jēr mustuk-ē* (K. *i-grī i-zar nastak hā*) "he is sitting on the top of the hill". K. *izar*, Le. *jar*.

The derivation of *jē(r)* etc. is unknown. \**kašai* might result in \**k<sup>g</sup>ē*, \**čē*, *jē*; -*r* possibly from *nē(r)*; but K. *z-*?

#### Comitative.

93. *bādsā giđi* "together with the king"; *ta bādsā i-klān giđi* "together with the king's son"; *i-nēri giđi*; *tar xuy i-marzāyi giđi* "together with his own brothers". Note: *ku mun giđi* "together with me"; *kafō giđi* "together with him".

*giđi*, K. *gađ* is of Ind. origin, *giđi* rhyming with *kī*, *dī*.

#### Ablative.

94. *nēr dī*; *qabr dī* "from the tomb"; *sarai dī* "from a man"; *xwār dī* "from the sister". With -*i*: *bummāi dī* „from the ground”; *kitāb mēz(i) dī wūr* "take the book from the table"; *tar tū yi-kissī dī* "from thy tale". With persons *ku* is, as a rule, prefixed: *ku mun dī* "from me"; *kafō sarai dī txān b' nasam* "I shall take the bread from that man"; but also *kafō wāda dī*.

Cf. Le. *yāsp dī* "from the horse", K. *dī* "from him, her, it" (*puštān<sup>a</sup>-wa dī dāk* "he asked from him"). K. *lāst<sup>a</sup>* or *lāst<sup>a</sup> dī* „from”.

#### Adessive.

95. *a-sarayi nēla* "with, belonging to the man". K. *inēl<sup>a</sup>*; *nēla* < Av. *nazdyō-*, v. Voc.



## Terminative.

96. *Lô'gar tu-ma'nak* "as far as L.", K. *ta-minak, ta-mînšak<sup>a</sup>*.

## Vocative.

97. *ai Xêwâna* "O madman".

## Adjectives.

98. There being no distinction of gender, we find e.g. *šê saṛai* (*zarka*) *ušyâr* "a wise man (woman)"; *bummä* (K. f.) *šin* (*šüş*, *\*spēw*, *γrās*) *a* "the ground is green (red, white, black)". But K. f. *šin<sup>a</sup>*, *sūš<sup>ra</sup>*, *spiw<sup>a</sup>*, *γrās<sup>a</sup>*.

The adjective is in most cases placed before the noun: *spēw yāsp* "a white horse". But also: *kafō nēri zari nē* "in that little house"; *šê saṛai bēaql* "a stupid man"; *ta šê aurai juân* "of a young ram". The *iṣāfat* construction is unknown.

Comparison is made with the help of the abl. in *dī* (K. *lāst<sup>a</sup> dī*). *a-gōi bē gōi dī zut ḍangar ē* "this cow is much leaner than (: the leanest of) the other cows".

## Numerals.

99. 1. *šē* (K. *sō*, *s<sup>a</sup>*, Le. *she*) < *\*syō* < *\*k'ios* (cf. Voc.).  
 2. *dō* (K. *dḡō*, Le. *do*) < *\*duwā*, Av. *dva*.  
 3. *šō* (K. *š<sup>r</sup>ē*, Le. *ghe*) < A. *ṣrāyō*. V. 36.  
 4. *cār* (K. *cār*, Le. *tsār*) < Av. *čaθwārō*.  
 5. *pēnc* (K. *pēnj*, Le. *penz*) < Av. *panča*, cf. Psht. *pinjə*.  
 6. *šō*, *š<sup>u</sup>ō*, *šū* (K. *š<sup>a</sup>h*, Le. *ksha*) < Av. *xšvaš*.  
 7. *wō* (K. *hō*, Le. *wo*) < Av. *hapta*.  
 8. *āšt* (K. *hānšt*, Le. *ansht*) < Av. *ašta*.  
 9. *nā*, *nā* (K. *n<sup>a</sup>h*, Le. *noh*) < Av. *nava*, or lw. from Psht.  
 10. *das* (K., Le.) < Av. *dasa*.  
 11. *šāndas* (K. *sandās*, Le. *shandas*) < *\*syandasa*, Av. *\*aēvandasa*.  
 12. *dwās* (K. *dwās*, Le. *duās*) < Av. *\*dvādasa*.  
 13. *šēs* (K. *š<sup>r</sup>ēs*, Le. *shes*) < Av. *\*ṣridasa*, or *\*ṣrayōdasa*?

14. *carēs* (K., Le.) is a secondary formation, cf. Av. *čaθrudasa*.  
 15. *pan'jēs* (K. *panjēs*, Le. *panzes*) < Av. *pančadasa*. V. 28, 54.  
 16. *šū'lēs* (K. *šuwēs*, Le. *shales*) < \**xšwaždasa*-, Av. *xšvašdasa*, K. *šuwēs* is a secondary form. V. 55.  
 17. *a'wēs* (K. *awēs*, Le. *haves*)<sup>\*</sup> < Av. \**haptadasa*.  
 18. *a'štēs* (K. Le. *aštēs*) < Av. *aštadasa*.  
 19. *nēs* (K. *unēs*, Le. *nes*) < Av. \**navadasa*; *unēs* poss. infl. by Ind.  
 20. *jīst* (*jīstu*) (K. *jīstū*, Le. *jīst*) < Av. *visaiti*. The -*ū* has been introduced from *šīstu* etc. — 21. *jīst u šē*.  
 30. *šīstu* (K. *šīstū*, Le. *shist*) < *θrisata*-, Av. *θrisatəm*; *shist* is the more original form.  
 40. *'cāštu* (K. *cāštū*, Le. *tsasht*) < Av. *čadwarəsatəm*.  
 50. *pan'jāstu* (K. *panjāštū*, Le. *panzast*) < Av. *pančāsātəm*. The *š* of K. is analogical. *ā* incorretly for *ā*?  
 60. *šūštu* (K. *šwaištī*, Le. *khoshty*) < Av. *xšvašti*-. The -*u* is analogical.  
 70. *a'waitu* (K. *awāi*, Le. *hawai*) < Av. *haptāiti*-. The -*tu* is analogical.  
 80. *cār jīstu* (K. *haštāi*, Le. *haštai*) < Av. *aštāiti*-.  
 90. *nīwē* (K. *nawī*, Le. *nuwī*) < Av. *navaiti*-. (\**navāti*, with accent from \**aštāti*? Cf. 42 c).  
 100. *sō* (K. *sū*, Le. *sad*) < Av. *satəm*.  
 1000. *a'zār* (Le. *hazār*) < Prs. — K. *zār* is genuine.

Regarding the ordinal K. *dīm* "second" and *bē* (K. *bī*) "other" cf. 45.

### Pronouns.

#### Personal Pronouns.

100.	1st Prs. Sg.	2nd Prs. Sg.
Nom.	<i>az</i> (K. <i>az</i> , <i>haz</i> ).	Nom. <i>tū</i> ( <i>tū</i> ) (K. <i>tū</i> ).
Acc.	<i>ku mun</i> .	Acc. <i>ku tū</i> .
Gen.	<i>tar mun</i> (K. <i>tar mun</i> ).	Gen. <i>tar tū</i> (K. <i>tar tū</i> ).
Dat.	<i>ku mun kī</i> .	Dat. <i>ku tū kī</i> .
Supress.	<i>ku mun jē</i> .	
Comit.	<i>ku mun giđi</i> .	
Abl.	<i>ku mun dī</i> .	Abl. <i>ku tū dī</i> .



1st Prs. Pl.	2nd Prs. Pl.
Nom. <i>māx</i> (K. <i>māx</i> ).	Nom. <i>tōs</i> (K. <i>tyūs</i> ).
Acc. <i>ku māx</i> .	Acc. <i>ku tōs</i> .
Gen. <i>tar māx</i> etc.	Gen. <i>tar tōs</i> .

*az* < Av. *azəm*, *mun* < Av. *manā*, cf. Par. *mun*. *māx* < Anc. Prs. *amāxam*, cf. Par. *mākh-ān*, Soghd. *māx*<sup>a</sup> etc. — *tū* < Av. *tū* and *tava*, cf. Par. *tū*, ag. *tō*. — With *tōs* (*tyūs*) cf. Psht. *tāsu*, Waz. Psht. *tus*, *tōsē*. Borr. from, or influenced by, Lhd. *tus*? *\*(yu)šmāxam* prob. resulted in *\*māx* = 1st Prs. Pl.

### Pronominal Suffixes.

101. 1st Prs. Sg. *-am*, *-m* < *\*a-mai* (Zeb. *-am* etc.).  
 2nd » » *-at*, *-t* < *\*a-tai*? (Zeb. *-ē*), with special treatment of *-t*.  
 3rd » » *-a*, *-wa* < *\*a-hai* (Zeb. *-a*).  
 1st » Pl. *-ēn* < *\*a-nah* (Zeb. *-en*).  
 2nd » » ?  
 3rd » » *-a*, *-wa* (= 3rd Sg.).

*-m*, *-t*, *-wa* are postvocalic forms.

The pronominal suffixes are used as genitives, as objects, and as subjects of past tenses of transitive verbs.

As a genitive: *a-pē-m* "my father"; *txan-at xron* "eat thy bread"; *a-baya-wa* "its price"; *xwār dī-wa* "from his sister"; *a-nas-a* "their bellies". The pronominal suffix is frequently used pleonastically with a genitive: *ta bait a-awāz-a* "the sound of the song"; *tar mun ta pē nūkarī-wa* "my father's servants"; *ta pē-wa a-zli-wa* "his father's heart"; *tara sarai a-dukā-wa* "the daughter of this man".

As an object: *bēši nē-wa tarōn* "bind him with ropes (a rope)"; *rāi-wa dāk* "sent him away".

As a subject: *-am dāk-ē* "I have made"; *lauz-am dā būk* "I had uttered a word"; *a-klān-am zut zuk-ē* = *a-klān zut-am zuk-ē* "I have beaten the boy much"; *\*ca aḡab čiz-at dēk* "what wonderful thing didst thou see?"; *tū amarōk-at* "thou didst hear"; *ku mun-a tiḡawōk-a* "he has put me to flight"; *tar xui a-māl-a talaf-a dāk* "he squandered

his own property"; *a-mux-a-wa pōc dāk* "he kissed his face". In *pē-wa ta xuy a-klān-a dēk* "his father saw his own son" *-a* may be taken either as a subject, or as a genitive.

### Contracted Pronouns.

102. The contracted pronouns are as follows:

1st Prs. *ar*, *ēr*, B. *rī* (K. *hir*, *rī*, Le. *ar*, *ra*).

2nd Prs. *dar* (K. *dal*).

3rd Prs. *al* (K. *hal*).

These forms are used chiefly with the verbs "to give", "to say", "to go", "to come", and correspond to Psht. *rā*, *dar*, *war*. Examples: *ku mūn kī ar-šēr* "give it to me"; *ar-zāk-ē* "he has come here"; B. *ēr-zāi* "come here"; *dar-širīm-a bu* "I shall give it to thee"; *az bū ku tū kī dar-zūm* "I shall come to thee"; *az bu ku tū kī pēc dar širīm* "I shall give it back to thee"; *al-cawōk* "he went away"; *al-dyēk* "he looked at it"; *kafō kī al-γōk* "he said to him"; *ku mūn ku tū dī b' al-gī* "he will take me away from thee"; *nak al-ōzūk-ē = al nak wōzūk-ē* "was not left for him".

As in some Psht. dialects, the verbs "to come" and "to give" may take the contr. pronoun 1st prs., even when the remote object is in the 3rd or, rarely, the 2nd prs. E. g. *ar-šēr* "give him"; *tū kafō kī zut txan ar-šūk-ē* "thou hast given him much bread"; *wūš sari nē-wa ar-zāk* "sense came to his head"; *nēr kī ka bōi ar-zāk, ta bait a-awāz-a gōi nē-wa al-zāk* "when he came near to the house, the sound of the singing came to his ear"; *ca-wa ka ku tū kī ar-šūk-ē, pēc ar-šēr* "give him back what he has given to thee".

The relation of *ar*, *dar*, *al* to Psht. *rā* (Afridi *ər*), *dar*, *war* has been discussed Rep. p. 35. It seems possible that the Orm. forms were borr. from Psht. at an early date.

K. *dī*, *da* "in or on me, us, thee, you" is met with only in Log. *da-ya* "it exists"; *wī*, *wa* "in or on him etc." in Log. *wā-nēra* "into the house". Cf. 111.



### Demonstrative Pronouns.

103. There are two demonstrative pronouns, viz. *a* "this", *a'fō* "that", also "he, she, it".

		Sg.
Nom.	<i>a</i> "this".	* <i>a'fō</i> "that".
Acc.	<i>kara</i> .	<i>ka'fō</i> .
Gen.	<i>tara</i> .	<i>ta'fō</i> .
Instr.	<i>para</i> .	<i>pa'fō</i> .
Loc. II		<i>ka'fōi nē</i> .
Abl.		<i>ka'fō dī</i> .

#### Pl.

Nom. *ayī* "these". *a'fōyī* "those".

Examples: *'a 'ca 'kissī yē?* "what matter is this?"; *a'fō draxt 'bōy e*, *'a draxt pēc ē* "that tree is near; but this tree is far away(!)"; *kara kla'nāk* "this boy" (acc.); *tara sa'rai yāsp xarāb ē* "this man's horse is bad"; *čēštan tara āyina ya* "he is the owner of this mirror"; *para rāi* "by this road"; *tarū i-kissī dī* "for this reason". Cf. *Le. kurra kariner* "in this affair" etc.

*a'fō sa'rai mustuk-ē* "that man is sitting"; *a'fō txān-at . . . al-gustāk-ē* "thou hast taken away that bread"; *ka'fō ripē ka'fō sa'rai kī ar-šēr* "give that rupee to that man"; *ka'fō al-gustākum-ē* "I have taken it away"; *ka'fō kī* "to him"; *ka'fōi nē* "in it"; *ta'fō a-mar'zā ka'fō dī puš'tenna-ua dāk* "his brother asked him".

*a*, K. *hō*, f. *hā* etc. obviously goes back to Av. *ha-* (m. *hō*, f. *hā*). The nature of the additional element in *a'fō*, K. *hafō* is uncertain. G. compares Psht. *ha'a*; but *f* cannot correspond to *γ*, although there may, after all, be some connexion or other between the two forms. G. is certainly right in dividing *tara*, K. *tar<sup>a</sup>* into *tar-a*, with the fuller form of the genitive prefix. In the course of time *tara* was, however, analyzed as *t-ara*, and the analogy of *t-a'fō*, *k-a'fō*, *p-a'fō* produced the forms *k-ara*, *p-ara* (K. *kū r<sup>a</sup>*, *pa r<sup>a</sup>*).

The system of personal pronouns in Orm. is much simpler than that of Prs., not to speak of Par. It has probably been influenced by that of Psht., but has been still more simplified.

### Reflexive Pronoun.

104. The reflexive pronoun is *xui* "self". *xuy-a xrunuk šuk-ē* "he himself (*xud-iš*) has become hungry"; *ta xuy i-pē kī* "to his own father"; *ta(r) xui a-māl* "his own property". Note that *xui* (< Av. *x<sup>a</sup>atō*) does not correspond in meaning to K. *xwai*, Psht. *xpal* "own", but to Prs. *xud* "self". The genitive prefix is *tar* or *ta*.

### Relative and Interrogative Pronouns.

105. The relative pronoun is *ka*, as in K. The interrogative pronouns are *kōk* "who?"; *cə*, *ca* "what?"; *cōn(d)* "how much, how many?" (K. *kuk*, *c<sup>a</sup>*, *cōn*); cf. Voc. s.v.v.

### Indefinite Pronouns.

106. *kōk*, *ca* and *cōn* are also used as indefinite pronouns. Other indefinite pronouns are: *(w)ōn* "so much", *'arca* "whatever", *ēč*, *eca* "anything", *bē* "other", *ar* "every".

### Pronominal Adverbs.

107. *inda* (K. *i-d<sup>a</sup>*) "here"; *wal* "there, thither" (K. *i-wa-l* "thither", v. Voc.); *gudā* (K. *gudā*) "where?"; *pa'bēga* (K. *pa-bēž<sup>a</sup>*) "above"; *pa'nēšta* (K. *pa-niš<sup>tā</sup>*) "outside"; *indawū* "hence"; *pa'nēšta dī* "from outside". *kōn* (K. *kān*, *gān*) "when?"; *pērī* "now"; *kyē* "why?"; *carang* "how?".

### Verbs.

#### Verbal Nouns and Participles.

108. The infinitive is identical with the past participle. E. g. *xanōk* "to laugh". Another verbal noun ends in *-i*: *pa xq'nī šūk* = *pa xanōk šūk* "he started laughing".

As in K. (and in Psht.), there is no present participle.

Regarding the past participle in *-k* v. 122.



## Verb Substantive and Auxiliary Verbs.

## "To Be".

## Present.

109.	Sg. 1	Prs.	yum	"I am".	Pl.	yên.
	2		yôn, yûn.			yê.
	3		(y)a, (y)ê.			yên, ya, yê.

*az nâjôr yum* "I am ill"; *afô nâjôr (y)a*; *mâx nâjôr yên*, *afô sariyê nâjôr ya* etc. *marziyî-t côn yê?* *das marziy-ên*. "how many brothers hast thou?" "I have ten brothers"; *nak-um* "I am not". In the 3rd prs. sg. the forms *(y)a* and *(y)ê* are, as far as I can see, used indiscriminately: *ca ya?* "what is it?"; *a ca kissî yê?* "what matter is this?"; *'a tar 'mun a-'nâk a* "this is my wife" = *'a tar 'mun a-'nâk ê*, *'a tar tû a-klân ê* "this is thy son": *côn cân a?* "how many years old is he?"; *côn pêc ê* "how far is it?"; *mâlum nak ê*, *ka afô gudâ ya, yê* "it is not known where he is"; *destî nê-m nak a* "it is not in my hand"; *kitâb nêla-m yê* "the book is with me"; *tar mun a-jâi pêc a* "my home is far off": *'a tar 'mun a-mar'zâ pa'dak yê* "he resembles my son".

*yum* (K. *h<sup>m</sup>*) may be derived direct from Av. *ahmi*, and 3 pl. *yên* (K. *hin*) < Av. *hanti*. — Possibly *(y)a* (K. *hâ*) < Av. *asti*. The derivation and original significance of *(y)ê* is unknown. — 1 pl. *yên* (K. *hyên*) with *n* from the pronominal suffix *\*nah*, as is the case in many other Ir. dialects, too. — 2 pl. *yê* (K. *hai*) reminds us of Psht. *yaî*, but is of unknown origin. — While K. *hai* "thou art" goes back to Av. *ahi*, *yôn* has got the termination which is characteristic of an important class of verbs, and which will be discussed below (118). — Note the tendency to use the 3 sg. for the 3 pl., a tendency which has prevailed in Psht., in all but the auxiliary verbs.

110. From the root *bû* "to be, become" is formed a present or aorist *bâm* etc. The only examples available are: *az kara nêri nê bâm* "I live in this house"; *îyâ "bâi"*; *ađđugađ zînda ke bîn* "that both of them are restored to life".

The imperative 2 sg. is *bê*.

## Preterite.

111. Sg. 1 Prs. *bukum* "I was". Pl. *bukēn*.  
 » 2 » *bu'kōn*. » *bukē*.  
 » 3 » *būk*. » *buk(in), bukēn*.

*buk-um* < \**būtakō ahmi* etc.

More emphatic forms denoting existence are *da-ya*, pret. *da-būk*. E. g. *cōn klān da-ya?* "how many sons are there?"; \**spukī da-yē* "saghā hast"; *čēštān ta nēr nāk da-ya* "the master of the house is not here"; *wōk nak da-būk* "there was no water there". Cf. K. *dī hā* "there is", *dī byōk* "there was", v. LSI. Voc s.v. *dī*, *da* "contracted pron. of the pron. 1st. and 2nd persons". Cf. 102.

## "Tō Become".

## Aorist.

112. Sg. 1 Prs. *sām* "I become".  
 » 2 » *sōn, sun*.  
 » 3 » *sa, sē*.

These forms are also used as presents and futures with *bu*, v. 121. *sam*, K. *s<sup>m</sup>m* etc. is derived from the Av. root *šav-*. I cannot explain the transition of *š* > *s* in Orm. Log.; cf., however, *swol* < *šwōl* "to become" in Ghilzai and other Psht. dialects. Probably this transition has something to do with the fact that *sam* is an auxiliary, weak form. Cf. 69.

## Past Tense.

113. Sg. 1 Prs. *šukum*. "I became". Pl. *šukēn*.  
 » 2 » *šukōn, -un*. »  
 » 3 » *šūk*. » *šukin*.

*šuk-um* < \**šyutakō ahmi*. Regarding *šūk*, *šuk* etc. v. 21. A perfect is formed by adding *-a*, *-ē*, cf. 132. The pluperfect ought to be \**šū(k) bucum*; but I never heard this form.

## The Finite Verb.

114. The Orm. Log. verb possesses an aorist stem and a past stem. From the aorist stem are formed the following tenses: The Aorist



(imperative), the present (future). From the past stem are formed the following tenses: The past tense, the perfect, the pluperfect.

The verbal system of Orm. Log. is extremely simple, much simpler than that of Orm. K.

#### The Aorist Stem.

115. Regarding the distinction between ancient stems in *-a-*, *-ya-*, and *-aya-* v. 117 ff.

#### Imperative.

116. The imperatives 2 sg. and pl. are identical with the corresponding forms of the aorist. E.g. *zan* "beat", *nas* "take", *cū* "go", *juṣ* "look", *ar-šēr* "give"; *kōn* "do", *xrōn* "eat", *sōn* "become", *taṛōn* "bind". 2 pl.: *kē* "do", *bē* "be", *ar-warē* "bring", *banē* "throw, put", *al-cawē* "bring" (?), *cawai* (?) "go". In some cases, possibly in order to indicate a polite command, the particle *bu* is added: *ku mun giḍi p' cū*; *ku mun bu nas*; *ku mun bu māli kōn* "come with me; take me; make me thy husband".

The imper. 3 sg. ends in *-ōn*: *ka'wōn* "may he do".

*zan* (K. *zan*, *jan*) < \**jana*, *cū* (K. *cūw*) < \**čiyawa* etc. In Log. all the verbs of the 2nd and 4th conjugation take the ending *-ōn*; in K. *-ōn* (un) is still limited to about half a dozen verbs the normal imperatives of which would be too short, e.g. *xrōn* "eat", *trōn* "drink", *nwōn* "lie down", *sun* "become". The derivation of *-ōn* is uncertain. It seems a too daring hypothesis to connect it with Skr. *-āna*, which is only used with a few verbs of the 9th class (*gōn*, K. *glōn* "take away" < \**grdhāna*, cf. Skr. *grhāṇa*?). — K. *γῆf<sup>a</sup>n* = *γῆf* "weave" etc. probably contains a superadded particle.

The imperative 3 sg. in *-ōn* (*-ōn*), which is quite regular in K., might be derived from the ancient imper. 3 pl. in *-antu*. Considering the confusion which has taken place in Orm. between the 3 sg. and pl., this seems to be a possible explanation.

## Aorist.

There are four conjugations:

## I.

117. Sg. 1 Prs. *zanam* (K. *zan<sup>a</sup>m*). Pl. *zanēn* (K. *zanyēn*).

» 2 » *zan* (K. *zan*). » *zanē* (K. *zana*).

» 3 » *zana* (-ī, -ē) (K. *zana*). » *zanan* (-a, -ī, -ē) (K. *zanin*).

Other examples are *šūm* "I weep", *šū*, *šawa* (K. *š<sup>a</sup>aw<sup>a</sup>m*, *š<sup>a</sup>i<sup>w</sup>*, *š<sup>a</sup>awa*); *cawam*, *cūm* "I go", *cū*, *cawa* (-ē) (K. *caw<sup>a</sup>m*, *cūw*, *ca(wa)*); *nawaram* "I take out", *nawar*, *nawara* (K. *na-w<sup>a</sup>r<sup>a</sup>m*, *na-w<sup>a</sup>r*, *na-w<sup>a</sup>ra*). *nasam* "I seize", (K. *nis<sup>a</sup>m*, *nis*) and *ar-waram* "I bring", *ar-war* have the collateral forms *nasīm* and *ar-warīm*. From K. note e.g.: *amar<sup>a</sup>m* (Log. *amarīm*) "I hear"; *γwaz<sup>a</sup>m* "I fall" (Log. 3 sg. *γūzi*); *xan<sup>a</sup>m* "I laugh", *wēs<sup>a</sup>m* "I enter"; *wazn<sup>a</sup>m* "I kill"; *haw<sup>a</sup>m* (2 sg. *wīw*) "I read"; *γōr<sup>a</sup>m* "I rain".

These verbs are derived from Anc. Ir. present stems in -a. *zanam* < \**janami* (with short a, cf. Par. Gr. 189). — *zan* < \**jane*, \**jana(h)i*. — *zana* < *janad* < \**janati* v. 40; -ī (-ē) are taken over from other conjugations. — *zanēn* < \**zanēm* (v. 109) < \**janayāmah*; \**janāmah* could not result in this form. — *zanē*, K. *zanai*, cf. Psht. -aī, is difficult; acc. to Gauthiot (MSL. XX, p. 13) Psht. -aī < -āyatā; but this is very uncertain. — *zanay* < \**jananti*; the 3rd sg. is frequently used instead of the 3rd pl.; e.g. *a-saṛiyē bu banī* "the men will throw".

## II.

118. Sg. 1 Prs. *xram* "I eat" (K. *xuram*, *xram*). Pl. *xrēn* (*xuryēn*).

» 2 » *xrōn* (K. *xurī*). » *xrē* (\**xurai*).

» 3 » *xra* (-ī, -ē) (K. *xura*). » *xrān* (*xurin*).

Other examples are: *sam* "I become"; *sōn*; *sa*, *sē* (K. *s<sup>a</sup>m*, *sī(sū)*, *sa*); *kam* (*kēm*) "I do", *kōn*, *kē* (K. *kaw<sup>a</sup>m*, *kay<sup>a</sup>m*, *k<sup>a</sup>m*; *kēwī*, *ka*; *kawī*, *ka*, *kī*); possible *kinam* (B. *kinēm*) "coeo" (K. *kīn<sup>a</sup>m*, *kīnī*, *kīna*). From K. cf. e.g.: *ž<sup>a</sup>m* "I leave", *žī*, *ža*; *b<sup>a</sup>m* "I am"; *n<sup>a</sup>m* "I sit down"; *d<sup>a</sup>m* "I propel"; *j<sup>a</sup>m* "I come" (Log. *zāyēm*, *zūm*; *zāi*, *zāyē*); *jūn<sup>a</sup>m* "I see"; *rīn<sup>a</sup>m* "I shave"; *š<sup>a</sup>in<sup>a</sup>m* "I buy" (Log. *šūnīm*, *šenīm* IV).



The second conjugation differs from the first only as regards the termination of the 2nd sg. The too short form *\*x(u)r* was extended by adding the ending *-ōn*, characteristic of the imper., in K. by adding the *-i* of the 3rd and 4th conjugation. The introduction of the imperative form was rendered possible by the phonetical coalescence of *\*janahi* and *\*jana* into *zan* (I). More difficult to explain is the addition of a new termination to the present stems in *-n*; e.g. *\*kin* would have been quite a possible form.

*xram* < *\*hwarami*; *\*rīn<sup>am</sup>* < *\*xrinami*.

### III.

119. Sg. 1 Prs. *nisim* "I go out" (K. *nis<sup>am</sup>*). Pl. *nisēn* (K. *nisyēn*).  
       > 2 > *nis* (K. *nis*). > *nisē*.  
       > 3 > *nisi* (K. *nisī*). > (*nisi*).

Other examples are: *yušim* "I fear", *yuš*, *yušī* (K. *ɣwaš<sup>ram</sup>*, *ɣwaš<sup>r</sup>* and *ɣwaš<sup>rī</sup>*, *ɣwaš<sup>rī</sup>* and *ɣwaš<sup>ra</sup>*); *yušim* "I say", *γōš*, *yušī* (K. *ɣwac<sup>am</sup>*, *ɣwac*, *ɣwaci*); *jušim* "I see", *juš*, *jušī*; *šīrim* "I give", *šēr*, *širi* (but K. *š<sup>raw</sup>am*, *š<sup>ērī</sup>*, *š<sup>raw</sup>(w)ī*); possibly also *dūšim* "I milk" (K. *dūs<sup>am</sup>*, *dūs*, *dūsī*); *ustim* "I rise" (K. *wust*, *wustī*); *wīsim* "to enter" (but K. *wēs<sup>am</sup>* I). Further instances from K. are: *waw<sup>am</sup>* "I obtain" (but Log. *wawim* IV); *\*bras<sup>am</sup>* "I burn" (intr.); *dir<sup>am</sup>* "I reap"; *\*hazn<sup>am</sup>* "I am left behind"; *maz<sup>am</sup>* "I break" (intr.) (Log. 3 sg. *mēzī*); *nīw<sup>am</sup>* "I put"; *pis<sup>am</sup>* "I write"; *w<sup>ar</sup>am* "I fetch" (v. *ar-waram* I); *\*baš<sup>am</sup>* "I grant". — *prāyim* "I sell", *prāyī*, *prāyī* (K. *prāw<sup>am</sup>*, *prā*, *prā*) is an irregular verb.

A number of these verbs may be derived from stems in *-ya*. E. g.: *yuš* < *\*wi-ḍrahyā*; *yuš* < Av. *vaxšya*; *duš* < *\*dauxšya* (v. EVP. s. v. *lwašəl*); *bras* < *\*brašya*; *maz* < *mazyā*; possibly *dir*, *pis* from the passives *\*dryā*, *\*pisyā*. It seems probable that the other verbs, e. g. *ust* < *\*Av. us-staya*, *waw* < Av. *avi-apaya* (cf. Log. *wawim*) have joined this conjugation secondarily.

Phonetically it is possible to derive *yušim* < *\*ɣwaš<sup>yem</sup>* < *\*waxšyami*; *γōš* (*\*yuš*) < *\*ɣwaš<sup>ye</sup>* < *\*waxšya(h)i*; *yušī* < *\*ɣwaš<sup>yed</sup>* < *\*waxšyati*.

## IV.

120. Sg. 1 Prs. *darim* "I hold" (K. *dar<sup>a</sup>m*). Pl. *darēn*.

» 2 » *darōn* (K. *dērī*). » *darē*.

» 3 » *darī* (K. *darī*). » *darin*.

The verbs of this class are very numerous. E.g. *bīžim* "I cook", *bižōn*, *bižī* (K. *\*biž<sup>a</sup>m*, *bēžī*, *bizī*); *šunim* "I buy", *šunōn* (K. *š<sup>r</sup>in<sup>a</sup>m* II); *awim* "I read", *awōn*, *awī* (K. *haw<sup>a</sup>m* I); *gim* "I seize" *gōn*, *gī* (*gē?*) (K. *gl<sup>a</sup>m*, *glī*, *glī*); *banim* "I throw, put", 3 sg. *banī* (K. *\*ban<sup>a</sup>m*, *bēnī*, *banī*); *mōžim* "I release"; *trim* "I drink" (K. *tr<sup>a</sup>m*, *trī*, *trī*); *mrīm* "I die", 3 sg. *mrē(?)* (K. *mr<sup>a</sup>m*, *mri*, *mri*); *iwawim* "I obtain" (K. *iwaw<sup>a</sup>m* III); *amarim* "I hear" (K. *amar<sup>a</sup>m* I); *galim* "I weave" (K. *\*gal<sup>a</sup>m*, *gēlī*, *galī*) etc. Cf. from K. *γaf<sup>a</sup>m* "I weave", *γēfī*, *γafī*; *nw<sup>a</sup>m* "I lie down", *nwī*, *nwī*. All the causatives in *-aw-*, e.g. *izma<sup>w</sup>im* "to try" (K. *wuzma<sup>w</sup>m*, *wuzmēwī*, *wuzma<sup>w</sup>ī*) belong to this conjugation.

The majority of these verbs are ancient stems in *-aya-*, e.g. *darim* < *\*dārāgami*; K. *dērī* < *\*dārāya(h)t*; *darī* < *\*dārāyati*. The Log. dialect as a rule avoids changes of vowel within the present stem and replaced *dērī* by *darōn*.

A few verbs, however, viz.: *mrīm*, *trim*, *gim*, K. *nw<sup>a</sup>m* are derived from stems in *-ya-*, which have had their 2nd. sg. expanded.

Acc. to G. (LSJ. X, p. 169<sup>1</sup>) we find forms such as *γafīm*, *amarim* in K., too. These forms are evidently the original ones.

The aorist is chiefly used in questions and in dependent clauses with *ka*: *az man ca kam?* "what shall I do now?"; *az kara wōk pa ca xram?* "how shall I drink this water?"; *gōn ku mūn k' az kaḡō jušim* "permit me to look at him"; *munāsib nak ē ka tū ku mūn ki klān γōš* "it is not fit that thou shouldst call me thy son." In the apodosis of conditional clauses: *ka nak-a γōk, ku tū użnawim* "if he does not say so, I will kill thee"; *ka tū mullukun az (bū) . . . xaima zanam* "if thou diest, I shall pitch my tent." *darim* is used in the sense of a present, just as Prs. *dāram* and Par. *dērem*. Note: *az kara sarai użnawim, ku mun giḡi p' cū* "I shall kill this man, and thou must go with me."



## Present and Future.

121. The present and the future are formed by adding *bū* (*b'*, *p'*) to the aorist. The position of this particle is very free.

Present: *a-sarai bu driši yuši* "the man is telling lies"; *aurai bu ywāši xra, a-nas-a b' dak sē* "the sheep eat grass, and their bellies are filled"; *tar tū a-zli ca šai bu žāyi?* "what does thy heart want?"; *a-wōn cân bu sē ka az tar tū xəzmat bu kam* (= *-am dāk-ē*) "during so many years I have served thee"; *tax-tax bu kē* "he is knocking (at the door)".

Future: *wustim bū* was translated by my informant as "*buxēzam*" ("I shall rise"), and *az bu wustim* as "*mēxēzam*" ("I am rising"); but he did not always thus use *bū* in different positions in the present and future, *az ku tū b' nasam* "I shall take thee"; *az bū nēr kī cūm* "I shall go home"; *afō sarīyē nēr kī p' cawan* "those men will go home"; *tu guda b' cū?* "where art thou going?"; *a-sarai bu guda cawē?* "where is the man going?"; *āxir bu inda ar-zūyē* "ultimately he will come here"; *xubī kam bū* "I shall render a service"; *az ustukum, bū ta xuy i-pē kī cum, kafō p' kī yušim* "having risen I will go to my father and say to him"; *ka a-zarka zinda sē, ta xuy a-umr bu kara kī ar-širim* "if the woman is restored to life, I will give her my own life"; *ka tū sabē ar-zēi, az bu ku tū kī das ripē dar-širim* "if thou comest tomorrow, I will give thee ten rupees". *az bū gušnagi di nrīm* means either "I am dying from hunger", or "I shall die".

In K. *bū* is used for the present only, the future being denoted by *sū*. K. *šabā sū cawam* (Log. *šabā p' cum*) "I shall go tomorrow". The employment of *bū* for the future, too, is probably due to the influence of Psht. *ba*.

*bu* and *sū* are etymologically connected with the auxiliary verbs.

## The Past Stem.

122. The past participle is the same in form as the infinitive. The past participles can be divided into weak and strong stems. The weak past participles are formed by adding *-ōk* (unstressed

-uk) to the present stem. E.g. *tiš-ōk* "ran away"; *γuš-uk* "feared"; *caw-ōk* "went"; *kīn-ōk* "coivit"; *wust-uk* "rose", *b-ūk* "was". All causative verbs form their past part. in this way; e.g. *γušaw-ōk* "terrified". Some of these 'participles' can be derived direct from Anc. Ir. forms, e.g. *būk* < \**būta-ka*; but the majority of them are secondary, analogical formations. The weak participles are more numerous in Log. than in K.

123. The strong past participles can be divided into several groups, according to the original forms from which they are derived.

- I. a) Ir. \**āta*: *dāk* "made".
- b) Ir. \**ata*: *na'γōk* "went out", *zōk*, *zūk* "beat"; K. *aγōk* "reached", *wayγōk* "entered".
- c) Ir. \**īta*: *d(y)ēk* "saw".
- d) Ir. \**ūta*: *šūk* "became"; *būk* "was" is a weak participle from the present Orm. point of view.
- II. a) Ir. \**ṛta*: *wuluk* "brought", *nawulōk* "took out", *zul-luk* "ate", *mulluk* "died"; K. *kwulak* "coivit", *dīlak* "reaped".
- b) Ir. \**ṛšta*: K. *hatak* "abandoned", *tatak* "drank". — Poss. *gustuk* "took away", K. *g(l)astak* < \**gršta-ka*?
- III. a) Ir. \**asta*: *nustuk* "sat down", K. *nwastak* "went to sleep".
- b) Ir. \**ušta*: *šustuk* "wept" (\**fṛa-rusta-ka*).
- c) Ir. \**ašta*: *muštuk* "broke", *γuštuk* "fell", K. *braštak* "burned".
- d) Ir. \**išta*: K. *pištak* "wrote", *raštak* "spun", *hištak* "read" (\**abi-štaka*).
- IV. a) Ir. \**afta*: *wōk* "obtained", *šūk* "gave" (?).
- b) Ir. \**axta*: *γōk* "said", *prāk* "sold", K. *b'ēk* "gave".
- c) Ir. \**uxta*: *dūk* "milked".
- V. a) Ir. \**axwa*: *puxōk* "cooked".
- b) Ir. \**amna*: *drunuk* "held".

124. In Log. there is no distinction of gender (cf. 81); but the past participles in some cases correspond to K. masculines, in other cases to K. feminines. The m. is preferred in those cases where



the f. in K. is contracted. E.g. *nustuk*, *drumuk*, *xulluk*: K. m. *nastak*, *dranak*, *xwalak* (f. *nāsk*, *drōnk*, *xwālk*). Also *naṣōk*, *nōk*: K. m. *naṣōk*, *nōk* (f. *naṣak*, *nak*). But on the other hand: *zāk*, *dāk*, *prāk*, *wāk*: K. f. *jāk*, *dāk*, *prāk*, *wāk* (m. *jōk*, *dōk*, *prawak*, *wōk*); *šuk*, *šuk*, *būk*: K. f. *šūk*, *suk*, *buk* (m. *š'iyōk*, *syōk*, *byōk*); *dūk*: K. f. *du(sa)k* (m. *dūs'ēk*); *wustuk*, *cawōk*: K. f. *wustuk*, *cawak* (m. *wust'ēk*, *c'ēk*) etc.

125. The difference between the past part. m. and f. in K. is due to the original accent. The masculines go back to middle Ir. oxytona, the feminines to paroxytona. E. g. *nastak* m. < \**nastāk*, *nāsk* f. \**nāstak*. The ultimate reason for this difference of accent is not quite clear; but a phonetically possible solution would be to assume that the m. represents an ancient oblique case.

According to Andreas, Prs. nouns are derived from the Phl. (originally oblique) form in *-ē* < *-ahya*, cf. also Gauthiot<sup>1</sup>: "cette forme (: le génitif) est devenue la forme normale en persan, où le cas direct a été aboli, en règle générale, au profit de l'ancien génitif-datif". This theory has been contested by Bartholomae<sup>2</sup>; but the Orm. forms seem to confirm it (v. 42 a, and cf. Par. 45 g; the forms given in 45 a may also be derived from the oblique case in *-ahya*). In Orm., at any rate, the oblique case must have replaced the nominative so completely that it has even been introduced into the participles, where we should expect the position of the nominative to be stronger than in the nouns.

According to this theory K. *nastak* would be derived from \**nastāk-ē* < \**nastāk-ahya*, *nāsk* from \**nāstak-a* < \**nāstak-ā*. Similarly: *tatak* "drank" < \**t'istāk-ahya*, f. *tōtk* < \**t'istāk-ā*; *xwalak* "ate" < \**hwertāk*, f. *xwālk* < \**hwertak*; *pištak* "wrote" < \**pištāk*, f. *pišk* < \**pištak*; *paxak* "cooked" < *paxwāk* (inf. *paxwēk* is an analogical form, due to the influence of other infinitives in *-wēk*), f. *pyūrk* < \**pōrk* < \**pāxyak*; f. *dūk* "milked" < \**dūxtak* (m. *dūs'ēk*, f. *dūsak* are secondary forms), and many others of a similar type.

<sup>1</sup> MSL. XX, p. 62 f.

<sup>2</sup> Miran Mund. V, 18—43.

126. Those participles in which *\*taka-* was preceded by a vowel are some of them more difficult to explain. Apparently *\*ā(f)taka-* resulted in *-ōk* (through *\*āwāk?*): *zōk* "beat" < *\*jātāk*; *ayōk* "reached" < *\*āgātāk* (similarly *naγōk* "came out" < *\*nigātāk*); *dōk* "made" < *\*d'wāk* < *\*dātāk*; *tōk* "warm" < *\*taftāk*; *wōk* "got" < *\*āftāk*. The corresponding f. forms are: *zak* < *\*jātāk* (through *\*jā<sup>sk</sup>?*); *ayak* < *\*āgātāk*; *dāk* < *\*dātāk*; *wāk* < *\*āftāk*. — Also *nyōk* "placed" < *\*nidātāk*, f. *nāk* < *\*nidātāk*; *waγyōk* "entered" < *\*abi-gātāk*; *wazyōk* "killed" < *\*abi-jātāk*. The f. forms *waγuk*, *wazuk* are difficult to explain; possibly they are analogical forms, cf. *byōk* "was" < *\*būtāk*, f. *buk* < *\*būtāk*, and similarly *syōk* "became", f. *suk*. The development of *būtāk* > *\*būāk* > *\*bōk* > *byōk* is curious.

*b'ēk* "gave" may be derived from *\*bayāk* < *\*baxtāk*; f. *bayak* < *bāxtāk*; cf. also *γwēk* "said" < *\*γw'ēk* < *\*wayāk* < *\*waxtāk*; f. *γwēk* may be an analogical form, cf. *dyēk* m., f. "saw" < *\*dītāk*, *\*d'itāk*.

127. In several cases it does not seem possible to reconstruct the phonetical development of the forms, owing to the violent contractions and changes of vowels which have taken place, and of which we cannot determine the exact nature for lack of sufficient material. Thus: *iwust'ēk* "rose" < *\*us(s)titāk*, but f. *wustak* < *\*ust'ak* < *us(s)titāk*? *c'ēk* "to go" < *\*čyawāk* < *\*čiy'watāk*, f. *cawak* < *čyawak* < ? But *-jōk* "came" < *\*čawāk* < *\*čawatāk*, f. *-jāk* < *\*čāwak* (with early transition of *čiy-* > *č-* in compounds?). *prawēk* "sold", f. *prāk* < *\*prawāk*, *prāwēk*; but it is difficult to see how these forms were evolved from the original *parawaxtāk*, *parawāxtāk* (probably there has been a secondary shifting of accent).

But even if the details of the development of these participles are in many cases obscure, the main principle of their formation is firmly established.

#### Past Tense.

128. Unlike most of the other Ir. dialects, Orm. employs the past part. in its long form (with the *-ka-*suffix) as the base of the pre-



terital tenses. Cf., however, also S. Bal. *man kuštāg* (or *kušta*, *kušt*) "I slew, I have slain".

The past tense of intransitive verbs is formed by adding the present of the auxiliary "to be" to the past part. of the verb in question. The 3rd sg. takes no termination:

Sg. 1 Prs.	(w)ustukum	"I rose".	Pl. (w)ustukēn.
2	(w)ustukōn, -un.		(w)ustukē.
3	(w)ustuk.		(w)ustukin, -ēn, (w)ustuk.

Other examples are: *mustukum* "I sat down", *mullukum* "I died", *šukum* "I became" etc. Occasionally I heard such forms as *naṣōk-am* "I went out", with the pronominal suffix instead of the auxiliary. Vice versa *-um* can be used instead of *-am* with the transitive verbs. — Regarding the 3 pl. cf. *dō klān būk* "there were two sons"; *aḍḍugaḍ māli u nāk bukēn* "the two were man and wife"; *ayi al-cawōk(-ēn)* "they went away".

129. In the past tense of transitive verbs the subject is expressed by means of a noun, a pronoun or a pronominal suffix. This suffix is often added even when the subject has already been indicated by a noun or a pronoun.

E.g.: *a-sarai xulluk(-a)* "the man ate"; *-a xulluk, xulluk-a* "he ate"; *az ku šē sarai(-am) yēnawōk-ē* "I have killed a man". Note *zukum = zuk-am* "I beat" (v. above). *az ku tū zuk = ku tū zukum* "I beat thee"; *tū ku mun zuk = ku mun zuk-at*; *māx ku tū zuk(-ēn)*; *tōs ku māx zuk(-ē)*. Sometimes a subject in the 3rd prs. is left out: *ka ku gājar kafō ki ar-wuluk* "when he brought him the carrot".

In most cases the past tense denotes a single action or event: *a-zarī klān ta xuy a-māl tōl dāk, pēc rāi nē al-cawōk* "the younger boy collected his own property and went far away". It is used in the protasis of conditional clauses: *az mullukum, tū . . . xaima zan* "if I die, pitch thy tent . . .". Note: *šistu cān tara ta qabri sar xaima zuk* "he pitched his tent on her tomb [and remained there] for thirty years".

## Imperfect.

130. The imperfect is formed by adding *bū* to the past tense: *sām bu šustākum, pēri bu nak šūm* "I was weeping before, now I am not weeping"; *ca-d bu dāk? kār-am bu dāk* "what wert thou doing?" "I was doing some work"; *mudām bu qabristān ki al-cawōk, tar xui a-mux bu puṭ dāk* "whenever he passed the graveyard he covered his face".

## Past Subjunctive.

131. A kind of past subjunctive occurs a few times in my materials: *kafō ki širr šukun* (= *bu šūk*) "(that) it might be good for her"; *a-zarka dest nāk drunuk ka a-wōk xulukōn* "the woman had no hand, with which to drink the water"; *tū ēc waxt ku mūn kī šē kirzi nak ar-šuk-ē, ka az tar xuy i-marzāyi giḏi māx bu xulākēn, māx bu xušwaxti dākēn* "thou never gavest me a single hen, that I (we) might eat it together with my friends and make merry". Regarding the termination 3 sg. -ōn cf. 116.

## Perfect.

132. The perfect is formed by suffixing *-ē* or, less frequently, *-a* to the past tense: *tandar al-γūštōk-ē bummāi nē* "thunder has fallen on the earth"; *tar tū a-marzā ar-zāk-ē* "thy son has come"; *az xau nāk dāk-ē* "I have not slept"; *az ku tū di šē nōri txan žayōk, čēštan ta nēr nāk-am žayōk-ē* "I asked thee for a loaf of bread, I have not asked for the master of the house"; *xrunuk šuk-ē* "he has become hungry", but *az xrunuk šukum-a; tū kyē inda nustukōn-ē*, but *kyē inda nustukōn-a?* "why art thou sitting (= hast thou sat down) here?"; *nustukum-a, xaima-t zuk-a* "thou hast sat down, and hast pitched a tent", *nustukum-ē, nustuk-ē; kân ar-zākōn-a? prân ar-zākum-a*, "when didst thou arrive?" "I arrived yesterday". Note: *tišawōk-a-yē* "he has carried off."

In K. the perfect is formed in a different manner. The past tense is e.g. *wust'ēk-am* "I rose", the perfect *wust'ēk h'am* "I have risen". In Log. these two forms were probably mixed up, and the perfect had to be distinguished from the preterite by means of the auxiliary 3rd sg. *-a, -ē*.



## Pluperfect.

133. The pluperfect is formed by adding the preterite of the verb substantive to the past participle, which very often loses its final *-k*: *icustu(k) būkam* (K. *icust<sup>2</sup>ēk byōk-am*) "I had risen"; *as dā (nak) būk* "I had (not) made"; *mulluk būk, pēri zinda šūk* "he had died, but now he was restored to life"; *γūn šu būk* "he had been lost"; *az amarū būk* "I had heard"; *prân-am (prân az) ku tū dē būk* "I saw (NB.) thee yesterday"; *tū prân(-at) ku mun dē būk* "thou sawest me yesterday"; *guda al-cu bukōn* "kujā rafta būdī?".

## Passive.

134. The passive is formed with *šūk* "to become", cf. Prs. and Psht. *a sarai zōk šūk* "the man was beaten"; *a-sariyē zōk šūkin* "the men were beaten"; *dēk šūk* "was seen"; *wāk šūk* "was found"; *must šūk* "was seated" (?). Note: *tū tar mun a-dest ga kapōk šūk* "thou hast also suffered my hand to be cut off."

## Causative verbs.

135. Causative verbs are formed with the suffix *-aw*, as in Psht. Cf. Par. 217.

## TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

### I.

#### Standard Sentences (LSI).<sup>1</sup>

220. *tar 'tū 'nām 'ca ya?* (*a-nām câ ya*). "What is thy name?"

221. *'tara 'yâsp 'umr cōn cân a?* (Ph. *'ô"mār cun*). "What is the age of this horse?"

222. *'indawū Lō'gar tu-ma'nak 'cōn 'pēc ē?* (*ma'nāk cūn*). "How far is it from here to Logar?"

223. *tar 'tū ta pē 'nēri nē 'cōn 'klân da'ya?* (*pēi, cūn, 'dāya*). "How many sons are there in thy father's house?"

224. *az 'sân 'pēc rāi nē al-'cū bu'kum.* (*al-'cū*). "I have walked a long way today."

225. *tar 'mūn ta 'māmā klân 'tara sa'rai a-'duka-wa 'nōk-ē* (*a-'xwâr-a*). "The son of my uncle has married the daughter (sister) of this man."

226. *ta spēw yâsp a-zîn nēri nē ya.* (*a-yâsp*). "The saddle of the white horse is in the house."

227. *a-yâsp zîn kōn.* (*kūn*). "Saddle the horse."

228. *ta'fō sa'rai a-'klân 'zut-am 'zuk-ē.* (*a-'klân-am 'zut*). "I have beaten the son of that man much."

229. *a'fō sa'rai ta 'giri sar 'mâl bu cerē'wī.* (*a'fō* (*passim*), *cerē'wī*). "That man is grazing cattle on the top of the hill."

230. *a'fō a-yâspi jē su'wâr-a ta 'draxti jōmi nē 'nustuk-ē.* (*a-yâspi sar su'wâr-ē ta 'draxti jima*). "He is sitting on the horse under a tree."

<sup>1</sup> The variants of the phonograph text are given within brackets.



231. *mar'zâ-wa 'xwâr di-wa 'stur ē. (stur). "His brother is taller than his sister".*

232. *a-baya-wa dô 'nim ri'pē yē (= Ph.). "The price of it is two rupees and a half."*

233. *a-pē-m ka'fō 'nēri za'ri nē 'wus'uk-ē (= Ph.). "My father lives in that small house."*

234. *ka'fō ri'pē ka'fō sa'rai ki ar-šēr. (= Ph.). "Give that rupee to that man."*

235. *ka'fō ri'pēyi ka'fō sa'rai di 'nas. (Ph. ka'fōs ri'pē 'nās). "Take the rupees from that man."*

236. *ka'fō 'širr 'zan, 'bēši nē-wa ta'rōn. (Ph. šer, ta'run). "Beat him well and bind him with a rope."*

237. *'cā di 'wōk na'war. (Ph. cā di w'ōk na'wār). "Draw water from the well."*

238. *tū ku 'mun di 'šam cū (= Ph.). "Walk before me."*

239. *a'fō tar 'kōk 'klân-ē tar 'tū pēci di bu ar-zāyē? "Whose son is he who comes behind thee?"*

240. *ka'fō šāy-at 'kōk di šu'nūk? (Ph. k'ōk di šu'nuk). "From whom didst thou buy that thing?"*

241. *az šē dukan'dâr ta 'grâm di šu'nūk. (Ph. dukân'dâr). "I bought it from a shopkeeper of the village."*

## II.

*Ta 'šē sa'rai dô 'klân būk. A'fō zā'ri klā'nak ('klānak) ta*  
*Of one man two sons were. That younger boy of*  
*'xui pē kī 'yōk: "Ai pē, tar 'tū ta 'māl 'arça*  
*himself father to said: "O father, of thee of property whatever*  
*tax'sim tar 'mūn bu 'sē ('arça tax'simī bē), ku 'mūn ki ar-šēr." A-sa'rai*  
*part of me is, me to give." The-man*  
*ta 'xui ta 'klân (tân 'klānī) 'minzi nē ta 'xui a-'māl dô*  
*of himself of sons middle in of himself the-property two*

*tax'sim dāk. Cōnd rōš' pēc ta xui a-zārī klān ta xui*  
parts made. Some days after of himself the-younger son of himself

*a-māl tōl dāk, pēc rāi nē al-ca'wōk, pēc jāi nē*  
the-property collected made, far road on he-started, far place to  
*al-ca'wōk; w'al bēzar'cī dī tar xuy a-māl*  
he-went; there uselessness from (: with) of himself the-property

*a'yēra prāk. Guj a'fō cān tar xui a-māl-a*  
all he-sold. Merely in-that year of himself the-property-his  
*ta'laf-a dāk; pērī ēc nak al-ōzūk-ē (al-nak wōzūk-ē);*  
squandered-he made; now anything not remained-for-him;

*xuy-a (pērī) xrunuk šuk-ē. A-klā'nāk (klānak) šē sa'rai (sara'yi)*  
himself-he hungry became. The-boy one man

*dāk ki al-ca'wōk, (pērī) nūkar šuk. Kara klā'nāk ta xui mulki*  
rich to went, servant became. This(acc.) boy of himself field

*nē rāi-wa dāk, au'rai bū cere'wī. A-klā'nāk γōk ka: "Au'rai*  
to sent-he made, sheep he-shall-guard. The-boy said that: "Sheep

*bū γwāšī xra, a-nas-a b-dāk sē (sī)." Ka'fō klā'nāk ki ca*  
grass eat, the-belly-their full becomes." That boy to anything

*b-nak (nak-a-b) a'širī. Pēc wūš' sari nē-wa ar-zāk, γōk:*  
not they give. Afterwards sense head in-his came, he-said:

*"Tar mūn ta pē nūkarī-wa zut ē, txān zut ē; az bū gušna'gī*  
"Of me of father servants-his many are, bread much is; I hunger

*dī mrīm (d-brīm). Az w'stukum, bu ta xuy i-pē ki*  
from am-dying. I have-risen (: shall rise), of myself father to

*cum, ka'fō p' ki γušim: Ai pē, az Xu'dāi u ku tū ki*  
I-shall-go, him to I-shall-say: O father, I God and thee to

*guna'gār yum, pērī mu'nāsib 'nak ē, ka, tū ku mūn ki klān γōš.*  
sinner am, now necessary not is, that, thou me to son sayest.

*Pērī ta nūkarī jami nē ku mūn i'sāb kōn." U'stuk, ta*  
Now of servants assembly in me reckoning make." He-rose, of



'xuy i-'pē ki al-ca'wōk. Mēn pēc būk, 'pē-wa (ta 'xui a-'pē-wa)  
himself father to he-went. Still far he-was, father-his

ta 'xuy a-'klān-a 'dēk, ta (ta xuy a-) 'pē-wa a-'zli-wa bruštuk.  
of himself the-son-his saw, of father-his the-heart-his burnt.

A-'pē-wa dan'gōk, ta 'xui ta 'klān a-gar'dani-wa ('klānī garda'nī-wa)  
The-father-his ran, of himself of son the-neck-to-he

'dest ba'nōk, a-'mox-a-wa 'pōc dāk. 'Klān ta (tar) 'xuy  
hand he-thrust, the-month-his-he kissed made. Son of himself

i-'pē ki-wa 'yōk: "Ai 'pē, 'az tar 'xuy i- Xu'dāi ki, ku 'tū ki  
father to-he said: "O father, I of myself God to, thee to

gu'nā dā'k-ē, 'pērī az tar 'tū 'lāyiq nak-um, ka 'az tar 'tū  
sin have-made, now I of thee worthy not-am, that I of thee

a-'klān yum." • 'Pē ta 'xuy i-nū'karī kī-wa 'yōk: "Kā'liyī  
the-son am." Father of himself servants to-he said: "Garments

širr ar-'warre, tara kla'nāk ki 'jāhi nē kē; an'gušti nē-wa 'angušta'ri  
good bring-ye, this boy for body on make-ye; finger on-his ring

ba'nē; 'pāi-nē-wa dī'čī al-ca'wē; a-nas-a txan dī-wa 'ḡak  
put-ye; feet-on-his shoes put-ye; the-belly-his bread from-his full

kē; ḡakia'ti 'mak 'kē, 'pērī xu'sāl be; \* kyē tar 'mun  
make-ye; distress do-not make-ye, now happy be-ye; because of-me

a-'klān mulluk būk, 'pērī 'pēc zin'da šu'k-ē; 'yūn 'šū būk,  
the-son dead was, now again alive has-become; lost become had,

'pērī 'wāk šuk." 'Pēc zut xu'sāl 'šukin.

now found become." Then very happy they-became.

A-'wāda 'stur 'klān-a 'bummāi nē pa'nēšta 'būk. 'Nēr ki

[At]the-time the-elder son-his field in outside was. House to

ka 'bōi šuk (var.: gr-'zāk), ta 'bait a-a'wāz-a 'gōi nē-wa  
when near he-went ( he came), of song the-sound-its ear to-his

al-'zāk (var.: ama'rūk); bā'zī nē šu'kin.

Tar 'xuy-a  
came ( he-heard); dancing in they-became[engaged]. Of himself-he

*šē sa'rai ža'yōk, ka'fō di pəš'tenna 'dāk:* "A 'ca  
one man called-for, him from question he-made: "This what  
'kissī yē?" A *sa'rai tar 'xuy i-bā'dār ki-wa 'yōk ka:*  
story (: matter) is?" The man of himself master to-he said that:  
"Tar *tū a-mar'zā, ar-zāk-ē; tar 'tū a-pē 'zūt 'xalak*  
"Of thee the-brother has-arrived; of thee the-father many people  
*kī 'txan ar-šūk-ē, ta'rāi bā'badī ka tar 'xuy a-klān 'wāk.*  
to bread has given, from-this reason that of himself the-son he-has-found.

A *mar'zā 'stur zut 'xafa šuk, 'nēr ki nak al-ca'wōk.* A-  
The brother elder very angry became, house to not went. The-  
*pē-wa pa'nēšta na'yuk, ta 'xuy a-klān-a 'kiči zuk.*  
father-his outside emerged, of himself the-son-he beseeching made.

A-*klānak ta 'xuy i-pē ki-wa 'yōk:* "Tū 'juš, a-wōn 'čān  
The-boy of himself father to-he said: "Thou look, so-many years  
*bu 'sē, \* ka az tar 'tū xəz'mat'bu kam. Az 'wōn wəxt tar*  
becomes, that I of thee service make. I so-much time of  
*'tū a-xəz'mat-am 'dāk-ē, tar 'tū yi-kis'si di 'nāk na'yōkum-ē.*  
thee the-service-I have-made, of thee word from not I-have-gone-out.

Tū *'ēč wəxt kū 'mūn kī šē 'kirzi nak ar-šūk-ē, ka 'az ('māx) tar*  
Thou any time me to one hen not hast-given, that I (we) of  
*'xuy i-mar'zāyi gi'di 'māx bū xuləkēn, 'māx bū xušwax'ti dā'kēn.*  
myself friends with we might-eat, we merriment might-make.

Pēri tar *'tū a-klān ar-zāk-ē, tar 'tū a-daw'lat a'yēra kanči'nī jē*  
Now of thee the-son has-come, of thee the-riches all harlots with  
*bar'bād zuk-ē; tū ka'fō kī zut 'txan ar-šūk-ē."*  
squandered he-has made; thou him to much bread hast-given."

A-*pē-wa tar 'xuy i-klān ki-wa 'yōk:* "Ai 'klān, tu mu'dām  
The-father-his of himself son to-he said: "O son, thou always  
*kū 'mun 'gi'di yūn, 'arca daw'lat ka tar 'mūn ya, 'āxir tar 'tū*  
me with art, whatever riches that of me is, ultimately of thee



ya. *Pērī lāzim būk ka xušwaxti māk u tōs kēn, ka*  
 is. Now necessary was that merriment we and you make, because  
*tar tū a-mar'zā 'yūn 'šū būk, paidā šuk, u 'mulluk būk,*  
 of thee the-brother lost been had, found became, and dead was,  
*'pērī zin'da šuk."*  
 now alive became."

## III.

## Anecdotes.

## LSI. Orm. Spec. II.

*Sul'tân Mah'mūd (sul'tân-i Māmud) šē dēwāna kī-wa 'γōk (γok)*  
 Sultan Mahmud one madman to-he said

*ka: "Tar tū a-zli ea 'šāi bu žā'yī?" A-fa'qīr*  
 that: "Of thee the-heart what thing requires?" The-mendicant  
*ka'fō kī 'γōk: "Tar 'mun a-zli ta 'šē au'rai ju'ân a-mud'yal*  
 him to said: Of me the-heart of one sheep young the-fat-tail  
*bu žā'yī (zli-a 'auray-a šē mud'yal bu žā'yē)." requires."*

*Sul'tân šē sa'rai kī pa 'cimī 'γōk ka: "Ka'fō fa'qīr kī*  
 Sultan one man to with eyes said that: "That mendicant to  
*šē 'gā'jar ar-šēr." Ka ku 'gā'jar ka'fō kī ar-'wuluk,*  
 one carrot to-him-give." When carrot him to they-brought,  
*a-'gā'jar a-fa'qīr 'xuluk. Fa'qīr tar 'xuy a-'sar xulta-'wōk,*  
 the-carrot the-mendicant ate. Mendicant of himself the-head shook,  
*pa xa'nōk šūk. Sul'tân ka'fō di puš'tenna-wa 'dāk ka*  
 in laughter he-came. Sultan him from question-he made that  
*(al-'γōk): "Ai dēwāna, tū 'kyē pa 'xanōk šu'kōn (xa'nūk 'šukūn)?"*  
 (said): "O madman, thou why in laughter camest?"

*A-de'wāna sultān ki al-γōk ka:* "Ka'fō 'wāda di ka  
The-madman sultan to to-him-said that: "That time from that  
*tū bād'sā 'šukun-ē, 'pēri tu na'nak a-mud'yal 'ēč (hēc) rūn 'nāk da'ri.*"  
thou king hast-become, now unto the-fat-tail any fat not has."

Orm. Spec. III.

*Šē sa'rai būk, ta 'bē sa'rai a-du'stār-a sar di-wa na'wulōk,*  
One man was, of other man the-turban-his head from-he stole,  
*ti'šōk. A-fa'qīr sa'rai al-ca'wōk, qabrī'stāni-ne 'mustuk.*  
ran away. The mendicant man went, cemetery-in sat-down.

*Kōk ka'fō ki al-γōk ka:* "Tū 'kyē 'inda 'mustukūn-ē?  
Someone him to said that: "Thou why here hast-sat-down?  
*A'fō sa'rai tar 'xuy ī-bāγ ki al-ca'wōk."* A'fō fa'qīr al-γōk:  
That man of himself garden to went." That mendicant said:

"*Āxīr bū 'inda 'ar-zāyē. Gu'ž-a a-rāy-a-wa ya, para*  
"Ultimately here he-will-come. Only-this the-way-?-his is, on-this  
*'rāi bu ar-zāyē."*  
way he-will come.

Orm. Spec. IV.

*Šē sa'rai bē'aql ta rāi sar (ta mux ta rāi i-sar nē) šē*  
One man stupid of road on (of his-face of the-road top on) one  
*āi'na 'wāk (qāk); šām 'ēč'guda (gu'dā) āi'na 'nak dē būk. 'Pēri*  
mirror found; before anywhere mirror not seen he-had. Now  
*'zut xu'sāl šuk (š'ūk), 'zut pa 'xanī (xa'nūk) šuk. Ka'fō ki-wa*  
very happy he-became, much in laughter he-came. That to-he  
*dēk (ka'fōi-nē al-dyēk), tar 'xuy a-mux ka'fōi ne-wa 'dēk (ta 'xuy*  
saw of himself the-face that in-he saw,  
*a-mōx-wa dyēk), 'a pa xa'nōk šuk. A-fīkr-a 'dāk ka:*  
he in laughter came. The-thought-he made that:



"Bē kōk ya, 'čēštan (čēštān) 'tara āyi'na ya. 'Pēc ('Pēri)  
 "Other someone is, owner of-this mirror is. Later  
 tar 'xuy a-sar 'šam o 'pēc dāk, γōk-a:  
 of himself the-head forwards and backwards he-made, he-said:  
 "A-čiz, ka 'az 'wāk-a, tar 'tū ya; 'az bū ku 'tū ki pēc  
 "The-thing which I found-it, of thee is; I to thee to back  
 dar-'širim." Guš ka'ra jāi nē-wa 'wutuk, 'xuy-a  
 to-thee-shall-give." Just-then this place in-he left-it, himself  
 w-al-ca'wōk.  
 he-went-away.

## Wakhī, Anecdote 1.

Šē sa'rai Aflātūn di-wa puštema 'dāk ke: "Un 'čān ta  
 One man Plato from-he question made that: "So-many years of  
 ki'sti 'mānzi nē dar'yāi ne bu'kōn, tū daryāi ne ca 'a'jab  
 ship middle in sea on thou-wast, thou sea on what wonderful  
 'čiz-at 'dēk?" 'Γōk ke: "Kull di 'a 'zut 'estur  
 thing-thou sawest?" He-said that: "All from this much great(est)  
 'būk, ka dar'yā di sa'lāmat 'bummāi ne ar-'zākum."  
 was, that sea from safe shore to I-arrived."

## Wakhī, Anecdote 2.

Šē fa'qir ta 'šē sa'rai 'bari nē ('nēri nē) al-ca'wōk, 'ca-wa  
 One mendicant of one man door to went, something-he  
 'nēla di-wa ža'yōk. Ta 'nēri 'mānz (mīnz) di ja'wāb  
 presence from-his he-required. Of house middle from answer  
 ar-'zāk ka: "Čēštan ta 'nēr nāk da'ya." Fa'qir 'γōk  
 came that: "Owner of house not is-present." The-mendicant said  
 ka: "Az ky 'tū di čē 'nōri 'txan ža'yōk, 'čēštan ta 'nēr  
 that: "I thee from one piece bread asked-for, owner of house  
 'nāk am ža'yōk-ē. Ku 'mun ki šē 'nōri 'txan ar-'šēr!"  
 not-I have-asked-for. Me to one piece bread give!"

Wakhi, Anecdote 3.

Šē ta'bīb bōk; mu'dām bu qabri'stān ki al-ca'wōk, tar xui  
 One doctor was; always [when] graveyard to he-went, of himself  
 a-mux bu puṭ dāk. Tu'fā a-mar'zā ka'fō dī puš'tenna-wa  
 the-face covered made. Of-him the-friend him from question-he  
 'dāk ka: "Tar 'xui a-mux bu 'kyē puṭ kōn?"  
 made that: "Of thyself the-face why covered makest-thou?"  
 A'fō al-'γōk: "Az 'tara qabri'stān mur'diyī dī zut šar'munda 'yum;  
 He said: "I of-this graveyard dead from very ashamed am;  
 ar-kōk ka tar mūn a-dawā'yī 'xuluk, 'inda ar-zāk."  
 every-one because of me the-medicines ate, here (they-)came."

Wakhi, Anecdote 4.

Šē 'rōš šē šāzā-da 'bādšā giḡi 'kār ki al-ca'wōk. Zut a'wā  
 One day one prince king with hunting to went. Very air  
 'tōk šuk. Adḡu'gaḡ tar xuy a-šāl ta šē dē'wāna-yi-pūštinē-wa  
 hot became. Both of self the-shawl of one madman back-on-it  
 'dāk. 'Bādšā ta'ba'summ-a 'dāk, al-'γōk-α: "Ai dē'wāna, tar 'tū  
 made. King smile-his made, said-to-him: "O, madman, of thee  
 i-pūšti nē ta šē 'xar a-bār yē." Dē'wāna al-'γōk: "Balkim,  
 back on of one donkey the-load is." Madman said: "Yea,  
 'bār ta 'dō 'xar yē."  
 load of two donkeys is."

Zebaki, Spec. II.

Šē 'waxt šē saudā'gār būk, tar 'xuy a-māl-a 'nōk,  
 One time one merchant was, of himself the-property-he took,  
 saudaga'ri ki al-ca'wōk. 'Arca-wa ka 'drunuk, dar'yāwi nē tu'fāni  
 trading for he-went. Whatever-he what had, sea in hurricane



nē 'yark šūk Ta 'xuyi 'nāk kī 'xatt rā'hī-wa 'dāk ke: "Ku in lost became. Of himself wife to letter sent-he made that: "

'mun kī 'bē 'māl rā'ī kōn." A-'nāk-a 'arca ka Me to other property sent make." The-wife-his whatever that

'māl-a 'drunuk, rā'ī-wa 'dāk. 'A māl ka rā'ī-wa property-she had, sent-she made. That property when sent-she

'dāk, 'a ga 'guša 'yūn šūk. Saw'dāgar 'nēri nē pēc made, that too in-this-way lost became. Merchant home to back

ar-'zāk, pa 'šustuk šūk. A-'nāk-a al-'yōk: "'Xafa 'mak arrived, in weeping started. The-wife-his said: "Distressed do-not

sōn, 'txan-at xōn! 'Az bū ku 'tū kī 'bē 'māl pa'i'dā kam." be, bread-thy eat! I thee-for other property found will-make."

A-'nāk-a zūt 'šāsta būk, ta 'ākim i-'nēri nē al-ca'wōk, šē The-wife-his very beautiful was, of governor house to she-went, one

a'zār ri'pē 'ākim dī 'žayōk-a. Zar'ka kī-a' a'zār thousand rupees governor from she-asked-for. Woman to-he thousand

ri'pē ar-'šūk. 'Ākim 'wāda-wa dāk ka: "Az bū rupees he-gave. Governor appointment-with-her made that: "I

nīmī'šō ku 'tū kī dar-zūm." Zar'ka nēr kī al-ca'wōk. 'Ākim at-midnight thee to will-come." Woman house to went. Governor

ar-'zāk, 'zarka txan 'puxōk, 'ākim kī-wa 'wutuk. 'Kara 'waxti came, woman bread baked, governor to-she placed. This time

nē a-'mālī-wa bari nē tax-tax-a 'dāk. 'Ākim puš'tonna at the-husband-hers door at knocking-he made. Governor question-

wa dāk ka: "'Kōk 'inda ya?" 'Yōk-a ka: "'Mālī tar to-her put that: "Who here is?" Said-she that: "Husband of

'mūn 'barri nē ya, tax-tax bu kē." 'Ākim 'yōk: "Az man 'ca me door at is, knocking makes." Governor said: "I then what

kam?" 'Zarka al-'yōk: "'Ġāzi nē 'xau kōn!" Ka'jō 'yāzi shall-do?" Woman said: "Cradle in sleeping do!" That cradle

ne-wa ba'nōk, a-māli-wa wā-nēra ar-zāk. Puš'tennā wa  
in-him she-laid, the-husband-hers into-the-house came. Question-he  
dāk: "Tāzi nē 'kōk-a?" "A tar tū a-klān ē." A-māli-wa  
made: "Cradle in who-is?" "It of thee the-son is." The-husband-her  
'γōk: "Gōn ku mūn k' az ka'fō 'jūšim." 'Dēk k' a-klā'nāk  
said: "Allow me that I him see." He-saw that the-boy  
au'rušti 'drāy-a 'drunuk. 'Pāki-wa 'nōk, tara klā'nak-a au'rušt-a  
beard long-he had. Razor-he took, of-this boy-he beard-his  
kal dāk. 'Pēc ta'bar-a 'nōk, 'γōk-a: "A-  
bald made (: shaved). Afterwards axe-he took, he-said: "The-  
'pāy-a zut 'drāy yē, 'lānā-a p' kam." 'Ākim 'wustuk, tē'šōk.  
foot-his very long is, short-it I-will-make." Governor rose, fled.



## IV.

Šē fa'qīr ar'zāk šē 'barri nē, zut 'xrunuk būk. A fa'qīr 'kiči zuk ka: «Ku 'mun kī 'txan 'ar-warē ka 'zīt 'xrunuk 'šukum-ē, ara'kat nāk da'rīm.»

Tara 'nēri 'mēnz di šē zar'ka dō 'txān 'drunuk, a 'kara fa'qīr kī ar-šūk-a. 'Māli-wa ar'zāk pa-'nēšta di: «Kara 'txan ku 'tū kī 'kōk ar-šūk-ē?» A fa'qīr 'yōk: «Kara 'nēr di šē zar'ka ar-šūk.»

A-čēštan ta 'nēr al-ca'wōk wā-'nēra, tar 'xui 'nēr di puš'tenna-wa 'dāk: «Kara 'txan kara fa'qīr kī 'kōk ar-šūk-ē?» 'Tara a-'bē 'nāk tar 'xuyi 'māli ki-wa 'yōk ka: «A'fō tar 'tū zar'ka dō 'txān fa'qīr kī ar-šūk-ē.» A-čēštan ta 'nēr 'wustuk, ta 'xui ta 'nāk-a 'aḍḍugaḍ 'dest ka'pōk ka: «Tū 'kyē 'kara 'txān ka'fō fa'qīr kī ar-šūk-ē?» Kara zar'ka 'bar di nawulōk-a, zut 'pēc rā'i šē biā'bāni nē-wa ba'nōk.

A zar'ka dō, za'rī za'rī 'klān-a 'drunuk. Ta 'xuy-a 'klān-a tar 'xui 'sānai jē 'swār-a dāk, 'xui giḍi al-'gustuk-a. A-zar'ka zut 'trunuk šūk, 'wōk 'nāk da 'bōk. 'Šām-a 'dēk ka 'wal 'auz ta 'wōk bōk.

## IV.

A mendicant came to the door [of a house]; and he was very hungry. The mendicant shouted: «Bring me bread, for I am very hungry and cannot move.»

A woman in (: from) this house [who] had two loaves of bread gave them to the mendicant. Then her husband came from outside [and said]: «Who has given you this bread?» The mendicant answered: «A woman in (: from) this house has given it to me».

The master of the house entered it, and asked his house[hold]: «Who has given this bread to this mendicant?» His second wife said to her husband: «That woman of yours has given two loaves of bread to the mendicant». The master of the house rose, and cut off both his wife's hands, saying: «Why did you give that mendicant this bread?» Then he took this woman out of the house and chased her very far away into a wilderness.

The woman had two quite small sons. She let her sons ride on her back and took them with her. The woman became very thirsty; but there was no water. Then she saw that there was a pool of water

Al-ca'wōk wōk kī ka: 'Az 'inda 'wōk xram'. A-zar'ka 'dest 'nāk 'drunuk ka a-'wōk xulukōn. Ta 'xuyi Xu'dāi kī pa 'šustuk šūk ka: «Az 'pērī 'dest nak da'rīm, az 'kara 'wōk pa 'ca xram?» Pa'mux al-γūštuk, ta 'xui a-'pōz 'wōkī nē 'wutuk ka 'az 'wōk xram'. 'Addugaḍ klān-a 'wōkī nē al-γūštuk, γūnd, šūk.

'Bē pa 'šustuk šūk, tar 'xuyi Xu'dāi kī munā'jāt-a 'dāk ka: «'Az 'bē gu'nā nāk 'dā 'bōk, 'dō 'txān tar 'xui jī'rē būk, tar 'tū pa 'nām ar-šū būk. 'Tū tar 'mun a-'dest ga ka'pōk šūk, 'dō 'klān-am ga 'wōkī nē al-γūštuk. 'Bē gu'nā az dā 'nak 'būk.»

A-zar'ka 'mox kī-wa 'dēk, ka 'dō 'māla sa'rai b' ar-'zūyē. A-zar'ka 'zut γu'šuk k': «A-sa'riyē 'pērī ku 'mun jē 'dest bu ba'nī.» A-sa'riyē ka 'šam ar-'zāk, kara zar'ka di puš'tenna-wa 'dāk ka: «'Kyē 'inda nustu'kōn-a?» A-zar'ka 'γōk: «Tar 'mun a-'klān kara 'wōkī nē al-γūštuk, 'mulluk.» A-sa'riyē ka ar-'zā būk tar 'xuyi 'mēnzi nē 'aḍḍugaḍ kis'sī dāk ka: «'Az bu cum, ta'ra a-'dest b' ar-wa'rim.» A-bē-wa 'γōk: «'Az bū 'cum, ta'ra a-'klān kara 'wōk di na'waram-a bū.»

in front of her. She went towards the water, thinking that she would drink water there. But the woman had no hands for drinking the water with. She began to weep [and complain] to her God: "Now that I have no hands, how shall I drink this water?" She lay down on her face and put her mouth into the water in order to drink. Then both her sons fell down into the water and disappeared.

Again she began to weep, and addressed a prayer to her God, saying: "I have committed no other sin, except that I gave away in Thy name two loaves of my own allowance. Thou didst suffer my hands to be cut off, and didst also let my two sons fall into the water. But I had committed no other sin".

When the woman looked in front of her [she saw] two men coming towards her. She was very much afraid that these men should lay their hands upon her. When the men came up to her, they asked this woman why she was sitting there. She answered: "My sons have fallen into the water and are dead". The men who had arrived conversed together [and one of them said]: "I shall go and bring her her hands". And the other said: "I shall go and take her boys out of the water".



'Kara kla'nāk-a na'wuluk, 'tara a-'dest-a ga ar-'wuluk. 'Tara a-'dest-a 'šrista dāk, 'aḍḍugaḍ 'dest tara zar'ka 'jōr šūk. A-'klānī-wa ga 'zenda šūk. 'A-zar'ka 'dek: «Tar 'mun a-'dest ga 'jōr šūk, tar 'mun a-'klān ga 'zenda šūk.» 'Kara sa'ri ki-wa 'yōk ka: «Tū 'kōk yōn, ka ku 'mun giḍi ōn xu'bi 'dāk? Ku 'mun ki tar 'xui a-'nām 'šām kōn, ka tū ku 'mun ki giḍi ōn 'xubī 'dāk-a. Xu'dāf ku 'tōz giḍi zut 'širr ka'wōn!»

A-sa'riyē 'yōk ka: «Az tar 'tū afō dō 'txānī yum; ku 'tū giḍi 'pērī ōn xu'bi-m 'dāk, din'yāl nē āxī'ratī nē tar 'tū giḍi 'zut xu'bi 'kam bū.»

## IV b.

## (Phonograph Text.)

Šē fa'qir būk, šē 'bari nē ar-'zāk, 'zut 'xrunuk būk. 'Kiči ar-'zōk ke! «Ku 'mun ki 'txan ar-wa'rē.»

. . . 'čēš'tan ta 'nēr . . . afō zar'ka 'du t'xan-a . . . dru'nuk, ar-'wuluk-a, 'kara fa'qir ki-wa ar-'š'ūk. A-fa'qir 'xulluk. Čēš'tan ta 'nēr pa-'nēšta di ar-'zāk, 'kara . . . di ā 'puštenna 'dāk: «Kara 'txān ka'fō fa'qir ki 'k'ōk 'dāk? Čēš'tan ta 'nēr ar-'š'ūk (?). 'A-sa'rai wā-'nēr al-ca'wūk, tar 'xuyi 'nāki-wa puš'tenna 'dāk k': «A 'txan ka'fō ki 'kōk ar-'š'ūk-ē?» 'Ā 'yōk: «Tar 'tū a-'nāk ar-'š'ūk-ē.» Tar 'xuyi 'nāk ki-wa 'yōk ka: «Tū 'kyē kara txan sa'rai ki ar-'š'ūk-ē?». Tar 'xuyi ta 'nāk-a aḍḍugaḍ 'desta-a ka'pōk, biā'bānī-wa ba'nūk.

They took the boys out and fetched her hands. Then they stuck on her hands with glue, and both of the woman's hands were healed. Her boys, too, were restored to life. Then the woman saw that her hands had been healed and that her sons were restored to life. She asked these men: "Who are you, that have rendered me such a service? Tell me your name, since you have rendered me such a service. May God give you a great reward."

Then the men said: "I am (: We are) those two loaves of thine; now we have rendered thee this service; and in this world and the next we will render thee many services".

Dō 'klân-a dru'nūk, 'kara du 'klân-a i-sar-ŋ 'swâr-a dāk, biâ'bâni-wa ba'nūk. A-šām gi'di (?) ca 'wōk 'nāk-a yā, nī (?) al-ca'wōk, ke 'jāi ca 'wōk būk; ke al-ca'wōk 'būk, 'trunuk būk. Xu'dāi di-ā m'na'jāt dāk ke: «Az 'dest na da'rīm, k' 'kara 'wōk az pa 'ca xrām?» Pa 'mox al-γuštuk, k'ra 'wōk 'xrā. • Addu'gađi-wa 'klân-a pa'nāi (?) ki-wa al-γuštuk, 'wōk nē 'mulluk.

Šam ki-wa d'ēk ke dō sa'rai a'fō pa'lū di ar-zāya. 'A-zar'ka 'zut 'γušk ke: «'A sa'rai mu (?) 'pēri ku 'mūn jē 'dest ba'nī. A-sa'riyē ke 'šam ar-zāk, 'kara zar'ka di-a puš'tenna dāk ke: «'Kyē 'inda 'nustukun-a?» 'A-zar'ka al-γōk ke: «'Tar 'mūn a-'klân 'inda 'wōki al-γuštuk. . . . sa'riyī tar 'xuyi 'mīnzi nē puš'tenna-a 'dāk ke: «Tū . . . , 'az 'tara a-'klân 'wōk di nawa'rām. Sē 'sāt būk ka 'tū 'kara-a ar-'wulluk.» 'Kiči-a dāk. . . . Addu'gađ zin'da ke 'bīn, 'kara sa'jē-ā 'kara zar'ka di-ā . . . 'kara a-zarka-a puš'tenna-a 'dāk ke: «Tū 'kōk yōn, ke ku māk . . . du 'txan-um ka 'tū ta Xu'dāi kara dāk, ku 'mūn kī 'ar-šūk būk. . . .

V.<sup>1</sup>

Sē zar'ka u sē sa'rai būk. Addu'gađ 'māli u 'nāk bu'kēn. Addu'gađ au'lād-a nak dru'nūk. Addu'gađ 'zut tar 'xuy i-'mīnzi nē xwāš bu'kēn. A-zar'ka tar 'xuy i-'māli kī-wa 'γōk ka: «'Az 'mullukum, 'tū tar 'mun ta 'qabri 'sar 'xaima zan; ka 'tū 'mullukūn, 'az bū tar 'tū 'qabri sar 'xaima 'zanam.»

## V.

[Once upon a time] there were [two persons] a woman and a man. These two were husband and wife. They had no children. They loved each other very much. The woman said to her husband: "If I die, you must pitch your tent on my tomb; if you die, I shall pitch my tent on your tomb."

<sup>1</sup> Dīn Muhammad had heard a mulla recite this tale from a Persian collection of legends. I heard a similar story in Persian and Pashto. V. "Persian Texts from Afghanistan", IV (Acta Orientalia, VI, pp. 310, 316). Cf. also "Christ and the Dead Woman", Wells' Turkish Chrestomathy p. 117 (from the "Tarikh Kirk Vezir").



Dō 'rōž 'bād a-zar'ka 'mulluk. A-sa'rai al-ca'wōk, 'tara ta 'qabri sar-a 'xaima 'zuk. Šistu 'čân tara ta 'qabri sar 'xaima 'zuk.

Šē 'rōž bük, 'tara ta 'qabri sar 'Azrat Īsâ pāi'yumbar ar-zāk, 'kara sa'rai dī puš'tenna-wa 'dāk ka: «Kyē 'inda nustu'kōn-a 'kara blā-bānī nē, 'inda 'xaima-t 'zuk-ē?» A-sa'rai 'Azrat Īsâ kī 'γōk: «A-zar'ka tar, 'mun a-nāk bük, ku 'mun giđi 'wāda 'dā bük, k': 'Az 'mullukum, 'tū tar 'mun ta 'qabri sar 'xaima zan; ka 'tū 'mullukun, 'az tar 'tū ta 'qabri sar 'xaima 'zanam.' Šistu 'čân 'šük-ē, 'tara ta 'qabri sar 'nustukum-ē. Ka a-zar'ka 'zinda šē, ta 'xuy a-umr bu 'kara kī ar-širim.»

'Azrat Īsâ du'wā-wa 'dāk, a-zar'ka 'zinda 'šük. Adđu'gađ al-ca'wōkēn, 'wal 'nustuken. A-sa'rai 'xau dāk, a-zar'ka 'nustu bük.

Šē 'waxt bük, ta 'bādsā 'klān 'inda 'škār kī ar-zāk. 'Kara 'zarka-a 'dēk, 'zut wā jēr-a 'xūš 'šük. 'Tara a-zli-wa 'l- 'gustuk, 'kara zar'ka kī-wa 'γōk ka: «Kē 'inda nustu'kōn-a?» A-zar'ka 'γōk ka: «A-sa'rai ku 'mun-a tiša'wōk-a, 'pēri ku 'mun b' al-gē, ku 'mun-a 'γlē 'dāk-a». Ta 'bādsā 'klān 'γōk k': «'Az 'kara sa'rai 'azna'wīm;

Two days later the woman died. The man went and pitched his tent on her tomb. He pitched his tent (: stayed) on her tomb for thirty years.

One day it happened that the prophet Hazrat Isā came to her tomb. He asked this man: "Why do you sit in this desert, and why have you pitched your tent here?" The man answered Hazrat Isā: "This woman was my wife, and she had made [the following] agreement with me: 'If I die, you must pitch your tent on my tomb; if you die, I shall pitch my tent on your tomb.' Thirty years have passed, and [all this time] I have been sitting on her tomb. If this woman is restored to life, I will give her my own life".

Hazrat Isā prayed, and the woman was restored to life. They both went away, and sat down there (: in some other place). The man fell asleep, and the woman remained sitting there.

One day the king's son came there a-shooting. He saw this woman and fell very much in love with her. He stole her heart and said to this woman: "Why are you sitting here?" The woman said: "This man has carried me off, now you must take me away; he has stolen me." The king's son said: "I will kill this man; come

ku 'mun gi'di p' cū, ku 'mun bu 'nas, ka 'mun bu 'māli kōn! A-zar'ka 'γōk ka: «Az ku 'tū b' 'nasam, ku 'mūn 'kara dī xalās kōn!» 'A 'wustuk, ta bād'sā 'klān gi'di al-ca'wōk.

Šē 'sāt buk, k' a-sa'rai 'xau dī wu'stuk, ka 'dēk-a: 'Ta 'bād'sā 'klān 'tara zar'ka al-'gustuk-a.' Al-'klēi-wa 'zuk ka: «Tar 'mun-a a-'nāk bu 'guda 'l-γōn? 'A tar 'mun a-'nāk ē.» A-zar'ka al-'γōk ka: «A-sa'rai bu 'driši γu'šī, ku 'mun-a tiša'wōk-a. 'A tar 'mun a-'māli 'nak ē; 'a 'zut šai'tān sa'rai ē, pa fē'rēb ku 'mūn ku 'tū dī b' al-'gī.»

'Ayi ta 'xuy i-'pē ki al-ca'wōk. Ta 'xuy i-'pē ki-wa 'γōk ka: «Az sē zar'ka 'wāk-ē, 'kara ku 'mūn ki nī'kā kōn, k' az 'kara pa nī'kā-a b' 'nasīm.» A-'bād'sā ta 'xuy i-'klān ki al-'γōk ka: 'Širr bu sa, 'nas-a. Tar 'mun-a 'xūš 'ga ya ka 'tū-a 'nas.»

A-sa'rai 'γōk ka: «Ai 'bād'sā, 'a tar 'mun a-'nāk-a, ku 'mun dī tiša'wōk-a-yē.» 'Bād'sā al-'γōk 'kara sa'rai kī ka: «Tū 'šāid da'rōn, ka 'a tar 'tū a-'nāk-a?» A-sa'rai 'γōk: «Az 'šāid da'rīm.» 'Bād'sā al-'γōk ka: «Kōk tar 'tū 'šāid ya?» A-sa'rai 'γōk ka: «Azrat 'Isā tar 'mūn 'šāyid ya.» Al-'γōk ka: «Cū, ar-'war-a! Ka'fō 'γōk

with me and take me and let me be your husband." The woman said: "I will take you; only release me from this one." Then she rose and went away with the king's son.

Then suddenly it happened that the man rose from his sleep and saw that the king's son had taken away his wife.\* He shouted to him: "Where are you taking my wife to? She is my wife." But the woman said: "This man is lying, he has carried me off. He is not my husband; he is a very evil man, and he wants to take me away from you by deceit."

Then they went to his (: the prince's) father. [The prince] said to his father: "I have found a woman, give her to me in marriage, that I may marry her." The king said to his son: "It is well, take her. I, too, am pleased that you should take her."

Then the man said: "O king, this is my wife, she has been carried off from me." The king said to this man: "Have you any witness to say that she is your wife?" The man answered: "I have a witness." The king asked: "Who is your witness?" The man answered: "Hazrat Isa is my witness." [The king] said: "Go and fetch him! If he says



ka, 'a tar 'tū a-'nāk-a, dar-širīm-a bū. Ka 'nak-a 'yōk, ku 'tū uźna'wim. A-sa'rai 'yōk ka: 'Az bu sa'bā ku 'Azrat-i Mu'sā ar-'waḡam.»

A 'bar dī na'yōk, al-ca'wōk biā'bānī nē. Ta 'šē 'draxti zəm-a 'nustuk, 'fjkr-a 'dāk ka: 'Ta 'Azrat-i Īsā 'jāi ku 'mūn kī 'mālūm 'nāk ē, ka 'a'fō 'gūda yē, ka ku 'mūn giḡi ar-'zāya. Sa'riyi ta 'bādsā 'pēz di-wa ar-'zāk, 'kara sa'rai-a 'pēc al-'gustuk. Al-ca'wōk 'bādsā ki: 'Ta 'Azrat-i Īsā 'jāi ku 'mūn kī 'mālūm 'nāk ē ka 'a'fō 'gūda ya.»

Šē 'waxt būk ka sē 'nūr 'dēk šūk. 'Bādsā 'yōk ka: 'A-'nūr 'Azrat-i Īsā ya k' ar-'zāya bū. Šē 'sāt būk k' 'Azrat-i Īsā ar-'zāk, dar'bāri nē 'nustuk. 'Bādsā 'kara dī puštenna 'dāk ka: 'Tarāi kis'si di 'tū āḡa 'yōn, ka 'ayī 'carang du'wā-wa 'dāk-ē?»

'Azrat-i Īsā al-'yōk 'bādsā ki ka: 'Ku 'mūn kī 'mālūm-ē ka 'a zar'ka 'tara a-'nāk-ē; ta 'xuy a-'wum-a 'kara zar'ka kī ar-šū'k-ē, pēc 'a 'zjnda šūk-ē. 'Māx du'wā dā būk, ka 'a zar'ka 'qabr dī 'zjnda 'šūk. A-zar'ka 'yōk ka: 'A b' 'drīši 'yu'sī. 'A tar 'mun a-'mālī 'nak ē. Ku 'mun-a 'yōlē 'dāk-ā; ku 'mun-a tiša'wōk-ē; ku 'mūn bu bē 'gūda al'gi; ku 'mun bu 'prāyi.»

that she is your wife, I will give her to you. But if he does not say so, I will kill you." The man said: "I shall bring Hazrat Musa<sup>1</sup> tomorrow."

He went out of the door and went into the desert. There he sat down under a tree and thought: "The place where Hazrat Isa dwells is unknown to me, so how can he come to me?" The king's men came after this man and brought him back. He went to the king [and said]: "The place where Hazrat Isa dwells is unknown to me."

Suddenly it happened that a light appeared. The king said: "This light is Hazrat Isa arriving." Suddenly Hazrat Isa arrived and sat down in the *darbar*. The king asked him: "Do you know about this story and that they have made such a prayer?"

Hazrat Isa answered the king: "I know that the woman is the wife of this man; he has given his own life to this woman, and then she was restored to life. We [had] prayed that this woman should be restored to life from the grave." But the woman said: "He is lying. This is not my husband. He has stolen me and carried me off; now he will take me to some other place and sell me."

<sup>1</sup> In the phonograph text, too, he is called Hazrat Musa.

'Azrat-i Īsā al-ḡōk ka: 'A tar 'tū a-'mālī ya. 'A 'driši 'ya, tar 'mun a-'mālī 'nāk-ē. 'Azrat-i Īsā al-ḡōk ka: 'Ca-wa ka ku 'tū kī ar-'šūk-ē, 'pēc ar-'šēr! A-zar'ka 'ḡōk: 'Pēc-a b' ar-'šīrim. A-zar'ka 'bummāi nē al-ḡūštuk, 'šē 'muṭṭai 'xāk šūk, 'ēc-a 'nāk būk.

## V b.

## (Phonograph Text.)

'Šē zar'kā, 'šē sa'rai aḍḍu'gaḍ 'mālī u 'nāk būkēn. Aḍḍu'gaḍ ta 'xuy i-'mīnzi nē 'zut 'xoāš būkēn. Aḍḍu'gaḍ tar 'xuy i-'mīnzi nē aḍḍu'gaḍ 'dāk ka: 'Az 'mullukum, 'tū tar 'mun ta 'qabri sar 'xaima zan; kē 'tū 'mullukūn, 'az tar 'tū ta 'qabri sar bu 'xaima zanam.

'Dū 'rūz 'bād 'a-zar'kā 'mullūk (bis). 'A-sa'rai 'tara ta 'qabri sar 'xaima-wa 'zūk. 'Šistu 'cān 'tara ta 'qabri sar 'xaima-wa 'zūk.

'Šē 'waxti 'bōk, 'Hazrat-i Mu'sā ar-'zāk, 'kara sa'rai dī-wa puš'tenna-wa 'dāk kē: 'Kyē in'dā 'nustukun-a, 'xaima-t zu'k-ā? 'A-sa'rai 'ḡōk ka: 'Tar (?) 'kara zar'kā kī bī (?) 'lauz-am 'dā būk, 'a tar 'mūn-a 'dā būk k': 'Az 'mullukum, 'tū tar 'mun ta 'qabri sar 'xaima 'zan, ka 'tū 'mullukūn, 'tū (sic!) tar 'mun ta 'qabri sar 'xaima zan. 'Hazrat-i Mu'sā 'ḡōk kē: 'Ai ke (?) sa'rai, 'a ga (?) tar 'tū a-'mālī a-'nāk-a (?). 'Az bu 'kara du'ā kam. . . zin'da . . . 'kara kī . . . 'ḡōk, 'az bu tar 'xuy a-'ō'mēr 'karā kī ar-'šīrim.

'Hazrat-i Mu'sā du'ā 'dāk, 'a zar'kā 'zīnda 'šūk. Aḍḍu'gaḍ al-ca'wōkēn. Pa 'šē 'jāi-nē 'nustukēn. 'A-zar'kā 'nust 'šūk, 'a-sa'rai 'xau 'dāk.

'Šē 'waxt būk, tā bād'sā 'klān 'škārī-wa ar-'zāk, 'škār-a 'dāk. 'Kara zar'ka dī-a puš'tenna 'dāk kē: 'Kyē in'dā 'nustukun-a? 'A-zar'ka 'ḡōk kē: 'A tar 'mūn a (corrected into:) ku 'mūn-a ti'sa'wōk-a, ku 'mun tu al b' 'gē. 'A-sa'rai 'ḡōk (corrected into:) Tā bād'sā 'klān

Then Hazrat Isa said: "He is your husband." [She said:] "It is a lie, he is not my husband." Hazrat Isa said: "Give him back that which he has given to you." The woman said: "I give it back to him." Then the woman fell to the ground; she became one handful of earth, and nothing was left.



ʔōk kə: 'Az bu ku 'tū ka'rā dī xalās kam, ku 'mun 'tu bu 'nās.  
 Al-ʔōk-a: 'Az bu ku 'tū 'nāsam; 'kara sa'rai dī ku 'mun xalās kun.  
 A-zarka ta bād'sā i-klān giḏi al-ca'wōk.

'A sa'rai . . . 'dēk-ā k': 'A-zarka ta 'bād'sā i-klān giḏi [al-]cawa'.  
 Al-ki'ci-wa 'zuk ka: 'Tu 'guda šuk? 'A tar 'mūn a-nāk ē. 'A ta  
 'bād'sā [klān] kī zar'ka 'ʔōk ka: 'Tar 'mūn a-mā'li nak 'ē, ku mu'n-ā  
 tiša'wōk-ē, 'mun kū ke (?) gu'da . . .

'Āyī al-ca'wōkēn 'bād'sā kī. Bād'sā kī al-ʔōk k': 'Az sē zar'kā  
 'wāk-a, 'mun kī-wa ni'kā kun, kə 'az bu ka'rā na'sim. Bād'sā al-  
 ʔōk ke (bis): 'A 'šer bu 'sā, 'az bu ka'fō 'giḏi dī 'giḏi (?) 'nāsam . . .  
 (corrected) giḏi dī-āk (?) ni'kā kam . . .

A-sa'rai al-ʔōk k': 'Ai bād'sā, 'a tar 'mūn a-nāk ē. A-bād'sā  
 al-ʔōk ke: 'Tū 'šâyid dar'un ke 'a tar 'tū a-nāk ē, ku 'tū aya (?).  
 'Hazrat-i Mu'sā tar 'mun a-šâ'id ya. Bād'sā al-ʔōk kə: 'Cū, 'Hazrat-i  
 Mu'sā ar-'wār! 'Ka 'ʔōk-a, 'az bu 'kara zar'kā ku 'tū kī 'bē dar-šî'rîm.'<sup>1</sup>

'A-sa'rai na'ʔōk, al-ca'wōk biā'bānī kī. Šē 'jāi nē 'nustuk, 'fikr-a  
 'dāk ke: 'Ai (corrected:) Ke 'Hazrat-i Mu'sā . . . 'jāi 'a ar-'zāya, ku  
 'mūn kī 'mālūm 'nāk a; 'az bū ka'fō 'giḏi kī (?) pa'idā kam. Sa'rēyī  
 'pēz di (corrected: sa'rēyī ta 'bād'sā ar-'zāk, sa'rāy-a b' girza'wūk, al-  
 'gustuk-a 'bād'sā kī. Bād'sā kī al-ʔōk: 'Ta 'Hazrat-i Mu'sā jāi xu (?)  
 ku 'mun kī 'mālūm 'nāk ē, k' a'fō 'guda yē.

Sē 'waxti bük, 'Hazrat-i Mu'sā falak kī 'mālūm š'ūk. 'Nūrī ta  
 ja'li 'muxi nē-wa 'mālūm š'ūk. Bād'sā al-ʔōk ka: 'Nūr ta (?) 'Hazrat-i  
 Mu'sā yē. Šē 'waxti bük ke ar'zāk . . .

## VI.

'Šān 'š'ō tar 'mūn i-'zli 'zut di'mōk-ē. 'Az ca 'nāk 'xulu bük:  
 'sār tu-ma'nak az 'xau nāk 'dāk-ē. Ku 'mun kī 'šē ca ar-'šēr, ka  
 tar 'mūn i-'zli šîr sē.

## VI.

"Last night I had much pain in my heart. I had not eaten  
 anything; but I did not sleep till the morning. Give me something  
 that my heart may be cured."

<sup>1</sup> "If he says so, then I shall give this woman to you."

‘Tar mǎx i-nēri nē šē zarka yē, adduḡaḡ ‘dest-a šūm bu’sē,  
‘zut šūm bu sē. A fō bē ‘keṛī b’ sē, buxār bu ‘kē. ‘Zut ‘gīrzukum,  
ka’fō kī az ‘ca da’wā pai-dā, nāk ḡōk, ka’fō kī ‘šīrr šu’kun (bu šūk).’

“In our house there is a woman both of whose hands are inflamed,  
they are very much inflamed. Then that [boil] will burst, and it will  
itch. I have wandered much about; but I have not been able to find  
any remedy, so that it might be good for her (: she might be cured).”



## VOCABULARY.

Regarding the alphabetical arrangement etc. v. p. 230. The optional prothetic vowel *ʔ* etc. (befor *sk*, *sp*, *st*) has not been taken into consideration.

Words given by Dīn Muhammad are left unmarked; words belonging to the vocabulary of my first informant from Barak-i Barak are marked 'B.'—'K.' denotes that the word belongs to the dialect of Kaniguram (LSI), 'Le.' and 'Rav.' denote words taken from the vocabularies of Leech and Raverty (v. 4). I have included words known only from K. which appear to be genuine Orm. ones. Such words are marked '(K.)'. Words known only from B. are marked '(B.)'. 'Phon.' denotes that the word occurs in the phonograph records. Etymological derivations proposed by Sir George Grierson are marked 'G'.

Verbs are given in the present stem; but the past stem has been added, when known.

Probably a great number of the words marked 'Prs.' have been borrowed through Psht.

### Vowels

*a*, definite article. V. 80.  
*a*, K. *hō*, *o*, L. *hā* "this". V. 103.  
*-a*, pron. suff. 3 sg. V. 101.  
*-a*, particle, denoting the perfect. V. 132.  
*ai*, interj. "Oh".  
*-ē*, particle, denoting the perfect. V. 132.  
*i*, locative prefix. V. 90.  
*u* "and". Prs.  
*ā'ū*, *ā'uū*, Le. *a, ū* "mountain-goat". Prs.  
*ā'bāṭi* "cultivated field". K. *ābād* "inhabited". *šā'ābāṭi*. Prs.  
*a'brū* "eyebrow". Prs. — K. *wrija*, Psht.  
*au'bās* "a swimmer". Prs.  
*au'bāzi* "swimming". Prs.

*'ēca* (: \**ēc-caʔ*) "anything". *'ēca nāk* "nothing". Psht.  
*ēc* "any". Prs. — K. *hic*, Psht.  
*au'dur* "father's brother (*brādar-i pa-dar*)". Kab. Prs. *'auder* "father's younger brother". Prs. *afdar*. Cf. EVP. s.v. *trā*.  
*aḏḏu'gaḏ*, Le. *dagaḏ* "both". *'māx ar-du'gaḏ bu ki'tāb a'wēn* "we are both reading the book". *aḏḏu* < *ardu* (*har du*). Cf. *giḏi*.  
*a'fō*, *ha'fō*, K. *hafo* "that". V. 103.  
*afta* "week"; K. *hafta* "Saturday". Prs.  
*ā'gā* "knowing, conversant with". Prs.  
*au'gār* "hurt, bruised". Prs.  
*a'ōk* (K.) v. *awas*.  
*'ajab* "wonderful". Prs.

*aql*, K. "sense, wisdom". *tū aql nak darūn*. Prs.

*ākīm* "governor". Prs.

*ukəm*, K. *hukm* "order". *tar 'tū-a 'hukəm bu 'gam* "I obey you"; *'ukəm 'nak a*. Prs.

*al*, K. *hal*, contracted pron. 3 prs. V. 102. For verbal compounds with *al*-v. the uncompound verbs.

*au'lād* "children". Prs.

*al'ka* "earring". Prs.

*ala'sā* "jaw(-bone)". Prs.

*al'zək* "ripe". *mēwa al-zək a "mēwa rasīda ast"*. V. *zāy*.

-am, pron. suff. 1 sg. V. 101.

*a'mā* "father's sister". Kab. Prs.

*imbāī* pl. (K) "friends"; < \**ham-pādyā*? Cf. EVP. s.v. *mal*.

*am'būr* "forceps, pincers". Prs. *ambūr*, cf. Skr. *saṃ-bhṛ-* "to draw together, close (the jaws)"?

*amar'ok*, K. *amar-vēk*, Le. *amar-okh* "to hear". Aor. *ama'rim*, *gōy-am ama'ri* "my ear hears"; *tū ama'rōk at* "you heard"; *prān az kara kissi amarū būk* "I had heard this tale yesterday". < Av. *mar-* "to give attention to, notice" + *ā*. G. compares Psht. *āwerēdāl*.

*umr*, *umr*, Ph. *ūmr*, K. *'umr*, Le. *umr* "life". Prs.

*āīn*, B. *ā'en*, Le. *āhīn* "iron". Prs. V. *rū*, *āī'na*, K. *āīnā* "mirror". Prs.

*īn* (B) "blood". Psht. V. *īun*.

*ōn*, *wōn*, K. (*h*)*ōn* "so many, so much". < Av. *avavant*.

*īn'da*, B. *īnda*, K. *idā*, Le. *īndā* "here". Cf. Natanzi *īndūda*, Kahrudī *ānde*, Shgh. *yūdand* < \**aitanta*, Av. *aētaḍa*? *undrōn* "to sew". *undrōwim-a bu* "I shall sew it". Cf. Par. *an'darf*.

*īndawū* "hence". V. *īn'da*.

*īn'jān*, K. *īnjān* "the day before yesterday". Cf. K. *īnja sal* "next year but one". *īn* < *anya*? V. *sān*, *muš-īnjān*.

*ī'nēla*, v. *nēla*.

*āšt* (8?) B.; K. *hānšt*, Le. *ānšt* "8". Av. *ašta*.

*aṇ* "bray". *'xar bu 'aṇ za'nī* "the donkey is braying". K. *hiṇ-vēk*.

*āeṇ'gar* "blacksmith". Prs.

*īn'gās* "neigh". *yāsp bu īn'gās kaṇ'dī* "the horse is neighing". Cf. Par. *heṇ'gas*.

*aṇ'gešt* "coal". Prs.

*aṇ'gušt* Phon., K. "finger". Prs.

*anguštārī*, K. *anguštārī* "finger-ring". Prs.

*auṇ'sī* "sprinkling". *'wēk auṇ'sī b' kam*. Prs.

*ar*, K. *har*, Le. *hera* "all, every". Prs.?

*ar*, *ēr*, *rī*, B. *ēr*, K. *hir*, *rī*, Le. *ar*, *ra*, contracted pron. 1 prs. V. For verbal compounds with *ar*-v. the uncompound verbs.

*ara*, pronominal base "this". V. 103.

*au'rai* "ram", K. *wrai* "mountain-ram". Psht. *wrai* "lamb"?

*ūr-uk* "to hold, keep". *nāk-a b' ūrīm* "ne mēwardāram-iš"; *'hukəm nak b'*

*ūrukum* "I did not obey the command (*hukm-rā na mēwardāstam*)". Cf. Rav. *ūra* "seizes", < Av. *ava-bar*? Cf. *wūr*.

*a'rāba* "wheel". Prs.

*ar'dū*, *ardu'gaḍ* "both". Prs. V. *aḍḍu'gaḍ*.

*a'raq* "sweat". Prs. \*

*arā'kat* "movement". *arā'kat na da'rim* "I cannot move". Prs.

*Ōrmu'rī* "Ormuri, an Ormur". V. p. 312.



ā'riḥāj "elbow". Prs.  
 'ārus "bride". Prs.  
 ur'si "window". Prs. Cf. Par. *hursi*.  
 aurū'zām "silk". Psht.  
 au'rušt, K. *urōšta*, Le. *urosht*, Rav. *warosht*  
 "beard". au'rušt tar 'mūn 'spēw šuk  
 "my beard grew white". Cf. Phl.  
 aprušt, ā'rušt (Frahang-i Phl. ed.  
 Junker, 10, 5).  
 'ārat, K. *arat* "wide, broad". *rāi zut*  
*arat (tang) ē* "the road is very wide  
 (narrow)". Psht.  
 ar'zan "millet". Prs. — K. *ažan* is  
 genuine, cf. EVP. s.v. *ždan*, Ishk.  
*wuždan*.  
 ar'zān, Le. *aržan* "cheap". Prs.  
 i'sāb, K. *hi'sāb* "reckoning". *i'sāb bu*  
*kam*. Prs. \*  
 a'sul cān, K. *asal* "this year". Av.  
 \*ā + *sarād*.  
 ās'mān "sky, heaven". Prs.  
 ust, v. *wust*.  
 ās'yā "water-mill". Prs.  
 āst-vēk (K.) "to stand". Av. *stā* (*hišta*).  
 Cf. *wust*.  
 a'štēs, K. *aštēs*, Le. *ashtes* "18". Av.  
*aštadasa*.  
 uš'yār, K. *hušyār* "intelligent". Prs.  
 -at, -t B., K. pron. suff. 2 sg. V. 101.  
 au'ōk, K. *haw* (2 sg. *wūw*): *hištak* "to  
 read". a'wīm-a bū; tū 'pēri kī'tāb  
 a'wīm? "do you read the book now?";  
 'lōs bu a'yēra kī'tāb a'wē? "do you  
 all read the book?"; kī'tāb-am a'wōk-a.  
 (Kaw. < Av. *aiwi-ah* "to study,  
 read", *hišt* < \**aiwi-šta* (v. Rep. p. 17).  
 — G. comp. Psht. *hwastel* and, for  
 the past base, Skr. *śikṣita*.  
 a'wā "air". a'wā tōk-a "the air is hot".  
 Prs.  
 ā'wū, v. ā'ū.

'wcal, K. *ical*, Le. *yucal* "there, thither".  
 'wcal al-cū bukm "I had gone  
 there". Cf. Soghd. 'wrt(-5) "thither",  
 Rēichelt, ZII, 6, 209.  
 awā'ri "small plain in the hills". Psht.  
 hawār "level, flat".  
 awas: ayōk (K.) "to be attached, reach".  
 G. ayōk < āgata-, awas. < Av. ā-ja-  
 saili (?). — Derivation from an in-  
 choative pres. is probable; but the  
 loss of j would be strange. Cf. *wis*.  
 a'wēs K.; Le. *haves* "17". Av. *haptadasa*.  
 a'waitu, K. *awāi*, Le. *hawai* "70". *awāi*  
 < Av. *haptāti*; a'waitu is an ana-  
 logical formation, cf. *žūštu*.  
 a'wāz "sound". Prs.  
 ā'xiv K. "last, finally". Prs.  
 au'xur "manger". Prs.  
 āxi'rat K. "the future world". Prs.  
 a'yēra "all". *māx ayēra wustu bukēn*  
 "we had risen all of us". a- definite  
 article, -ēr- < *harva*? V. ar.  
 az B., K., Le. "I". Av. *azəm*. V. 100.  
 auz "tank". Prs.  
 ōruk "left, remaining". Cf. K. *hazn*:  
*hanjyōk* "to remain behind"? V.  
 Par. *ūzeh*.  
 izmaw-, K. *wuzmaw-wēk* "to try, test".  
 az-a bu kara yāsp izmawīm "I shall  
 try this horse". Cf. Prs. *āzmūdan*,  
 Phl. *ōzmūtan*, Av. \**uz-mā*.  
 a'zān "summons to prayer". Prs.  
 au'zān(d) "hanging". 'ca b' au'zān kēm;  
 au'zānd-am dā būk "auzānd-iš kada  
 būdum". Prs.  
 ā'zār "1000". Prs. — K. *zar*, Psht.  
 uš'na-w-ōk, K. *wazn*: *wazyōk* "to kill".  
 uš'na-wīm; ka'fō-m uš'na-w-ōk "I killed  
 him"; māx ku šē aurai uš'na-w-ōk-ē  
 "we have killed a ram". < Av. *aiwi*-  
*jan*.

## B

- b* : *būk*, K. *b* : *biyok* "to be, become".  
*az kara nēri nē bām* "I live in this house"; *būkum* "I was". Av. *bav* : *bē*<sup>1</sup>, privative particle. \*Prs.  
*bē*<sup>2</sup> B.; K. *bī* "other". G. < Av. *bitya*-, cf. Gabri *bidi*, Psht. *bəl* etc.  
*bē*<sup>3</sup> "again, later". Cf. *bē*<sup>2</sup>.  
*bū*, *b*, *p*, K. *bū*, Le. *bu*, *p(t)*, verbal particle. V.  
*būt*, K. *būny* "smell". *afō rut būt nōk-ē*. Prs.  
*bā'badī* "because of" *ta'rā-i-bābadī* "as *bābat* as i". Prs.  
*biā'bān* "desert". Prs.  
*bubi'titi* "n. of a bird".  
*'bača* "boy". Prs.  
*ba'čandar* "step-son". Prs. V. *winjōk*.  
*bad*, K. "bad, evil". Prs.  
*bād*, K. "wind". *bād cauca bū*. Prs.  
*bād*, Le. *bād* "after". Prs.  
*bēd* "willow". Prs.  
*ba'dela*, Le. *bada'la* "song". Prs.  
*bā'dār* "master, owner". Prs.  
*bād'sā* "king". Psht.  
*'bēga*<sup>1</sup>, v. *pabēga*.  
*bēga*<sup>2</sup> (*bē ga*) "other". *'a b' nāk-a al-zāya, cārī bēga ar-šēr* "these are not ripe, give me four others". V. *bē*<sup>2</sup>.  
*bē'gā* "yesterday evening". Prs. — K. *wēgā*, Psht.  
*bay* "bellow". *gōi bu bay zanē* "the cow bellows". Cf. Minj. *beγ* "to bellow" etc.  
*bāy*, K. "garden". Prs.  
*ba'yāl* "armpit". Prs.  
*ba'yair*, K. "except". *ba'yairi-a tar mār bē kōk* "cal nak da-būk" "except us nobody was there". Prs.
- bājā* "wife's sister". Prs. — K. *āsinī*, Psht.; Le. *khāshnā*, Prs.  
*bēk* "ascending". *girl jē bēk sām* "I ascend the hill". Cf. *pabēga*.  
*bē'aql* "stupid". Prs.  
*bākri* (B.), Rav. *bakri* "goat". Ind.  
*bal* (K.) "in good health".  
*bāl* "wing". Prs.  
*bēl* "spade". Prs.  
*'balkim*, K. *balki* "but, moreover". Prs.  
*bā'lūt* "oak". Prs.  
*bāla'xāna* "upper chamber". Prs.  
*'bummā*, K. *būmmā* f., Le. *biemā* "earth, ground". Av. *būmi* f., Prs. *būm*.  
*ban-ōk*, K. *ban-vēk* "to throw, put".  
*giriya ba'nīm* "I tie a knot (*giri mēndāzim*)". < \**ud-band*? More prob. < Av. *dvan* "to fly" (caus. *deanaya*), cf. Minj. *l'vōn*, Yazgh. *ševan* etc. "to swing". V. EVP. s.v. *lecastel*<sup>2</sup>; cf. also. Sāmn. *bā-randan* "to throw", Lori *i-wānum* "I throw".  
*bar*, K. "door". *bar qil (mōk, al-dōk)* "the door is locked (open, closed)". Av. *dear*, Psht. *war* etc.  
*bār*, K. "load". Prs.?  
*bar'bāt* "lost, squandered". Prs.  
*barg*, Le. *balk* "leaf". Prs. — K. *paṭ*.  
*barq* "lightning". Prs.  
*bā'rān*; K., Le. *bārān* "rain". Prs.  
*bras* : *braštak* (K.) "to burn" (intr.). Cf. *braz*.  
*bruš-vēk* (K.) "to glitter". G. compares Psht. *brēšēdāl*. *bruš* possibly < \**uparuxšya* (cf. Charpentier, AO. VII, p. 184); but Psht. *brēš* is difficult on account of the š.  
*brūt* Le. "moustache". Prs.  
*(\*braz)* : *brūštuk*, K. *braz* : *braštak* "to burn, set on fire". *brūštuk* "he burnt"; but also *az rūgi ne brūšto*.



*ṛum* "mā ba ātaṣ sūxtum". G < Skr. *bhraj-* "to roast". Prs. *ḥirīstan* etc. *brūṣ* "sharpness, edge". *brūṣ dari* "it is sharp" = \**bruṣ*?

*barbar* "the cry of a camel". *su'tur barbar kē*. Cf. Lhd. *ḥurkaṇ* "to cry, used especially of goats and camels". *bē'sār* "the day after tomorrow". V. *bē, sār*.

*bī'star* "bedding". Prs.

*bāśā*, K. *bāṣa* "sparrow-hawk". Prs.

*bās* "rope". < \**bastri*. V. Par. *bāṣ*.

*baṣ-*: *b(āṣ)vēk* (K.) "to give, grant". G.

< Av. *barš-*. *bvēk* < \**baxtaka*, cf.

Psht. *wēš* "division" < \**baršya*.

*baīt* "song". Prs.

*boṭ* "boot". Engl.

*bēwa* "widow". Prs.

*bā'i wī* v. *bōṣ*.

*bēx* "root". Prs.

*bu'xār* "itching". Prs.

*bēxar'ēi* "fruitlessness".

*baya* "price". Prs.

*bōy*, K. *bōi* "near". Cf. Skr. *upāya-* "coming near, approach".

*bī'yān*, K. *bī'yān* "the lower part of the back, waist". *a-bī'yān tarūn* "gird the loins". Dissim. from Prs. *miyān*? Cf. Bal. *nyām*.

*bī'yān(d)*, K. *bī'yān* "foal, colt". Waz.

Psht. *bīyōn*, Psht. *bheān* etc.

*bā'zi* "play, dance". *ka'fō ki-m bā'zi ar-ṣuk-ē* "I have cheated him (*kasirā bā'zi dāda yam*)". Prs.

*buz* K. "he-goat". Prs.?

*buz'qālā* "kid". Prs.

*bazar* (K.) "the arm from the elbow to the wrist". Psht. *wazar* (v. EVP. s.v.).

*buzwā* (K.) "spider". < \**wabza* (metathesis older than *w* < *yw*)? Cf. Charpentier AO. VII, p. 187.

*biz-*: *pu'xōk*, K. *biz'ē*: *parvēk* "to cook".

*txan bu bī'zim*, *txan-am pu'xōk-a*;

*cā't* *pu'xōk-a?* *'rezen-am pu'xōk-a*.

*biz-* < \**pācaya* (?), *pux* < \**parwa*,

Av. *pak*, Par. *pēc* etc.

*bōz-vēk* (K.) "to pick, choose". But Log.

*bāiwi* "mēčtna"?

## C

*ca*, *cā*, K. *cā*, Le. *tsa* pron. interrog. and indef. "what?", "anything, something". *a-sa'rai bu 'ca kē?* "what is the man doing?"; *šē ca* "something". G. < Av. *cī-*, cf. Psht. *cō*.

*cāk*, Le. *tsāka* "cold". *txan cāk ṣuk-ē* "the food has become cold". Cf. K. *cāk* "sour, acid"? G. compares Ksh. *tsak* "sour"; but it is difficult to see how a Ksh. word could be adopted into Orm.

*cik*, K. *cēk* "woman's breast, nipple". < \**čukī*? Cf. Kati *čuk*, Prs. *čučū* etc.

*cēla* (K.) in *i-cēla* "on the left". G. compares Bal. *cōt* "curved" < \**čafta*; but *l* < *ft*? A derivation < \**čart*? (cf. Ir. \**čartara* "clever", Air. Wh. s.v. *čaratu-tāra*) is very improb., as the left hand is the bad, unlucky one in Ir. and Ind.

*'cimi*, B. *čim*, K. *cōm* (pl. *camī*), Le. *tsimi* "eye, spring". *'cimi-a nak juṣi* "his eye does not see"; *'cimi di wōk cawa* "water flows from the spring". Originally a pl.? G. < Av. *čašman*.

*cēn* K.; Le. *tsen* "what" (adj.). *a'fō sa'rai ta 'cēn grām ē?* *'az a b' 'nāk paza-nim* "of what village is this man? I do not know him". G. comp. Anc.

Prs. *čiyant* "of what kind" (corr.: "how much").

*cün*(*č*), K. *cön*, Le. *tsün* "some, how much, how many?". *cünd rüš*; *cün bu dar širīm*? "how much shall I give you?" *tar tū ta pē a-klān cün dīyč*? "how many sons has your father?" *marziyē-t cün yē? das marziyē-n*. G. < Av. *čvant*.

*cār*; B.K., Le. *cār* "4". G. < Av. *čaθwārō*. *cār-jistu* "80". K. *haštāi*, Le. *hashtai*. *carang*, Le. *sarrang* "how, in what manner". *carang bu kən*? Psht.?

*ca'rēs* K.; Le. *tsares*, B. *weārz* (?) "14". G. < Av. *čaθrudasa*. Prob. a secondary compound (*θr* < *š*).

*cerauc* "to graze". *gōl bu cere'wim*. Psht.

*caruōk* (K.) "generic term for goats and sheep". G. compares Psht. *cārwai* "quadruped". The word is, however, not derived from Psht. *car* "pasture", but is connected with Prs. *čār-pāi* "quadruped".

*cāštu*, K. *cāštū*, Le. *tsasht* "40". G. < Av. *čaθwacarəsant*.

*caš*, K. *caš-vēk* "to lick". Psht. V. *čaša*. *caw-ōk* K. *caw*; *cwēk* "to go". Aor.

*cawam*, *cūm*; *az bū nēr ki cūm* "I am going home"; *tū māč cū* "do not go". *al-caw* "to go away"; *al-ca'wōk*. < \**čiyaw*; G. compares Av. *šav*, Skr. *cyu*.

*caw*, K. *caw-vēk* "to cause to go". In imper. 2 pl. *al-ca'wē* "bring"?

*cuan-vēk* (K.) "to shake out dust from clothes". G. compares Bal. *čandag*, Phl. *čandnitan* "to stir, shake". If this comparison is correct, Psht. *caṇḍol* "to clean by shaking" (< Sl. *čanjān*) "shaking", Lhd. *čanjkan*

"to shake as a carpet") can only have modified the sense of the Orm. word.

## Č

*č-ōk*, K. *hinc-vēk* "to be able". *ar-zāk bu nak čim* "I cannot come"; *az zut kār-am drunuk*, *ar-zāk nak čukum* "I had much work to do and could not come"; *az ... paidā nak čōk* "I could not find it". G. compares Kshm. *hēkun*, Skr. *śak*; but corresponding to Skr. *ś-*, Kshm. *h-* we should expect Ir. *s-*, not *h-*. *hinc*, *hīc* with secondary nasalization, < Av. *hak* (*hača*, *hačaya*-) "to participate in, take part in".

*čā* "a well". Prs.

*čābuk* "swift". Prs.

*čig* (K.) "high". Not bor. from Dard, cf. Sh. *šigō* "long" (< *drō*), as suggested by G. Derivation from \**usky-aka* (Av. *uskāt*) is phon. possible; but this seems an improbable form. Cf. Marwat Psht. *čigēzi* "rises".

*čē'el* "sieve". Cf. Prs. *čayāl* "a leather vessel having a spout, whence they pour water in making ablutions"?

*ču'yul* "threshing". *ču'yul-a p' kēm*. Afgh. Prs.

*ču'kri* "rhubarb". Prs. *čukri* "sorrel".

*ču'kūš* "hammer". Prs.

*čmak* "winking". *čmak bu zanē* "he is winking". Cf. Hi. *camak* "flash" etc.

*čān*, K. *cān* "year". *tara yāsp umr penc čān a* "this horse is five years old".

*čī'nār* "chenar". Prs.

*čap*, B. *čāp* "left (hand)". Prs. V. *čēla*.

*čā'pāy* "flat hand". Cf. Lhd. *cappā*,



Psht. *capaq* etc., v. Ashk. Voc. s.v. *ča'pāl*.  
*ču'pān* "shepherd". Prs. V. *šicān*.  
*čir* "to be". *čir kam*, Ind., cf. Lhd. *čiray*.  
*čirk* "dirty". Prs.  
*čār'māys* "walnut". Prs.  
*čār'pāi* "bed". Prs.  
*čārtkai* (B.) "knife". Psht. *čārkai* + Prs. *kārd*.  
*čarx(ā)* "spinning wheel". *čarx bu xre* "it turns round". Prs.  
*čēştan*, K. *taştan* "husband, master".  
 Psht., v. EVP. s.v. *caştan*.  
*čaşa* "licking". *čaşa kam*. V. *caş*.  
*čho* (pl. *čhwi*) (K.) "a hollow or cave in a precipice".  
*čho* (pl. *čiat*) f. (K.) "roof". < \**katya*?  
 Cf. Par. *kō*?  
*či'xaş*, K. *cxat* "fat". *tar mās a-gōi*  
*zut čičaş ē, širr-am ywāšl ar-šūk-ē*  
 "my cow is very fat, I have given  
 it good fodder" Rhyming with Psht.  
*yaş, xaraş* (Bellew).  
*čiz* "thing". Prs.

## D

*da, di*, a particle indicating existence.  
*da-ya* "there is, exists", pl. (?) *dī-ya*,  
 pret. *da-bōk*. Cf. Le. *dāhā* "exists",  
 K. *dī, da* "contracted pron. of the  
 1. and 2. prs., indicating the locative  
 case in either number". Possibly  
*da, di* was originally an encl. pron.  
 2 sg., cf. EVP. s.v. *dē*.  
*dī, di* Le., a particle denoting the abl.;  
 K. *dī*, contracted pron. 3 prs. "from  
 him" etc.  
*dō* B., K. *dyō*, Le. *dō*. Av. *deā-*  
*dūa* (B.), K. *dūwā* "daughter". V. *dukā*.

*dī'čī* "shoes". Sg. \**dūk* < \**dutaka*? Cf.  
 Greek *ἐνδομαί* etc.?  
*dūd* "smoke". Prs. — K. *dūy* Ind.  
*dēg'dān* K. "fireplace". Prs.  
*'degli*, K. *dēgrai* "small brass cooking-  
 pot". Psht.?  
*duga'nī* "twins". Prs.  
*dōk*, in *al-dōk* "closed". V. *bar*.  
*'dukā* "daughter, girl". K. *dukā* "girl".  
*dū* < \**duxtā*, cf. Av. *duydar*.  
*dukan'dār* (Phon. *dukān'dār*), K. *dokāndār*  
 "shopkeeper". Prs.  
*dāliz* "vestibule". Prs.  
*daulat* "property, riches". Prs.  
*dām* "net". Prs.?  
*dāmi* "wolf". Scarcely < Prs. *dāmi*  
 "hunter, fowler".  
*dīm* (K.) "second". G. compares Prs.  
*duyum* etc. But cf. *bē*. V. 45.  
*dīm*, K. *dūm-yēk* "to pain, ache". *a-sar-*  
*am bu dīmi* "my head aches"; Le.  
*ba-demi* "aches", *dīmy* "pain". Cf.  
 Psht. *dūmai* "a cold"?  
*dūmb* "tail". Prs.  
*dā'mād* "son-in-law, sister's husband".  
 Prs. — K. *zūm*, Psht.?  
*'dānā* "corn". Prs.  
*dān* (B.) "mouth". Prs.  
*din'yā*, K. *dunyā* "the world". Prs.  
*dang-ōk* "to run". *dangam bu*. Psht.  
*dangəl* "to take a jump".  
*dangaw-* caus. of *dang-*. *az-a bu kara*  
*yāsp dangawim* "I make this horse  
 run".  
*dri*. K. *drō* (pl. *dri*), Le., Rav. *dīri* "hair".  
 G. compares Khaw. *drōh* (*dro*), cf.  
 Ashk. Voc. s.v. *drō* "lock, curl". But  
 cf. also Oss. *ārdū*. < Skr. *drava-*  
 "flowing, dropping"? Cf. Waz. Psht.  
*pal* "fringe of hair falling over the  
 forehead" < \**pata*?

*drau* "reaping". *ganum bu dru* kam.

Prs. V. *dir*.

*dar*, K. *dal*, contracted pron. 2 ps. *dar-yušim bu* = *ku tū ki yušim* "I say to thee". V. 102.

*dar*<sup>1</sup>: *da'rōk* "to stand". *inda da* "stand here"; *dari*<sup>2</sup> "he is standing". Cf. EVP. s.v. *darēdōl*.

*dar*<sup>3</sup>: *drunuk*, K. *dar*: *dranak* "to own, have". Pres. (= aor.) *da'rīm*, 2 sg. *darīn* (Le. *daron*); *az zud dūkā darīm* "I have many daughters"; *inda wōk nak darūn* "you have no water here". G. < Av. *dar*. The *n* of the past stem is not a root-determinative; but *dran* corresponds to Av. *dramna* p.p.med. Av. *darsta* would result in \**dīl*, a form which clashed with the past stem of *dir*.

*dēr* "slow, late". Prs.

*dir*: *dīlak* (K.) "to reap". G. compares Av. (*dar*): *darsta* "to sever, cut off". *dar'bār* "durbār". Prs.

*drāy*, K. *drāy* "long". G. comp. Av. *darāya*, Psht. *lārā* "delay". With metathesis < \**dār*, or cf. Skr. *drāghīṣṭha* "longest" etc.

*du'rust* K. "straight, right". *a-gōn širr durust ē* "the stick is quite straight". Prs.

*driši*, K. *darēši*, Le. *drekhy* "lie(s)". *driši ma yuš* "do not tell lies". < \**druxs* □, Av. *drug* etc.

*daraic-gk*, caus. of *dar*<sup>1</sup>. *sē sāt ku mun-a dara'wōk* "he made me stand for one hour (*mara yak sāt istāda kat*)".

*darica'cā* "smoke-hole". Cf. Yd. *derbu-choh* and Prs. *darica*.

*d'araxt*, Rav. *darakht* "tree". Prs.

*dar'yā*, K. *daryāb* "river, sea". Prs.

*dās* B., K., Le.; Phon. *dās* "10". Av. *dasa*.

*dās* "sickle". Prs.

*dest*, B. *dast*, K. *dist* "hand". *desti nē-m nak a* "it is not in my power". Prs.

*de'stā* "handle (of a knife)". Prs.

*de'stak* "roof-beam". Prs.?

*du'stār* "turban". Prs.

*dōš* (Phon.) "shoulder" (?). Prs.

*dūš*: *dōk*, K. *dūs-vēk* (p. p. f. *dūk*) "to milk". *dūšim-a bū* "I am milking it"; *ku gōy-am dōk-ē* "I have milked the cow". Acc. to G. bor. from Prs. *dōšidan*. — < \**daušya*: *duxta*, cf. Skr. fut. *dhoksyati*, v. EVP. s.v. *lucašōl*.

*dīš*? *ku mun ki dīši wōk, ar-icārē sē kāltye-nē* (?) "give me water, bring it in a piece of cloth (?)".

*duški* (K.), Le. *dūkh* "a little". G. compares Psht. *lōg* (corr. *lōž*, v. EVP. s.v.).

*dušman* "enemy". Psht.

*da'wā* "medicine". Prs.

*du'wā*, K. *du'ā* "blessing, prayer". Prs.

*dī'wāl* K. "wall". Prs.

*dē'wānā* "mad, madman". Prs.

*du'wās*, K.; Le. *du'wās* "12". Av. *dvādasa*, *dēk* v. *juš*.

*dyūr*<sup>a</sup> (K.) "dry twigs, firewood". G. compares Prs. *durūk* "plank", Skr. *dru*. — *dyūr* < \**daru*, cf. EVP. s.v. *largai*.

*daž-vēk* (K.) "to load". G. compares Psht. *lēšōl* etc. V. EVP. s.v. *lēšōl*.

## D

*dāk*, B. *dak* "full, rich". Psht.

*dand*, B. "pool, lake". Psht.

*dangar* "lean". 'a' *gōi* 'bē *gōi* dī 'dangar yē "this cow is leaner than the other cows". Psht.



## F

- fa'qir* K. "mendicant". Prs.  
*fikr* K. "thought". *tar mun fikr di al-*  
*cawōk* "I have forgotten it". Prs.  
*fa'lak* "sky". Prs.  
*fa'rēb* "deceit". Prs.  
*far'māl* "winnowing". *farmāl-a p' kēm.*  
 Afgh. Prs.?

## G

*g<sup>1</sup>*: *gustuk*; K. *gl*: *g(l)astak* "to take away, carry". *al-gim-a bu*; *ca b' al-gōn* "what do you take away?"; imper. 2 sg. *gōn* (K. *glōn*, Le. *glōn*); *a-sarai bu ku āurai al-gī* "the man takes away the ram"; *kafō al-gustakum-a*; *afo trān-at kōk ki al-gustakē* "for whom have you taken away that bread?" Acc. to G. < Av. *grab*, *st* being a verbal determinative. — But *gl* points to \**gyd*, Skr. *gydh* "to strive after, covet", Av. *gərōda* "eager, desirous of". *gust*, *gast* < \**gysta*. The *l* in *glast* may have been introduced from the present stem.

*g<sup>2</sup>*: *wutuk*, K. *z*: *hatak* "to place, put, throw, leave". *pēri kitāb ta mēzi sar gām-a bū* "now I put the book on the table"; *pēri-a b' gām*; *sabā tar xui a-marzā nēri nē gōn*, *xuy-at inda ar-zēi* "to-morrow leave your brother at home and come here yourself"; *kitāb-am ta mēzi sar wutuk-ē* "I have left the book on the table"; *kafō-m bummāi nē wutuk-ē*; *tar mun a-marzā zut nājōr buk*, *az kafō nēri nē wutuk* "my brother was very ill,

I left him at home". — G. < *haraz*, cf. Psht. *prē-šdāl* (v. EVP. s.v. *šdāl*). Regarding Log. *g* v. 65.

*ga* K. "also, even". *tōs ga zut ē, māx ga zut ēn, ku māx bu zanē* "you are many and we, too, are many; do you beat us?" V. *gar*.

*gōi*, K. *giyōy* (pl. *gawī, gwāi*), Rav. *gō'e* "cow". Av. *gav*, etc.

*gōt*, K. *gōy*, Rav. *gōt* (B. *ywag*) "ear". Av. *gaōša*, Par. *gū*, etc.

*gūl* "human excrements". Prs.

*gu'dā*, B. Le., *guda*, K. *gudā* "where".

*'guda bu'kōn?* *'nēr bu'kum* "where were you? I was at home"; *guda di ar-zāk* "from where have you come?" *az bu pōi nāk sam ka guda p' cawē* "I do not know where you are going". *gu* < Av. *kū*; scarcely *gu'da* < Av. *ku-dā*, with *d* treated as in initial position.

B. *gi'dar* "jackal". Psht. < Ind.

*giđi*, K. *gađ* "with, together with". *a-sarai ku mūn giđi ar-zāk* "the man arrived together with me". Ind.

*guj*, *guš*, K. *guj* "only, merely".

*gājar*, Le. *kājar* "carrot". Ind., Waz. Psht. *gājāra*.

*gākā*, B. *gāka*, K. *gāka*, Le. *gāka* "flesh, meat". *gākā ta giši* "gums" (Par. *yūš-i danānika*). < \**gāwakā*, Av. *gav*, cf. Prs. *gōšt*, Psht. *ywaša*.

*gal-ōk* "to weave", K. *gal-vēk* "to twist, spin". *kālī b' galīm* "I weave cloth"; *galūk-am-a* "bāfta-im-iš". G. < Ir. \**garō*, cf. Skr. *grāth*, Psht. *yaṛəl* (but not Prs. *yaltidan*, intr. "to roll").

*galla* "herd of horses, camels". Prs.

*gel* "clay". Prs.

*gul* "flower". Prs.

*gul* "extinguished". *rūp bu gul kam*. Prs.

*galý* (K.) "shoulder". \**gartaka*, cf. Psht. *yāpa* "neck" etc. (EVP. s.v. *yapəl*)? But *-k* is usually preserved.

*g'olak*, K. *gilak* "rat". Charpentier (MO. XVIII, p. 22) compares Bakht. *girza* "rat", Skr. (Lex.) *giri* "mouse" etc. But Orm. *l* < *rd*, *rt*; *gilak* prob. < \**grd(y)aka*, cf. Skr. *grdhra* "greedy" etc. I do not know, whether Bakht. *rz* might represent an ancient *rd*. V. *g*<sup>1</sup>.

*gi'līm* "carpet". Prs.

*gu'lūn* "throat". Borr. from Prs. *gulū*?

*gōn* B., K.; Le. *gōn* "a stick, wood". *a-sarai bu gōn mezawī* "the man breaks the stick".

*gu'nā* K. "sin". Prs.

*guna'gār* "sinner". Prs.

*gun'jīšk* "sparrow". Prs.

*ga'num* B., Le.; K. *gunum* "wheat". *ta ganum a-mār šīr-a* "wheat-flour is good". Av. *gantuma*, Psht. *yanəm*, Par. *ganum* etc.

*guggai*, Le. *gung* "dumb". Prs. + Psht. *gap* K., Rav. "stone". Cf. Par. *gapār* "fireplace"? •

*gar* "also". *aḡ gar ar-zāk* "he, too, arrived". Euphonic *-r*, or archaic form of *ga* (q.v.)?

*gi'ri* Le.; K. *grī* "mountain". G. < Av. *gairi*, cf. Kurd. *gir* etc.

*gurū* (K.) "kid". G. compares Sar. *γέρυ* "kid" < Av. *garuica* "foetus".

*gur'cuk*, B. *guriak* "clay-pot".

*gard* "dust". Prs.

*gur'da* "kidney". Prs.

*gardan*, K. *garḡan* "neck". Prs.

*grām*, Le. *grām* "village". *Kāni'grām* "Kaniguram, in Waziristan". Ind.

*gran-ōk*, K. *gran-vēk* "to chew, masticate". *gra'nīm*; *txan-am gran-ōk-a*

"I chewed the bread". < \**grahna*, cf. Skr. *gras* "to seize with the mouth, eat", Greek γράω?

*goraw*, K. *giraw-vēk* "to scratch". Psht. *garawul*, cf. Prs. *gar* "scab".

*giriya* "knot". Prs.

*girz*, K. *girz-vēk* "to wander about, turn".

Psht. *gərzədəl* (< Arch. Prs. *garbīdan*).

*girzaw*, caus. of *girz*. *az bu ku čərx girzawim*.

*gīš* (B.) "beard" (?)

*gišt*, K. *gas*, Le. *gišhy*, Rav. *gishey* "tooth".

*giši nasam* "I bite off". Original pl., cf. *cimī*. < \**gastra*, cf. EVP. s.v. *yāš*.

*gu'ša* "thus, in this way". *kyē b' tū guša kūn?* "why do you act thus?"

*guša mak kēn!* Cf. *guj*?

*gušna'gī* "hunger". Prs.

*guš* "lame".

*gəz* "yard". Prs.

*gaždum* "scorpion". Prs.

*gažōi* (*gažōi* MASH.) (K.) "plough-bullock". Borr. from an Ir. dialect with *g* < *w*? Cf. Prs. *barzagāw*, *warz-gāw* etc. Or cf. Par. s.v. *kāšagū*. •

## I

*yaud* "deep". Cf. Prs. *yaucī* "a deep well".

*yučī* "a kind of bird", K. *yico* "the Indian badger".

*yaf-vēk* (K.) "to weave". G. compares Skr. *guph*. *yaf* < \**waf*. Cf. Par.

*yaf*, Psht. *ūdāl*, Av. *ubda*, Skr. *vabh*.

*ya'u'au* "barking of a dog". *špuk bu ya'u'au kē* "the dog is barking". K.

*yap*, Psht.

*γōk* "frog". Prs. V. *maryūy*.

*ylī*, Le. *ghāl* "thief". Psht. *yl*.



γ<sup>o</sup>lē "hidden, stolen". γ<sup>o</sup>lē b' kam. Psht. γ<sup>o</sup>lāfti "covering, sheath". Prs. γilāf. γal'lā "grain". Prs.

γ<sup>o</sup>lās "a kind of wool (sardūz)". Cf.

Prs. γulās "thick, coarse"? Prs.

sardōz is a kind of head-stall.

γūn(d) K. "hidden, lost".

γanj(K). "bad". G. compares Bal. gāday "bad". Psht. γandēl "to dislike".

Borr. from a lost Psht. word \*γand(i)?

γūnj "a rag", K. "a garment", B. γūnz "trousers". Prob. borr. from a lost

Psht. word, v. EVP. s.v. āyustēl. Cf.

parγan.

γunāji "heifer".

γēnd "penis". Psht. γēp.

γār, K. γār "cave". Prs.

γōr, K. γōr-γēk "to rain". bā'rān γō'rī.

G. < Av. vār, Par. γār etc.

γark "lost". Cf. Psht. wruk.

γrās, K. γrās, Rav. gharāsa "black".

γrāsi ta cimi "the pupil of the eye".

γur'ag "pestle". Prs. ḡyur "mortar" + sang?

γāra (B). "neck". Psht.

γaraw, K. γaraw-γēk "to open the eyes". cimi γarawēn. Psht.

γus'kak, K. γuac "calf". G. compares.

S. Bal. gicask, Skr. vatsa- etc. Re-

garding K. c. v. 69. Psht. γuckai

"young bullock, calf (?)" borr. from Orm.

γus- : γōk, K. γuac : γuēk "to say, speak".

dar-γusim bu "I shall tell you"; ba-

dēla bu γusim "ba'it mēzānam"; tu

ku mun ki ca b' γōš "tu māra ci

mēgūyi"; ping a'zān bu γušō "the

cock crows"; prān-am ku kī ki γō

būk "I had said to you yesterday".

G. < Av. vac, N. Bal. gwašag. —

γus- and Bal. gwaš- < Av. vacšya.

γōš "snow". Av. cafra-, Par. γarp. etc.

γuš-ōk, K. γuawš-γēk "to fear". γušim;

tū bu γuš "do you fear?" a-sarai

bu γuši; γu šok-am, γu šukum. < Av.

\*vi-šrah- (G. < Anc. Prs. vi + tras,

\* with syncope of s). Cf.

γušaw<sup>1</sup>, K. γuawš-ēw-γēk "to frighten".

γuša'wim.

γušaw-ōk<sup>2</sup>, K. γuawš-aw-γēk "to wash".

dest bu γuša'wim "I wash my hands";

γuša'wēn-a "wash it"; muc-am γuša-

wēk-a "I washed my face". < Av.

\*vi-šrav-, cf. Yazgh. šraw-, Wkh.

pūru-. (G. < Skr. vi-srāvaya- "to

wash away").

γuṣ, K. γuac, Le. ghoṣa "fat". Psht. γaf,

Waz. γuṣ.

γuar (K). "oath". Av. varah "ordeal,

trial".

γuawš-γēk (K). "to appear good, look

nice". G. comp. Skr. vṛj- "to choose,

select" (?).

γuawš-γēk (K) in γuar γw<sup>o</sup> "to take an

oath". Av. varəz- "to perform, ful-

fill, accomplish".

γuāšī, K. γuāšī, Le. ghwash "grass". kara

kī kpk γuāšī šēr "who gives it grass?"

Orig. pl.; with γuāš-, cf. EVP. s.v.

wāšə. (Acc. to G. borr. from Prs.

wāš). — Acc. to Andreas (Deutsche

Lit. Zeit., 1928, 2257) the derivation

of these words from Av. vāstra- is

impossible. — The original form of the

Psht. and Orm. words must, how-

ever, in any case be \*wāstra.

γās "cradle". Prs.

γūs- : γuštuk, K. γuac : γuawštak "to

fall". Usually with al- : pēri 'gap

al-γūzi "the stone falls down now";

al-γūzim bu "I shall fall"; gap al-

γuštuk; barg dummāi ne al-γuštukē

"the leaf has fallen to the ground";  
Le. *arghoshṭakai* "did you fall?" —  
G. < Av. *raz* "to fly"; cf. Wkh. *icazn*  
"to fall" etc. V. EVP. s.v. *icatəl*.

## H

(Cf. s. Vowels.)

*ha'fō*, v. *a'fō*.

*hām*, v. *xāmē*.

*hīn'dū* "Hindu".

*hēncāi* (K.) "tears". G. < Av. *asru-*. Sg.  
\**hōnck*, *hōc-k*. (< \**ōsk* < \**āsruka*).  
V. 67.

*hōnd*, v. *kōr*.

*hīnl-vēk* (K.) "ground, pulverized". \**ryna-*  
G. comp. Psht. *aṇəl* "to grind", Prs.  
*ārd* "flour" etc. V. EVP. s.v. *ōrō*.

*haštāi*, v. *cār-jistu*.

*hīstak*, v. *aw*.

## J

*jak* (K.) "wounded, hurt". V. *zan*.

*jēm, jəm, K. jēm, jīm, B. zēm* "below, down".

*giri di b' jəm sam* "I descend from  
the mountain"; \**jəm nēr* "cellar";  
*ta draxt i-jōmī nē* "under the tree";  
Le. *pa-dzema* "down". < Av. *hača-*  
\**ādama*, cf. Prs. *rēr* < \**hača-ādairi*  
etc.

## J

*jāi*, Le. *jāc* "place". *tar mun a-jāi pēc*  
a "my home is far away". Prs. —  
K. *jāk* possibly genuine < \**wyāka-*.

*jē*, v. *jēr*.

*jōi* "watercourse". Prs.

*jagra* "fight". *Jagra mak kūn*. Psht.

*ja'li* "splendour" (?). Prs.?

*jā'li* "hail". Prs.

*jō'lā* "spider". Prs.

*juāldōz* "sacking-needle". Prs.

*jām* "collected, collection". Prs.

*jām* "cup". Prs.

*jān*, K. *jān* "self, body". Prs.

*ju'nūb* "south". Prs.

*jang* "war". Prs.

*jer* (B.) "clay". *jer ēr-sar* "gel biār".

*jēr*, usually *jē*, K. (*i*)-*zar*, Le. *jar* "on". V.  
92.

*jī'rē* "portion, ration (*rasād*)". Prs.

*jārup* "broom". *ku nēr bu jārup kam*  
"I sweep the house". Prs.

*jar'ya* "hedgehog".

*jōr* K. "sound, well, prepared". *a'fō*  
*sarai jōr a; nēr bu jōr kam* "I build  
a house". Psht.

*jusp* "span". < \**wi-aspi*, cf. Av. *vitasti-*  
etc. V. Rep. 36, EVP. s.v. *icēšt*. Cf.  
Charpentier, JRAS, 1927, pp. 115 ff.  
*jist(u)*, K. *jistū*, B., Le. *jist* "20". Av.  
*visaiti*. V. 99.

*jōš* "boiling". *wōk bu jōš arē* "the  
water is boiling (*au jōš mēxura*)".  
Prs.

*jūš* "to boil". *jūšim*. Prs.

*juš* : *d(y)ēk*, K. *jūn* : *dyēk* "to see". *az*  
*bu ku tū jūšim* = *jušim-at* "I see  
you"; *jušim-a bū* "mēbinim-iš"; *a'fō*  
*sarīyē bu ku mun jūšī* "those men  
see me"; *prān-am* (*az prān*) *ku tū dē*  
*būk* "I saw you yesterday (*dīrōz mā*  
*šumāra dida būdim*)"; *prān-at ku*  
*mun dē būk*. Acc. to G. *dyēk* < Av.  
°*dita*; *jūn* < Av. *zan* "to know".  
Bal. *zānay* "to know, see". — *j* < *z*  
is strange; cf., however, 54 *juš*. (K.  
*jūš* "to look at") may be derived from  
\**ywidars* < Av. *vī-darəs*, cf. s.v. *jusp*.

*ja'wāb* K. "answer". Prs.

*jo'wārī* "jowar". Prs.



## K

- k-*: *dāk*, K. *k'aw*: *kayēk* (p.p.m. *dōk*) "to do, make". Aor. *kam*, *kēm*; imper. 2 sg., *kōn* (Le. *kun*); -am *dāk-a* "kadaim"; -am *dā būk* "kada būdam". G. < Av. *kar-*; *dāta-*. — Loss. of *r* in the present stem, as in Psht. *kawul*. Borr. from Psht.?
- ka* K., Le. relative pron. "who, that". Av. *ka-*. V. 105.
- ka* K. conj. "that, because, if" etc. *kafō* *kī yušim kō ar-zāya* "I tell him to come"; *ka tū prān bu ar-zākōn*, *az bu ku tū kī das ripē dar-šūk* "if you had come yesterday, I should have given you ten rupees". Cf. Prs. *kih* etc.
- ka* K., Le. "when". Av. *kada*.
- kē*, v. *kyē*.
- kī* K., Le. "to, into, for". V. 89.
- kō* "hole". *kō šūk-ē*; *kō ta gōt* "the hole of the ear".
- kō* (B.) "mountain". Prs.
- kū* K., preposition. V. 86.
- kiblarū* "west". Prs.
- kab(ə)r*, *qabr* "tomb". Prs.
- kabər'yā* "ribs". Prs.
- qabri'stān* "graveyard". Prs.
- kīci* "shouting, calling". *kīci zuk* "faryād kat". Cf. K. *kīcyek* "to call, summon".
- ku'čuk* "puppy, cub". Cf. Par. *kučuk* "dog".
- kafan* "winding-sheet, shroud". *kafan-a p' kēm*. Prs.
- kaf* "palm of the hand". Prs.
- kaf'tar* Le., K. *kəftar* "pigeon". Prs.
- kāj*, Le. *kaj* "crooked, bent". Prs.
- kaje'ki* "woman's forehead". Psht. *kajak*.
- ka'jir* "a large, black bird".

- kā'kā* "uncle". Ind.
- kaik* "flea". Prs. V. *šak*.
- kauk*, Le. *kouk* "partridge". Prs.
- kōk*, K. *kuk*, Le. *kok* "who?", "anyone". *tar tū a-pē kōk būk* "who was your father?" *tū tar kūk a-klān yūn* "whose son are you?". < \**kō-kah*, Av. *ka-* with the *-ka-* suffix like Psht. *cōk*.
- kākur'tak* "throat". Cf. Waig. *kake'rik* "throat", Lhd. *khakhāri* "jaw"?
- kal* "bald". Prs.
- kālī* "knife". < \**kartyā*, cf. Prs. *kārd*, Psht. *čāpa* etc.
- kālī* "dress, cloth". *kālī b' galim* "I weave cloth"; *kālī nak darim*. Prs.
- kī'li* "key". Prs.
- qil* "locked".
- kul'ca* "threshing-sledge".
- kulf* "lock". Prs.
- kālī'gak* "knife (*pēškaus*)". V. *kālī*.
- kilī'āk* "the temples; a certain part of the plough".
- kull* "all". Prs.
- klān*, K. *kulān*, Le. *kalān* "son". *ta marzā klān* "brother's son". Connected with Kurd. etc. *kurr* "son"? Cf.
- kla'nāk*, *klānāk* (Ph.), B. *kla'nāk*, K. *kulanāk*, Le. *kalānāk* "boy". *klānāk šūk-ē* "a boy is born". V. *klān*.
- ku'lang* "crane, hoe". Prs.
- kām* "palate". Prs.
- ka'mān* "bow". *ka'mān-a p' kam* "I bend it". Prs.
- ka'mān-i Ru'stām* "rainbow". Prs.
- kamarband* "belt". Prs.
- kai'māx* "cream". Prs. < Turk.
- kin-gh*, K. *kin-*: *kuulak* "to copulate". *ta pē a-nāk-at kinam*; B. *nāk-at kinēm*; *kinūk-am-a*. Cf. Mj. *kūn-*: *kūnōy*, Cau-

cas. Jew. *kün* : *kerde* (but *kurde* "done", cf. Horn. Neup. Et., Nachträge, 847). The euphemistic use of *kar* has possibly been supported by the association with *kün*.

*kōn*, K. *kān*, *gān*, Le. *kān* "when". *kōn*, *ar-zākōn-a*? *prān ar-ākum-a*.

*kūn* "anus, podex". Prs.

*kanča'nī* "harlot". Ind. — K. *kanjar* through Psht.

*kan'dū* "large earthen vessel for holding grain". Prs.

*gānd* "sugar". Prs.

*kund* "blunt". Prs.

*ka'nak* "ankle".

*kān* (B.). v. *kar*.

*kañd-?* *ingās bu kañdī* "[the horse] is neighing".

*kap-čk* "to dig", K. *kap-čēk* "to cut".

*kapīm*, *ku bumma-m kapčk-a*. Ind.

*'kapča mār* "a black and white, very poisonous snake". Prs. *kafča*.

*kap'čī* "woman's curl".

*kar* "deaf", Prs. — B. *kān*, Psht.; K. *kūn* genuine < Av. *karəna-*?

*kar-čk*, K. *kar-yēk* "to sow". *ku bumma p' karīm*; *ku bumma-m karčk-ē*. Psht.

*kār*, K. *kār* "work, action". Prs.

*kōr* "blind". Prs. — B. *rūnd*, Psht.; K. *hōnd* < Av. *anda-*, cf. EVP. s.v. *rūnd*.

*kirm* "worm". Prs.

*ka'rār* "silent". *karār bōn!* Prs.

*kur'tī* "jacket". Prs.

*kirwās* (K.) "a kind of lizard". Cf. Par. *karwaš*.

*kir'zī*; B., Rav. *kirjī* "hen", < \**kṛkyā-*, cf. Prs. *karg*, Par. *kury*, Psht. *čirg* (v. EVP. s.v.). — K. *kirmai*.

*'kəčī*, K. *kačī* "split, torn". *kəčī-a p kam* "mētrākānam-iš".

*kṛāy*, K. *kṛāy* "crow". Waz. Psht. *krāya*.

*'kāsa* "small plate". Prs.

*kis'sī* "word, tale" (pl.?). Prs.

*kasam* "oath". *kasam-a b' ar-širim* "I swear an oath to him". Prs.

*kāš*, pl. *kāši*, Le. *kāsh* "Afghan", K. *kāsi* "the Wazirs". V. p. 312, n. 2.

*kēs* "shirt". Prs.

*'kāšuk* "spoon". Prs.

*'kištī* "boat". Prs.

*ki'tāb* "book". Prs.

*kyē*, *kē*, K. *ki(yē)*, Le. *key* "why?".

*kaiza* "bridle".

*kuzi* "water-bucket". Cf. Par. *kizārē*, Prs. *kūza*.

## L

*lab* "lip". Prs.

*lūc* "naked". Prs.

*la'ar* : *la'atčk* (?) "to roll, wallow". *'pēri la'ar'i*; *gap ta giri sar dī la'atčk-ē* "the stone has rolled down from the top of the hill". Psht. *ryarēdēl*.

*lakošwāi* (K.) "deer". Waz. Psht. *laka-šwāi*, Bangash *lakaxō'ca*.

*lanj* "short". Psht.

*lip*, K. *lip-yēk* "to be suckled". *tar xui māwa nak lipi* "mādar-i xuda na čūyat".

*lār* (B.) "road". Psht.

*'lōrai*, K. *lyirai* "lamb". G. comp. Psht. *wrai* (f).

*lar'zā* "trembling". Prs.

*larzān-uk* "to make tremble". *ku mun larzānuk-ē*.

*lar*, K. *lar-yēk* "to stir, mix". *mār larōn* "moisten the flour (*ārda tar ku*)". Psht.

*laraw*, caus. of *lar*. *larawōn-a* "šōr bidī".



law'fa "scrotum". Originally "penis"?

Cf. Par. *lawar*.

las-vek (K.) "to lick". G. comp. Prs.

lesidan etc. V. *cafa*.

la'tek "a small species of lizard".

layiq "worth". Prs.

lauz "promise". Prs.

lāzim K. "necessary". Prs.

## M

mā'i, K. māhi "fish". Prs.

māi, K. māi "month". G. < Av. māh.

Cf. Par. *mēhi*, Psht. ° *mai*.

'māi, K. māi "ewe". G. < Av. māēti.

mu'cin "handmill". Psht. *mēcan* Cf. AO.

VII, 200.

mu'dyal B.; K. *mu'dyal* "tail of the fat-tailed sheep". G. comp. Prs. *dumba* (with metathesis). Uncertain.

mu'dām "always". Prs.

ma'idān "plain". Prs. — K. *maindān*, Waz. *maindon*.

mak B., K. prohibitive particle. "real mak cū "do not go there". G. < Av.

mā, with the -ka- suffix. Cf. *nak*.

māk (K.), B. *māx* (?) "withered, faded". < *marxtaka-*, cf. Par. *māt*, s.v. *mēr*?

māl K. "property, goods". Prs.

māla, mālaī, K. *mālā*, a word added to numerals and indef. pron. of number. *dō māla sarai* "two men"; *cūn mālaī bē bu kitāb awē?* "how many others are reading the book?" *šē m° b° b° k° a°* "one other person is reading the book". Cf. *mālī*.

'mālī, Le. *mālī* "husband". < Ang. Pers. *martiya*, cf. Psht. *mēr* "husband", Par. *mēr* "man".

mālic, K. *mālic* "apple". *ku tū ki šē mālic dar-širim* "I give thee an apple".

The connexions of this word are difficult, cf. EYP. s.v. *mayā*, Par. Vog. s.v. *amar*.

mālidārī "woman whose husband is alive". V. *mālī*.

'mulk "country, region". Prs.

mullā "mulla". Prs.

māl'lum K. "known". Prs.

mal'tey, K. *miltay*, Le. *maltagh* "gun". Turk.

'malax "locust". Prs. — K. *milxai*, Psht. V. *mēx*.

mā'mā "mother's brother". Prs.

mē'mān, K. *mihmān* "guest". Prs. — K. *mēmni* f. is poss. genuine.

man, K. *mun* "then, at that time".

'menai "autumn". Psht.

mēn, K. *mīn* "still, yet". *mēn pu'xōk nāk šūk-ē* "it has not yet become ripe".

mun, obl. of *az* "I".

munā'jāt "prayer". Prs.

mu'nāsib "necessary". Prs.

mēnz, mēnz, K. *manj*, Le. *menz* "middle". Psht.

'mēnza "stem of a tree". Psht.

mēnzangušt "middle finger".

man'gas "fly". Prs.

mr-: 'mulluk, K. *mr-: mul'tak* "to die".

mrē "he dies"; *a-sarai* 'mulluk (Le. *muluk*) "the man died". G. < Av. *mar*.

mār "snake". Prs. — K. *manğor*, Psht.

mūr "centipede". Prs. *mūr* "ant"?

mur'cā "ant". Prs. But K. *mārcōi* is poss. genuine.

mur'dā, pl. *mur'diyi* "corpse". Prs.

mrig, mrik (K.) "slave". < *maryaka*, cf. Psht. *mrayai*.

mirga, K. *mirga* "sparrow". G. < Av. *mārça*.

*mur'jaci* B. "duck". Prs.  
*mār'xōr* "markhor". Prs.  
*maryōk* (K.), Le. *marwōk* "moon".  
 < \**māh-rauka*, cf. Skr. *roka* "light"?  
 V. *mā'tau*.  
*mar'zā*, B., K., Rav. *marzā* "brother,  
 friend". *tū tar xui marzā kyē nak*  
*ar-wulqk?* "why did you not bring  
 your brother?". G. < Prs. *mirzā*  
 "prince" (?). — < \**ha-mātr-zāta*,  
 cf. Anc. Prs. *hamātar* "born of the  
 same mother", Greek *ὁμομήτριος*. V.  
*winjōk*.  
*mar-* "to knead, grind". *mar'ōn* "*māida*  
*ku*". Skr. *myd-* "to crush". Cf. Par.  
*mar-* "to rub". Cf.  
*mār*, K. *mār* "flour". *az bu asyāi ne*  
*mār kam* "I grind flour at the mill".  
 V. *mar-*. These words must be loan-  
 words on account of the *r*.  
*maryūy* (K.) "frog". < \**mar'ūy*, \**mar'ūy*,  
 bor. from some derivative of Skr.  
*marṇūka*, cf. e. g. Kati *mu'yuk*.  
*ma'skā* "butter". Prs. — K. *pisk*.  
*muš-in'jān* "three days ago". V. *in'jān*.  
*maši* (K.) "fly". G. < Av. *maxši*.  
*mēš* (B.), K. *mēršr* "sun". G. < Av.  
*mīθra*, Mj. *mīra*. Psht. dial. *myēr*  
 (v. EVP. s.v. *niar*) might be due to  
 a contamination of *mīθra* and *hvar-*.  
*mā'sām* "evening". Psht.  
*mušaw-ōk*, K. *muxaw-ōk* "to rub, knead,  
 smear". *mušawim*; *mušawōn-a*  
 "*busā-iš*"; *muši-a bū* "he rubs it".  
 Cf. also K. *mutawcyek* "to rub, anoint".  
 G. compares Prs. *muštan* etc. Cf.  
 EVP. s.v. *mušāl*.  
*mā'tau* B. "moon". Prs. V. *maryōk*.  
*matat* (K.) "apricot". Cf. Par. *mindut*.  
*muffai* "handful, fist". K. *muf* "fist".  
 Psht.

*māwā* B.; K. *māw*, Rav. *māw* "mother".  
 < Av. \**mātar*.  
*mēwā* "grape", K. "fruit". Prs.  
*māx*, K. *māx* "we". *māx zut'in* "*mā*  
*xil-istim*". V. 100.  
*mēx* "nail". Prs.  
*mēx* (K.) "locust". G. < Av. *madaxa*.  
 V. *malax*.  
*mux* K.; Rav. *makh* "face, cheek, edge of  
 a knife". *pa mōx al-yūštuk* "he fell  
 on his face"; *ta nēr a-mux* "the  
 floor of a house". Cf. Psht. *max*,  
 Par. *mux*, Skr. *mukha*.  
*māx-yēk* (K.) "to be twisted".  
*mēz*: *muštuk*, K. *maz*: *maštak* "to break"  
 (intr.). *pēri bu a-giši mēzi* "now the  
 tooth breaks"; *giši muštuk-ē*. Cf. Mj.  
*maz-* "to kill", Psht. *māt* "broken".  
*mī'zi* "urine". < Av. *maēz*.  
*maq'dik*, K. *mizdik* "mosque". Waz.  
 Psht. *mazdak*.  
*mizaw-* "to break" (trans.). *mizawim-a*  
*bu*. V. *mēz*.  
*mōž-*: *mōk* "to loosen, untie". *pēri-a b'*  
*mōžim* "*xalās mēkunam*"; *giriya*  
*mōžim* "I loosen the knot"; *mōk-am*  
*būk*. Cf. Skr. *muc*, caus. *mocaya-*,  
 Mj. *muž-*: *mūyd* "to swing".

## N

*n-*: *nustuk*, K. *n-*: *nastak* "to sit down".  
*az bu nīm*; imper. 2 sg. *tu nēi*, B. *nē*,  
 Rav. *neh*; *nustukm-a*; *a sarai (zarka)*  
*nustuk-a*. G. < Av. *nī-had*. Cf. EVP.  
*nāstol*, Par. Voc. *nāh*.  
*na* K., I. "no". Av. \**na*.  
*nā*, K. *nāh*, Le. *nōh*, B. *naha* "9". Av.  
*nava*, Psht. *nōh*.  
*nai* "reed". Prs.



*nē*, R. (*īnar*, Le. (*īne*), postpos. "in".  
*i-nāri nē zin daya* "there is a saddle  
 in the house (*da xāna zin as*)"; *i-nēri*  
*nē ku xuy-a puṭ dāk*, bar di nak  
*naṣṣṣ* "he hid himself in the house  
 and did not go out"; *mənzi nē* "in  
 the middle"; *jəmi nē* "below". G.  
 comp. *nār-nēr* "house". V. 91.

*neṣak* "navel". Cf. Prs. *nāṣ* etc.

*nīggr*, K. *nōr* "daughter-in-law". Psht.

*nā'jor* K. "unwell, sick". *nā'jor bu'kum*  
 (*šū'kum*). Psht.

*nāk*; B., K., Le. *nak* "not". Av. *na* °.  
 Cf. *mak*.

*nāk*; K., B. *nāk*, Le. *nāk* "wife". \**nāwy-*  
*akā*, cf. Psht. *nāwē* "bride", Waz.  
*nōweyē*, Skr. *navyā-* "newly married  
 woman".

*nīkā* "marriage". Prs.

*nūk* "the point of a knife". Prs.

*nōkra* "silver". Prs.

*nū'har*, K. *naugar* "servant". Prs.

*nikiz-vāk* (K.) "to throw down, propel".

Cf. Psht. *kūz* "down, below"?

*nāl* "horse-shoe". Prs.

*nēla*, K. (*īnēla* "presence", as a post-  
 pos. "at, with". *kitāb nēla-m yē*  
 "the book is with me"; *a-kitāb tar*  
*mun i-nēla būk*; *wōk bu nēla di-wa*  
*cawē* "au az pēz-iš mērawa"; *i-nēla*  
*di-m al-cauṣṣ* "he went away from  
 me"; *i-nēla di-t ar-zāk* "he came from  
 you". < Av. *nazdyō* "nearer".

*nūl* "beak". Prs.

*nālat*, K. pl. *nālatṭi* "swine". Cf. Waz.

*nōlat* "pig, brute" < Ar. *la'nāt*  
 "curse". Cf. also Oss. "*yalāt*"  
 "Gesindel, verflucht".

*nām* B.; K. *nām* "name". *tar tū nām*  
*ca-ya*? Prs. or genuine.

*nim-vāk* (K.) "to descend". G. < Skr.

*nam*. Cf. Av. *nam*, Sak. *pa-nam*  
 "to ascend".

*nī'mēṣ*, Le. *nimek* "salt". Prs. *namak*  
 etc. V. 36.

*nīm-rōz*, K. *nimryūz* "noon". Cf. Prs.

*nīm-rōz*.

*nimišta* "written". *nimišta p' kam* "I  
 write"; *xatt-am nimišta dāk-ē* "I  
 have written a letter". Prs., cf.  
 Ghilzai Psht. *na'mišta*.

*nimišṣ*, K. *nīm-šiw* "midnight". Cf.  
 Prs. *nimšab*.

*nū'māz* "prayer". Phl. *namāc*. Cf.  
 Khw. lw. *nimēz*. — K. *nmāz*, Prs. +  
 Psht.

*nī'nī*, K. *nīnī*, Rav. *neni* "nose". G. < Av.  
 \**nī-vaēnā*? Poss. with assimilation  
 < Prs. *bnī*.

*nā'rai* "narrow", K. "mountain pass",  
 Le. *narai* "thin". Psht.

*nēr* B.; K. *nar*, Le. *ner* "house". *nēri*  
*nē* "inside"; *wā nēri nēri nē* "da  
*xāna darūn*". Av. *antara*, \**antarya*.  
 Cf. Pash. S. *andārū* "house", Prs.

*nūr* "light". Prs.

*nar'gōl*, Le. *nargoṭ* "bull".

*narm* K., Le. "soft". Prs. — K. *nōrṣ*  
 < Av. *namra*.

*neri'nā*, K. *nōr* "male". Av. *nar*.

*nōrī* K. "piece of bread". Psht.

*nās* K., Rav. "belly". *nas ta pāi* "calf  
 of the leg" (cf. Par. *iškambek-i pāl*,  
 Ashk. *ku'cuṣ*). Psht.

*nas*: *nōk*, K. *nīs*: *nōk*, Rav. *nass* "to seize,  
 catch". *kaṣṣ b' nasam* "ūra mēgi-  
 ram": *nāk-a b' nasam*; *kaṣṣ b' nōk-*  
*am* "ūra giriftam"; *nāk-am nōk*. G.  
 comp. Psht. *nīwul*, *nīs* (and Skr. *labh*).  
 Cf. also Ishk. *nas*: *nad*, Yaghn. *nās*:  
*nāt*. Darmesteter's derivation of the  
 Psht. word from Av. *nas* "to ob-

tain" does not account for the past. Apparently an inchoative, Ir. \**nasa-*: \**nata-*.

*nāsai* "son-in-law". Psht. *nicasai* "grandson"? But, cf. *nica'sāi*.

*nēs*, K. *unēs*, Le. *nes* "19". *unēs* acc. to G. bor. from Hi. *ūnis*. — But Lhd. *unnī*, *unēs* < \**nūēs*, prob. through the infl. of Ind. forms. V. 37, 99.

*nīs*: *na'γōk* K. "to go out". *az bu nēr di nīsīm*. Cf. Par. *nī*: *na'γō*, Minj. *niy*. *nīs* appears to be an inchoative form: \**nī(s)-is* (Skr. \**nīr-icē*). Cf. *awas*, *wēs*.

*nucastak* (K.) "to lie down, go to sleep".

\**nī-pad*, cf. EVP. sv. *camlāstēl*, Minj. *nile* (< *nīl*): *nucāst*.

*naw*, K. *naw-vēk* "to cause to sit down". *az bu ku tū nawīm*; *ku tū-m nawōk-a* "tura sādam". V. n.

*nīwē*, K. *nāwē*, Le. *nuwē* "90". Av. *na-vaiti*.

*nīw*: *nyōk* (K.) "to put, place". C. < Av. *nī-dā*, cf. Prs. *nīhādan*.

*nūw*, K. *nyūw* "new". < Av. *nava-*.

*naw*: *nawu'ōk*, B. *nawar*: *nawulak* "to take out, draw out". *māx cā di wōk nawulōk* "we drew water from the well". G. < Av. *nīš-bar* (or *nī-bar*?).

*nica'sāi*, K. *nicasai* "grandson". Psht. *nāwaxt* "late". *waxt bu nāwaxt sē* "it is getting late". Prs.

*niyāk* (K.) "maternal uncle". Cf. Psht. *niyāyo*, Phl. *nyāk* "grandfather".

## P

*pa* K. "by, at". G. < Av. *paiti*.  
*pē* (*pyē*) B.; K. *piē* "father". *tar mun*

*apē mullōk-ē* "my father is dead".  
 G. < Av. *pitar-*, cf. Zaza. *pi* etc.  
*pāi* "foot". Prob. Prs. — K. *pāri*, with Ind. suff. (G.), B. *pās* (?).

*pōi* "understanding". *pōi bu sām* "I understand"; *az bu pōi nāk sam* "na mēfāmam". Psht.

*pa'bēga*, K. *pa-bēgā*, Le. *ṣabega* "high, above". K. *bēg* "the place above or outside". *bēg* < Av. *barōzyah* "higher". Cf. *bēk*.

*pēc* K.; Le. *pētā* "far, distant". Acc. to G. =

*pēc* K. "the back; back, again, afterwards". *pēc ar-zāk* "pas āmad". G. comp. Hi. *pichē* "behind", etc. The ē, however, renders this derivation improbable. < \**pastyah* Av. *pasca*; cf. Par. *pēs* "behind", Minj. *ač-pōē*, Ishk. *č-pōēt* "behind".

*pīc-vēk* (K.) "to drip". Cf. Lhd. *pīc* "moistened, irrigated"? G. comp. Bal. *phīṣay*.

*pōē*, K. *pac* "a kiss". G. comp. Psht. *maca* etc.

*pāda* "herd of cows". Prs.

*pai'dā* "found". Prs.

*padak*, postpos. govern. the gen. "like".  
*a tar mun ta marzā padak yē* "he resembles my brother". *pa + ?*

*pāi'yumbar* "prophet". Prs.

*pāk* "milk". Cf. *pi'kāk*.

*'pāki* "razor". Prs.

*pi'kāk*, B. *pi'kak*, Rav. *pikakh* "butter-milk", K. *pīkak* "(butter-)milk, tyre".  
*pi* < Av. *payah*, cf. Par. *pē*, and doghile -ka- suffix. *pāk* "milk" < *payah* + *āka*.

*pāki'sā*, K. *pāk* "clean, pure". Prs.

*pa'lau*, *palū*, K. *palau* "side, direction".  
*aṣṣ palū dī* "from that direction". Prs.



*pul* (B.) "bridge". Prs.  
*pō'lād* "steel". Prs.  
*pal'kāk* "eyelid". Afgh. Prs.; Prs. *palk*.  
*pa'laug* "leopard". Prs. — K. *prōng* Psht.  
*palašt*, K. *plašt-vēk* "to wring, fold".  
*palaštīm*. Cf. Psht. *palašl* "to twist,  
 wind, envelope"? With this verb  
 G., however, comp. K. *plašvēk* "to  
 be upset". < \**pari-dašta*?  
*pal'ta* "lamp". Prs. *falīta* "toreh, wick"?  
*pōm* "wool". Cf. Prs. *pašm*, Minj. *pām*  
 etc.  
*pan* (K.) "wide, extended". Genuine,  
 < Av. *paθana*? Cf. Prs. *pahn*, Psht.  
*plan* etc.  
*pīn* (K.) "honey". G. comp. Phl. *ang-*  
*pēn*. — Cf. Av. *paēnaēna* "consisting  
 of honey", v. EVP. s.v. *gabina*.  
*pōn*, K. *pōn* "upper terrace or roof of  
 a house". G. comp. Phl. *bān* "roof",  
 Prs. *bān* "house". *pōn* < \**pa(tū)-b*?  
*pēnc* B.; K. *pēnj*, Le. *penz* "5". Av. *panča*.  
*pan'jēs* K.; Le. *panzes* "15". Av. *panča-*  
*dasa*.  
*pan'jāstu*, Le. *panzast*, K. *panjāštū* (with  
 § from *cāštū* "40") "50". Av. *pan-*  
*cāsatom*.  
*pa'nir* "cheese". Prs.  
*pa'nēšta*, K. *pa-nlšta*, Le. *paneght* "out,  
 outside". *pa'nēšta* p' cum. *nēšt*,  
 cf. Av. *ništara* "external", Skr.  
*niṣṭya*.  
*pāṇi* "bark of a tree (?)". Or "leaf"?  
 cf. Psht. *pāṇa*?  
*pīng* (K.) "cock". G. comp. *pinga* (K.)  
 "the time just before dawn" (cf. Prs.  
*pang* "dawn", Khw. *piṇpachūi*  
 "morning").  
*pari* "fairy". — K. *pērai*, Psht.  
*pēri* K.; Le. *perī* "now". G. < \**pā vēri*  
 "at this time". Cf. Par. *yāri* "now"?

*pri(b)*, K. *pra-yēk* (aor. 2 sg. *priw*) "to  
 beat". *kāṣṣa sarai pribīm* "i ādama  
*mētanam*"; *tū ku mun kyē pri?* "why  
 do you beat me?". G. < Av. *pairi-*  
*dā*, cf. Khw. *pra* "to beat" etc. (?).  
*par'car* "to cut". *kālī bu parčārim*  
 "I cut the cloth". Cf. EVP. s.v.  
*shaštāl* (add: Prs. *niškurda* "a shoe-  
 maker's knife"). Very uncertain.  
*par'yan-ōk*, K. *par'ün-vēk* "to dress one-  
 self". *kālī par'ya'nīm, par'ya'nōk-am*;  
*kālīyē par'ya'nōn!* Also causative:  
*ku wōrkai bu kālī par'yanīm* "ba-  
*čarā mēpōšānim*". G. comp. Skr.  
*pari-gudh*, Psht. *āyustāl* (v. EVP. s.v.).  
 Cf. *yūnj*.  
*pārak*, K. *pāra* "for, for the sake of".  
*tar kōk pārak al-gustakē* "for whose  
 sake has he brought it (*barā-i kī*)".  
 G. comp. Psht. *da-pāra*.  
*prān*, K. *prān* "yesterday". \**parāna*,  
 cf. EVP. s.v. *parūn*. — B. *pār*, Prs.;  
 Le. *parin*, Psht.  
*parr* "feather". Prs.  
*parr-ōk* "to fly". *kirzi pēri bu parrē*  
 "the hen is flying now"; *kirzi parrūk*  
 (*parōšt?*) "mury parrid". Prs.  
*pra'sul* "last year", K. *parsal* "next (?)  
 year". Cf. Par. *parāsūr*, EVP. s.v.  
*parōs*. V. *asul*.  
*prusnaw-vēk* (K.) "to sprinkle". G. < Av.  
*pairi-haēk* (*hinča*) (?). Prs. *pāšidan*  
 < \**parš*; the derivation of *prusn-*  
 < \**prēna* (\**pers-*), or \**pryna* (\**perk-*)  
 is tempting, but phonetically diffi-  
 cult. V. 66, 71.  
*par'tūk* Le. "wide trousers". Psht.  
*par'xāna* "nostrils".  
*prāy*: *prāk*, K. *prā*: *prawak* "to sell".  
*prāyim-a bu* "I sell it"; 2., 3 sg.  
*prāyi*; *ku tū jē prān šē aurai-em*

*prák-a* "I sold you a sheep yesterday". G. comp. Prs. *frōxtan* < Av. \**pairi-vazš* (but regarding Psht. *prōcul* v. EVP. s.v. *prōlōl*). *prawaak* < \**para-waxtaka* (cf. Par. *pharāt*); *prāy*, *prā* is prob. is secondary formation from the past stem, as \**para-waxš* would have resulted in something like \**prāš*. Or. *prāy* < \**para-da*?  
*pis*: *pištak* (K.) "to write". < Av. *paēs* "to adorn, colour", Anc. Prs. *niy-pais* "to write" etc.  
*pōst* "skin". Prs.  
*pō'stīn* "posteen, sheep-skin coat". Prs.  
*paša* "mosquito". Prs.  
*pi'sī*, K. *pus* "cat". Cf. Prs. *pišak* etc.  
*piškal* "dung of sheep, etc.". Prs. *piškil*.  
*pāšna* "heel". Prs.  
*pišt* "back, back of a knife". Prs.  
*pištān(n)a*, K. *puštāna* "question". Psht. *pat* (K.) "upper part of the back".  
 Genuine, G. < Av. *paršti*.  
*poť*, K. *poť* "forehead". a *poť-at trūš mak kōn* "do not knit your brows".  
*puť*, K. *buť* "concealed". Psht.  
*pať'lūn* "trousers". Ind. < Engl.  
*pūncā* f. (K.) "hollow piece of ground".  
*pu'xōk*, Le. *pukuk* "ripe". V. *biž*. — K. *pōx*, Psht.  
*'paxtak* "ring-dove". Prs. (through Psht.?).  
*pyē*, v. *pē*.  
*pay-ēk* (K.) "to graze". G. < Av. *pā*, cf. Psht. *pōwul*.  
*pi-yēk* (K.) "to string beads". G. comp. Psht. *pēcdōl*. Genuine?  
*pi'yāla* "cup". Prs.  
*pi'āz* "onion". Prs.  
*pōz*, K. *pyūs* "mouth". Acc. to G. borr. from Prs. *pōz* "snout". Poss. genuine, cf. Psht. *pōza*.

*pa'zak* "nose". Cf. *pōz*, and Psht. *paza*.  
*pa'zan*, *pažen*. K. *pazan-vēk* "to know, recognize". *az bu ku tū nak pazantm, ka tū tar kōk a-klān yōn* "I do not know whose son you are". G. < Av. *paitizan*, cf. Psht. *pēžandōl*, Wkh. *pazdan* (< \**pazn*).  
*pāšdaw* "to sprinkle". Cf. Prs. *pāšdan*, v. *prusnaw*.

## R

*rāt*, K. *rāi f.*, Le. *rāh* "road". *Lōgar tu-manak šē rōž rāy-a; rāi kam* "I send away". < Av. *raiθyā*, cf. Prs. *rāh*, Psht. *lār* (*lyār*).  
*rī* = ar, q. v. *širwā rī-war* B. "bring the soup".  
*rō* (K.) "iron". Cf. Par. *rū*. V. *āin*.  
*rō'bā* "fox". Prs. — K. *raucās* genuinae, < \**raupasa*.  
*rōda* "entrails". Prs.  
*rēg* "sand". Prs.  
*rō'kāb* "stirrup". Prs.  
*'ramma*, K. *ramā* "flock of sheep or goats". Prs.  
*rān* "thigh". Prs., or genuine < Av. *rāna*.  
*rīn*: *riyēk* (K.) "to shave". G. comp. Psht. *ariyōl*. But *ar* > *r* would be irregular.  
*rūn* B., K.; Rav. *ruy* "clarified butter". G. < Av. *raoyna*.  
*rūy*, Rav. *arōy* "fire", K. *rūy* "bright, shining" (*ra'wan* "fire"). < Av. *rao-xōy*, or borr. from Psht. *rūy* "bright".  
*rang* K. "colour". Prs.  
*rī'pē*, *rī'pē*, Le. *rupe* "rupee". Ind.  
*ras-ōk*, K. *ras-vēk* "to spin". *ra'sim*;



*ra'son-a* "biris-iš"; *rasok-am-a*; *rasok-am buk* "rišta būdam-iš". G. comp.

Prs. *rēsīdan*, Psht. (*w*)*rēšol*, V. EVP. *rāst* "straight, true". Prs.

*rāšra*, *rāš'ai* (K.) "brother's daughter, son". G. comp. Psht. *wrārō* < Av. *brātūirya-*. Cf. EVP. s.v. *wrārō*.

*rū'žana* "bright, light". Prs.

*rāxa*, K. *rāxā* "truth". *a-rāxa ya* "it is the truth". G. comp. Psht. *rištiyā*, Av. *arš-*; but this seems phonetically improbable.

*ray-ek* (K.) "to tear". G. < Av. *dar-* (ʔ).

*'rezan*, K. *rijan*, Le. *rizza*, R. *w'rizza* "rice". From an unnasalized form, cf. EVP. s.v. *wrišš*.

*rōž*, K. *ryūz*, Le. *rošh* "day". G. < Av. *raoçah-*.

## S

*s-*: *šuk*, K. *s-yōk* "to become". Aor. *sām*; *mak šon* (son?) "ne bāšī"; *jəm bu sē* "he will come down"; *mak šē*; Le. 3 sg. *sa*; *šukum* "šuda-im"; Le. *shuk*. Acc. to G. borrr. from Prs. *šūdan*, the trueOrm. derivative of Av. *šav-* being *čvək*. — But in Psht., too, we find *š* < \**čy*, *c* < \**čiy*.

*sō*, *sō*, K. *sū* "100". Av. *sata-*. — Le. *sad*, Prs.

*sa'bā* K. "tomorrow". *sabā p' cum*; *sabā kafe trān bu xram*, Prs.

*su'buk* Le. "light, easy". Prs. V. *špuk*. *saw'dāgar* (*sawda'gār*?) K. "merchant". Prs.

*saudaga'rī* "trading". Prs. *e*<sub>q</sub>. *sūg* "thorn, beard of corn". Prs. *sōk*, or genuine < Av. *sūka-*.

*su'jī* "hip". Cf. Shgh. *'sēufe*, Par. *sebjī*. Prs. *suft*, Av. *supti-* "shoulder" + *č*?

*sikak* (K.) "hare". G. comp. Psht. *sōē* etc. (with double *-ka-* suffix). V. 38.

*škan* "dung of cows". Cf. Par. *sa'čōn*. *sukal* (K.) "porcupine". G. < Av. *suku-rēna*; cf. Par. *šuyur*.

*škor* (B.) "coal". Prs.

*°sul* "year". V. *a'sul*, *pra'sul*.

*šālō* (K.) "coldness". G. < Av. *sarōta-*. *sa'lāmat* "safe". Prs.

*su'l'tān* "sultan". Prs.

*šumb* "hoof". *šumb ta pāi* "heel". Prs.

*sanda'li* "chair". Prs.

*san'dux* "box". Prs.

*su'pā*, Le. *sipāi* "soldier". Prs.

*spōi*, K. *spōi* "louse". < Av. *spīs*, v. EVP. s.v. *spāta* (= *spōža*), cf. also Minj. *špōya* (Zarubin).

*spūcau-vēk* (K.) "to fall (as leaves), to sit down".

*špēk* B.; K. *ispēk*, Rav. *špēg* "barley". Cf. Phl. *špēk* "shoot". Cf. Lat. *spica* etc.

*špuk*, K. *špak* "light, not heavy". Genuine, cf. Psht. *špuk*? V. *su'buk*.

*špuk*, K. *špuk* "dog". G. < Av. *span-*, cf. Psht. *špai*. V. Par. *špō*.

*su'pāl* B. "egg". Afgh. Prs. *sufāl*, *supāl* "the white of an egg".

*špilaw-*, K. *wšpal-vēk* "to wring, squeeze out". *špilawim*. G. < Skr. *ut-sphal-*.

Orm. *l* is prob. derived from *rd*, Skr. *spṛdh-*, cf. Walde-Pokorny s.v. *sp(h)e-red(h)*; but the semasiological development is not clear.

*sparau-vēk* (K.) "to wink, blink". Cf. Skr. *sphur-* "to tremble, quiver, twinkle", Av. *spar-* "to stamp one's foot, push".

*špār* "large plough". Prs.

*špēw*, K. *špīw*, Le. *ispēw* "white". G. < Av. *spāta-*. — B. *špīn*, Psht. Cf.

*špēci ta cimi* "the white of the eye".

*srāi*, K. *srāi* "caravanserai, castle". Prs.  
*sar* K., Rav. "head", "on". *ta qabri sar*  
 "on the top of the grave". Acc. to  
 G. < Av. *sarak*, or bor. from  
 Prs.

*sār*, K. *saḥar* "dawn, morning". Prs.  
*sēr* "onion". Prs.

*sārā'li* "strap for binding the bull to  
 the plough". Prob. containing *sar*  
 "head", cf. Psht. *sar-māl* "a rope  
 for fastening a load on a camel".

*sāri'spār* "plough-iron".

*sa'rai* K.; Rav. *saḍaiki* "man". Psht.  
*srūp*, K. *srūm* "immersed". < \**sar-dūb*?  
 Cf. Psht. *ḍūb* "immersed".

*sūṣa* (K.) "mountain ewe". Cf. Waz.  
 Psht. *saḥa* "female oorial" (\**suxsā*?).  
*sāt*, K. *sa'at* "time, hour". *pēri šē sāt*  
*b' jum sē* "he will come down in  
 an hour". Prs.

*sto'yan* "bone". Prs.

*su'tun* "pillar". Prs.

*sē'tāra* "star". Prs. — K. *stirrak* (*starak*?).  
 G. < Av. *star*.

\**stur*, K. *stōr*, Le. *sturra* "big, great". *ta*  
*bādsā a-srāl stur* ē. Acc. to G. bor.  
 from Psht. *stōr*. — Poss. genuine; cf.  
 also Minj. *stōr*.

*stur'ga* "stable". With *stur* cf. Prs.  
*sutōr* "horse"?

*stōr*, \**stur*, B. \**stōr*, K. *stir*, Le. *stuḍ*  
 "tired, weary". az \**stur yum*; a-  
*sariyē* \**stur in*; B. \**stōr mak šon*  
 "mānda na bāsi"; 3 sg. *stōr mak šē*.  
 Acc. to G. bor. from Psht. *stōrai*.

*sūwār*, K. *swār* "riding, horseman". Prs.  
*syūy* (pl. *saḥi*) (K.) "grape".

*syūy* (pl. *saḥadi*) (K.) "mother-in-law".  
 The pl. seems to point to a form in  
 -*yd*; s may represent Log š. (\**stōr*?).  
*'syākd*, K. *syāk* "shade, shadow". *pēri*

*syāka kī nustuk* "now he sat down  
 in the shade". G. comp. Pes. *sāya*  
 etc. — With short vowel cf. Av. a-  
*sayā*, Soghd. *sy''k'*, v. EWP. s.v.  
*siyā*.

*syōk* (K.) "to break (of a rope)". Cf.  
 Psht. *šlōdōl* < \**sid*, Av. *saēd*.

*say* "to rub, polish". K. *say-ēk* "to  
 abrade, smoothe". a-rūn *sayōn* "rub  
 it with ghee". G. comp. Psht. *sūla-  
 wul* "to ground, grate"; but the vowel  
 renders this comparison improbable.

## Š

*šē* B.; K. *šō*, L. *šē* "1". Cf. Sak. *šsau*  
 < Indo-Eur. prot. stem \**kjo*, O. Slav.  
*ši* etc.? Cf. *šām*, *šān*.

*šāi* "thing". Prs.

*šāid* "witness". Prs.

*šaftā'lu* "peach". Prs.

*ša'yal* "jackal". Prs.

*škamba* "stomach". Prs.

*škār* "hunting". Prs.

*šāl* "shawl". Prs.

*šōl*, K. *šol* "rice in the husk". Psht.  
*šōlē*.

*šu'luk* "leech". Prs. *šalūk*, Jew. Prs.  
*šulūk*.

*šilaw* "to light, kindle". rūn bu *šila-  
 wīm*; imper. *šilawōn*.

*šām* "before, in front of". *šām bu*  
*šustōkum*, *pēri bu nak šūm* "I wept  
 before; but now I am not weeping";  
*šām o pēc dāk* "pēs o pas kat". Cf.  
*šān*.

*šām* "to sip" (f). *šōk bu nak trim*,  
*šāmām* "I do not drink water, I sip  
 it". < Av. *šam*, cf. Prs. *āšāmīdan*.  
*šamā'li* "north". Prs.



sa'māw "kernel of rice etc.". K. samāw  
"a kind of gram". Cf. Prs. sāmāw  
"a kind of millet".

šan, K. šān "today". az šan kār darim,  
nak bu dar-zūm "today I have some  
work to do, I cannot come to you";  
šan-šp mātau nḡk šū būk "last night  
the moon was eclipsed". < \*sya-  
(< \*kjo, cf. šē) + \*azn, Av. asn-  
(\*azan) "day". Cf. Ishk. pār-uzd  
"tomorrow", āl-uzd "yesterday"  
with uzd- < \*azn (cf. Ishk. wuldən  
s.v. arzan). Poss. also šām (q. v.)  
contains this pron. stem (< \*syahmī?).  
K. c < s, v. 69.

šāna "shoulder". Prs.

šī'nī "needle". < \*šūcni, cf. Minj. šizna,  
etc.

šun "blood". Ind., cf. Skr. śoṇa- "red",  
śoṇā- "blood".

šāndas, K. sandas, Le. shandas "11".  
Cf. Av. aēvandasa- (ord.), v. šē.

šīpi, B. šip, K. šipi, šippi "milk"; Le.  
ghip "curds". Acc. to Charpentier  
(MO. XVIII, p. 34) < šir + pi, cf. tüpi.  
— If the -i is not a pl. ending, as  
the forms in B. and Le. seem to sug-  
gest, this explanation is possible. I  
should, however, prefer a derivation  
from Av. xšvīpta- + pi, in which case  
we would not have to assume an  
assimilation of the r.

šāpa'rak "butterfly". Prs.

šāupa'rak, K. šarwarak "bat". Prs.

šīr(r), K. sir, Le. sher "good". šīrr ōn  
"xūb astin"; B. wōr šer-a "jōr asti";  
Le. sher "yes". G. comp. Bal. šary (?).  
— Cf. Sak. šīra-, Soghd. šīr < Av.  
sīra-.

šīr-: šūk, K. šraw- (2 sg. šērī): šriyok "to  
give". dar-šīrim bu "tura mētom";

az bu kaṣṣ ki šē kitāb ar-šīrim "I  
give him a book"; tū ku mun ki ca  
b' ar-šēr? ku tōs ki dās mltc dar  
šīrim "what do you give me? I give  
you ten apples"; dar-šūm "I give to  
you". tu ca wōk ku mūn ki ar-šēr!  
"give me some water!" aṣṣ bu ku  
mun ki šē txan ar-šīrī "he gives me  
a loaf of bread"; Le. 3 sg. šera; kara  
ki kōk ywāši šēr (3 sg.?) "does any-  
body give it grass?" nak ar-šūk-ē  
"he has not given", ar-šūk "gave",  
Le. šok. G. < Skr. prāpaya-. A  
derivation from Av. fra-dā- (šriyok <  
\*fradātaka-) is, however, preferable.  
w in K. 3 sg. šrawī not from p (G.), but  
from d (cf. spēw). As stated by G.  
K. 2 sg. šērī is prob. a compound  
(with rī?) replacing the overshoot  
šra. I Log. the r has been introduced  
into the other persons, too; but cf.  
1 sg. dar-šūm = dar-šīrim. I am not  
able to explain Log. š < K. šr, unless  
it be that the r has dissimilated the  
š into š.

sar'munda "ashamed", Prs.

šrišta "glue". Prs.

šīr'wā, K. širwā "soup". širwā rī-war!  
Waz. \*šēr'wā, Psht. šōrwā.

šēr'zma'raī "tiger". Prs. + Psht.

šūš, B.; K. šūš, Le., Rav. sugha (: \*sūš-)  
"red". G. < Av. suzra-. — The  
assimilation in Log. has taken place  
after the time of Le.

šūš "lung". Prs.

šūš'mār "a kind of lizard". Kab. Prs.  
šūš'mār "a large kind of lizard".  
Ind. — K. samsīrī.

šū'ta "jowar".

šai'tān "devil, wicked man". Prs.

šū'tur "camel". Prs.

śutur'mār "a slightly poisonous snake".  
 śāx, Le. śākh "branch, horn". Prs.  
 śāzā'da "prince". Prs.

# Ś

śō (Ph. śōw, K. śōw l, Le. gha (\*śa) "night".  
 G. < Av. xšap.

śō (Ph. śāṣ, B. śō, K. śrē, Le. ghe "3".  
 Av. θrāyō.

śū, śō (Ph. śōṣ); K. śah, L. ksha "6". śō  
 śō inda bukuṃ. < Av. xšvasā.

śū : śustuk, K. śraw : śustak "to weep".  
 Aor. 1 sg. śūm; tu p' kē śū "why  
 do you weep"; 3 sg. śawa bu; māx  
 bu ayāra śawin "all of us are weep-  
 ing"; śustakum "I wept"; pa śustuk  
 śūk "he started weeping". G. comp.  
 Prs. giristan. The vowels point to  
 \*fra-raud : fra-rusta, cf. Av. raod-  
 "to lament", Skr. rud- "to weep".

śicaw-ōk, K. śicawe : śricvāk "to send".  
 śicawim-a bu "rā-iś mēkunam". G.  
 śri < Av. upairi (ṣ) + Av. śav. —  
 But cf. Prs. firistādan) etc.

śū'lēs, K. śucēs, Le. shales "18". Av.  
 xšvasdasa- (ord.). The Log. form  
 shows that the r of Psht. śpāras (v.  
 EVP. s.v. śpaṣ) can scarcely be due  
 the infl. of ciwāras (Orm. carēs).  
 \*śd > l, v. 55. (But Oss. āxšvārdās?).

śōm (śām?), K. śām "pointing out". dar  
 śōm kam; kaṣṣ b' al śōm kam; kara  
 kilāb ku tū kī śōm kam "I show you  
 this book". G. comp. Prs. nīān  
 "sign", Bal. śōn-dēay "to point out",  
 Psht. śōwul (v. EVP. s.v.). — Con-  
 nected with Psht. śōwuna "pointing  
 out, showing", with m < w + n?

śūm "inflamed". Derivation < Av. xšuma-

"gruesome, bloody" (xri- "raw, bloody  
 flesh") is uncertain.

śmuṣ-vek (K.) "to slip, glide". G. comp.  
 Sar. znūsam "I slip" etc. (Ś).

śen (śun-) : śun-ōk, K. śrin : śriyēk "to  
 buy". śe'nīm : prān ku mun dī śe  
 aurai śunūk-a "yesterday you bought  
 a sheep from me". Ś. < Skr. kṛt-,  
 kṛiyāti, cf. Prs. xaridan.

śin "green". Genuine, < Av. axšaena-?  
 — B., K., Le. šin, Psht. (v. EVP. s.v.).  
 Cf. K. šinwō "spinach, potherbs".

śar-vek (K.) "to turn, revolve". Cf. Av.  
 γzar- "to flow", Prs. šāridan?

śār, Le. kshār "town". Psht. — K. šōr  
 (but Waz. šār).

śūr "wet, fresh".

śri-būk (K.) "rotten, stinking". Av. a-  
 fribyant- "not putrefying, rotting".  
 fraṣṣ- "to rot". Cf. EVP. s.v. wrōst.

śrak f. (pl. śrāṣ) (K.) "flea". G. comp.  
 Psht. "wraga" etc. — Psht. wrāṣa,  
 Yazgh. frēš etc., v. Par. ruč. śrak  
 < \*fruṣ-kā.

śri-mōl (K.) "field-embankment".

śramō (K.) "forgetting". G. comp. Prs.  
 farāmōš, Skr. pra-mṛṣṭa. V. Par.  
 'nhāmuy.

śēs, K. śrēs, Le. shes "13". Av. θridasa.

śus-uk, K. śras-vek "to swell". pērl śusi:  
 'śusuk-ē. G. comp. Psht. pārsēdēl,  
 Bal. siyay, Skr. pra-(ut-)sphāy, śvi-(ṣ)ṣ).

śāsta, K. śāista "beautiful". Psht.

śistu, K. śristā, Le. shist "30". G. <  
 Av. θrisata.

śūṣtu, K. śuāṣti, Le. khoshty "60". G.  
 < Av. xšwaṣti.

śwān (K.) "shepherd". G. < Av. fāu-  
 pāna-. — Genuine, or Prs.?

śāyl "plate (śānak)". śāyl nē-wa marōn  
 "nāna da mābain-i śānak māida ku".



## T

t, v. *at*.

ta, v. *tar*.

təa, K. *tūwā*, Rav. *toawē* "sun". *təa b' nisi* "the sun rises"; *təa naʔək*; *təa nēyl bu* "the sun sets". Cf. Prs. *tāb* "light". *āf tāb* "sun" < Av. *tap-* "to heat". V. *tək*.

tū B., K., Le. "thou". V. 100.

ta'bīb "doctor". Prs.

'tebba "fever". *ku mun tebba nuk-ē* "the fever has seized me". Psht.

tēba'na "large needle".

ta'bar "axe". Prs.

taba'sum "smiling". Prs.

tu'fān "tempest". Prs.

'tafta "steam"; Prs. *taf*, cf. *tafta* "hot". *tafta nisi bu*.

tāk (K.) "mountain-torrent". Cf. Psht. *tōe* "id". (EVP. s.v.), Arm. lw. *etak* < \**witāka*.

tək K.; Le. *tokha* "hot". *txan tək ē* "the bread is hot". G. < Av. *tafta*, Psht. *tōd*.

takyā "pillow". Prs.

ta'la "gold". Prs.

talaf "loss, expense". *taluf-a dāk* "bulād kat". Prs.

tā'lāk "crown of the head".

tu-ma'nak, K. *ta-mīnak*, postpos. governing loc. "up to, as far as". G. comp. Prs. *tā*. — Cf. *man* "then"?

ta'mūs "summer". Prs.

ta'nā "alone". *az tanā yum*. Prs.

tānda (K.) "acid food eaten as a relish". *tandar* "thunder". *tandar al-yūstək-ē bummāi nē* "Thunder has fallen down on the earth". Prs.

ta'nūr "oven". Prs.

tang "strait, narrow". *tar tū a-nēr zut*

*tang ē* "your house is very narrow". Prs.

təpt, B. *təp*, K. *tūpt*, Le. *topi* "butter-milk". (G. < Psht. *tarwē*). Acc. to Charpentier (v. *šipī*) this word is compounded with *pī* "milk". But very probably it is a wandering word, like so many other names of milk-products; Tomaschek (Centralas. Stud. 797) comp. Mordwin *topo* "geronnene Milch, Topfen". Scarcely connected with Mar., Guj. *tūp* < *tuppo* "clarified butter".

tr-, K. *tr*: *tatak* "to drink". *wəḳ bu trīm* "I drink water", but *wəḳ-am xuluka*. Cf. Par. s.v. *ter*.

tar, K, prep. "of". Cf. *ta*. V. 100.

tār, K, *tār* "thread". Prs.

tēr, K. *tar* "passed". *tēr šuk-ē* "he has passed". *tēr* < Psht., *tar* poss. genuine.

tir "arrow". Prs.

turb "radish". Prs.

tā'rik "dark". Prs.

'trunuk, K. *tranak* "thirsty". *az trunuk šukum-a*. Acc. to G. "derived from the present base *tra-* of *tatak*" (v. *tr*). — Or < Av. *taršna*, with metathesis of *r*, cf. 66.

trūš, Le. *turush* "sour". Prs.

taṛ-ḡk, K. *taṛ-wēk* "to bind, tie". *ku gōi bu taṛīm*; *gōy-am taṛūk*. Psht.

tōs, K. *tyūs*, Le. *tos* "you". V. 100.

tusk (K.) "empty". G. comp. Prs. *tih*, Psht. *taš* (v. EVP.) etc. \**tuš(y)aka*. *tēš*, K. *tēš*, Le. *teḡh* "bitter". G. < Phl. *taxr*, v. EVP. s.v. *trix*, Par. *tarku*. V. 38.

tiš-ḡk, K. *tišt-wēk* "to run away". *tišḡk* "grēxt"; *tiš-wḡkum* "I fled". Psht. *tšol*, *taštēdēl*. Cf.:

*tišaw-ək*, K. *tišaw-ək* "to put to flight".  
*tišawim*, *tišawək-a*.

*tūt* K. "mulberry". Prs.

*tāwistān* "summer". Prs. Cf. *tamūs*.

*txan*, B. *t(ux)an*, K. *txan*, Le. *tikhan*

"bread". < \**nyan*, cf. Psht. *nayaw*.

Waz. *nyan*, Par. *nā'γōn*. V. 49.

*tax'sim* "dividing". Prs.

*taxt ta an'gušt* "finger-nail". Cf. Prs.  
*taxt*.

*taxtax* "knocking at the door". *bari*  
*nē taxtax-a dāk*.

*t-vek* (K.) "to be standing, to stand still".

G. < Av. *stā-* etc.; but this seems  
 improbable. Cf. Wkh. *tei-an* "to be"?

## T

*ṭak* "pound, thump" etc. *nīnī b' ṭak*  
*zanam* "I sneeze"; *ṭak-a b' zanam*

"I shake the dust (of clothes)". Cf.

*ṭikaw*, K. *ṭikaw-ək* "to beat, pound".

*šōl bu ṭikawim*, *ka rezan sē* "šālirā

*mēkūbum ki brinj šauca*". Psht.

*ṭakawul*.

*ṭōl* "collected". *ṭōl kam*. Psht.

*ṭuṇḍā* "young bull". "hornless" <

Lhd. *ṭuṇḍā* "branchless"?

## W

*wa-*, postvocalic form of the pron. suff.

3 sg. *\*spuk ki-wa banē* "throw it to  
 the dog". V. 101.

*wā* "in" (?). *wā nēri* "in the house";

*wā nēri nēri nē* "da xāna darūn";

*wā jēr-a* "inside it"; *wā nēra*, K.

*winar* "into the house".

*wō* (Ph. *yō*), K. *hō*, Le. *wo* "7". G. < Av.

*haptā-*.

*wāda*, *wāda* "appointed time, arrange-  
 ment". Prs.

*wəḳ* B.; K. *wəḳ*, Le. *wəḳh* "water". *wəḳ*

*ta pōz* "saliva". G. < Av. *ōp-*, with

*-ka-* suffix. — Cf. Zaza. *aukū*, Wkh.

*yupk*, Minj. *yaoya*, Ishk. *wək*.

*wəḳā*, K. *wyūk* "dry". G. < Av. *huška-*.

Cf. Psht. *wuḥ* < \**wyūk* < *ušk*.

*wəḳxāna*, B. "river". Cf. Prs. *rūdxāna*.

*wulk*, K. *hanwalk* (*hawalk*), Le. *wolkh*

"egg". < \**āwyalaka*, Kurd. *hīlka*,

Zaza *hēlā*, cf. Prs. *xāya*, EVP. s.v. *hā*,

Par. *ēx*.

*wān* (K.) "co-wife". G. comp. Psht. *bən*.

— < Av. *hapaḏnī-* (v. EVP. s.v.).

*wōn*, v. *ōn*.

*winjōk* (K.) "son of a co-wife". G. comp.

Psht. *bənzai*, v. *\*wān*. Cf. *ba'čandar*.

*wangū* (K.) "a certain poisonous insect".

*wār* (B.) "door". Psht. V. *bar*.

*war-*; *wūluk*, K. *wār-*; *wəlak*, *wriyōk* "to

bring, fetch". *ca b' dar-wāram* "I

bring you something"; *ar-wār ē*

"bring it"; *pāk ar-wār* (B. *ēr-war*)

"bring milk"; 3 sg. *warrē*; *pāk-am*

*a-wūluk-ē*. Acc. to G. horr. from

Psht. *wəḥl* "to carry". — More prob.

< Av. *ā-ḏar-*.

*wūr-*, in: *kitāb mēzi dī wūr* "take the

book from the table".

*wōran'dēr* K. "brother's wife". Psht.

*wōr* (B.) "well". *wōr šer-a* "are you

well (*jōr astī*)"; *wōr k'am šer ya*

"šukr, xūb ast".

*wōrai* "spring" (season). Psht.

*wōrkai* "child". Psht.

*wis*, K. *wēs*; *wayyōk* "to enter". *wā*

*nēri nēri nē al-wāsim bu* "da xāna

*darūn mērom*". *wis* < \**upa-isa*, \**abi-*

*isa* (cf. Tedesco, MO., 1921, 231),

*wayyōk* < \**abi-gata* (but why *y*?).



Derivation of *wis* < Skr. *a-viś* is less probable. Cf. *awas*, *nīs*.  
*wāskoṭ* "waistcoat". Psht. < Engl.  
*wust*-*ustuk*, K. *wust-vēk* "to rise, awake".  
*wustim bu*, *az bu wustim* "māxēzam";  
*ustukum*; *ustuk* "xēst"; *ustuk-ē* "xēsta";  
*ustu bukim* "xēsta būdim";  
*wustuk būk* "xēsta būt". < Av. *us-stā*. But v. Par. *ust*. Cf.  
*wustaw-ōk*, K. *wustaw-vēk* "to raise",  
*ku tū b' ustawim*; *sār ku tū-m ustaw-ōk-ē*.  
*wūš* "intelligence". Psht.  
*waṭk* f. (K.) "walnut", G. comp. Skr. *akṣoṭa*. — Lw., \**akṣ* < \**akhoṭa*, v. 76?  
*waw*: *wēk* K. "to obtain, find". *wa'wim-a bu* "I find it"; imper. 2 sg. *wawōn*;  
*ca-m wēk-a* "I found something". G. < Av. *ap*. Prob. < Av. *ari-ap*.  
*waxay-ēk* (K.) "to dig".  
*waxt*, K. *waqt* "time". Ps.  
*wōya* (B.) "yes". *wōya*, *xuluk-am* "yes, I have eaten it"; *wōya*, *šer a* "yes, it is well".  
*waz'mind*, Le. *wazmīn* "heavy". Afgh. Ps.  
*wazn*, v. *ūñaw*.  
*wa'zan* "collyrium".

## X

*xau*, K. *xaw* "sleep, dream". *xau bu kam* "I am sleeping"; *xau bu jušim* "I dream". Ps.  
*xui*, K. *xucai* "own, self". *az bu xui šār ki cum*; *a tar mun ta xuy ē* "az *xud-i mā-s*". G. < Av. *xwatō*, Ps.  
*xwud*. Cf. Par. *xu*. V. 104.  
*xū'bi* "pleasure, boon". Ps.  
*Xu'dāi*, K. *Xudāē* "God". Ps.

*xabar* "informed". *tū kaṭṭ di xabar yōn?* "do you know about it?" Ps.  
*xafa* K. "angry". Ps.  
*xāk* "earth". Ps.  
*xāki'stār* "ashes". Ps. V. *yanak*.  
*xāld* "mother's sister". Afgh. Ps.  
*xālī* K. "empty". Ps.  
*xōla* "sweat". Psht.  
*xōll* "cap". Psht.  
*xūl-vēk* (K.) "to fall (as leaves)".  
*xalaq*, K. *xalq* "people". Ps.  
*xa'lās* "free, liberated". Ps.  
*xultaw-ōk*, K. *xewrtaw-vēk* "to shake (*šōr dādan*)".  
*xaima* "tent". Ps.  
*xāmē* "raw". Ps. — K. *hām* < Skr. *āma*, cf. Psht. *ōm*.  
*xan-ōk*, K. *xan-ak* "to laugh". G. comp. Ps. *xandidan* etc. Cf. Par. *khan*.  
*xa'nī* "laughter". *xanī b' kam*; *xanī māḥ kōn*.  
*xingak* (B.) "blue" (?). Cf. *šin*.  
*xr*: *xuluk*, K. *xur*: *xwalak* "to eat, drink". *wēk bu xram*, *xrum*, *xrim*; *tū txan bu xwōn* (B. *xurun*); *a-sarai bu txan xwē*, *xri*, *xra*; *aṭṭ saṭiyē bu txan xwān*; *txan-am xuluk-a*, B. *xuluk-am*; *tuxān-at xuluk-a?* G. < Av. *xar*.  
*xar* K., Rāv. "ass". Ps. — B. *xri* genuine?  
*xa'rāb* K.; Le. *khrah* "bad". Ps.  
*xurdan* "eating". *aṭṭ gāk-a menzi nē nimēk nak-at banūk*, *pērī xurdan di nayōk-ē*, *pērī xwuk ki-wa banē* "you have not put salt into the meat, now it is beyond eating, now you must throw it to the dog". Ps.  
*xar'gōš* "hare". Ps. V. *sikak*.  
*xarmanjāi* "threshing-floor". Ps.  
*xrumuk*, K. *axwaranak* "hungry". *xwru-*

*nuk šukum-ē* "gušna šuda-im". Formed from *xar-* on the analogy of *trunuk*.  
*xirs* "bear". Prs. — K. *hiqs* prob. genuine < \**ršī*, Av. *arša-*. V. 35, 66.  
*xrīnd* "swelled, inflamed". Psht. *xu'rin*.  
*xu'si*, *xuski* (B.) "calf". Psht. *xai*.  
*xu'sur* "father-in-law". Prs. — K. *xir*, Psht.  
*xusurborā* "brother-in-law". Prs. — K. *axšai*, Psht.  
*xūša* "ear of corn". Prs.  
*xu'sūi* "mother-in-law". Prs.  
*xu'sāl* "happy". Prs.  
*xu'sā'li* "happiness, merriment". Prs.  
*xēšt* "brick". Prs.  
*xu's'ioaxti* "happiness". Prs.  
*xūš*, K. *xwaš* "pleased, happy". *xūš* šuk "fell in love with" (v. *xwāš*), *xwaš* < Psht.; *xūš* < Prs.?  
*xatt* K. "letter". Prs.  
*xwai* (B.) "right hand".  
*xwār* B.; K. *xwār*, Rav. *khwār* "sister". G. < Av. *xwāhar*. — Prob. borr. from Prs., v. 78.  
*xwarincā* (K.) "right (not left)". Cf. Soghd. *γw'r'ī* (\**xvarant*), Sak. *hvarāndau* acc. sg. n. Originally "south"?  
*xwāš*, K. *xwaš*, Le. *khwāsh* "sweet". *xwāš bukēn* "they loved [each other]". K. *xwāšawōi* "sweetness". < Av. *xwārəz-īšta-* "sweetest", Psht. *xōš* (v. EVP) etc. Cf. Sköld, Lehnw. St. p. 10.  
*xēs* "jump". *jōi di bu xēs zanam* "I jump over the stream"; *a-jōi zut ārat yē*, *xēs bu zuk nak čim* "the stream is very broad, I cannot jump over it". Prs.  
*xiz'mat*, K. *xidmat* "service". Prs.

## Y

*yād* K. "memory". *yād bu (nak) nasam* "I (do not) remember". Prs.  
*yūy-luŋ'qa* "yoke". *yūy* genuine, or from Prs.? Waz. Psht. *žoy* appears to be a lw. from some other Ir. dialect. Cf. *yūx*.  
*yāl* "mane". Prs.  
*yāny* (K.) "embrace".  
*yānak* (K.) "ashes". < \**āsnaka-*, cf. Skr. *āsa-* "ashes". V. *xāki'stār*.  
*yax-vēk* (K.) "to boil". < Psht. *yašēdōl*.  
*yāsp*, K. *yānsp*, Le. *yāsp* "horse". < Av. *aspa-*.  
*ya'tim* "orphan". Prs.  
*yēwər* "cloud". < \**abrya-*, Av. *awra-*, cf. Prs. *abr*, Psht. *ōrə*, wryaj etc.  
*yax* "ice". Prs. *yax nōk-a* "it freezes".  
*yūx* "plough". V. *yūy-luŋ'qa*. Scarcely connected with Psht. *yawē* (EVP.).

## Z, Ž

*zu'bān* K. *zban*, Le. *zabān* "tongue". Prs.  
*zgan* (K.) "division or section of a field".  
*zu'yal* "live coal, embers". Prs.  
*zōk* "beating". *paŋq zōk mulluk* "he died from that beating". V. *zan-*.  
*zu'kām* "cough". *zūkām šukum-a* "I have got a cough". Prs.  
*zli* K.; B. *zri* (?) "heart". *zli ta gōi* "lobe of the ear". < Av. *zərədaya-*.  
*zāl* K. "old". Prob. < Av. \**zarəta-*, cf. Psht. *zōr*, not, as suggested by G., borr. from Prs. *zāl* "old man or woman".  
*zalpyē*, K. *zalpiē* "grandfather". Cf. *zāl*, *pyē*.  
*zam'būr* "wasp". Prs.



'zemāk "winter". < Av. zim- "winter",  
 zemāka- "winter-storm"; cf. Psht.  
 zimai, Par. zemā etc.  
 zan-: zōk. K. zan-(jan-): zōk (jōk) "to  
 beat, strike". ku daraxt bu zanam;  
 zanam-a bu; az ku tū zanam; tū ku  
 kōk bu zan? a p' ku mun zana (Rav.  
 dzana); afō, sarīyē bu ku mun zana,  
 zani, zanan; az ku tū zuk = ku tū  
 zukum, tū ku mun zuk = ku mun  
 zuk-at. G. < Av. jan-.  
 zā'nū "knee". Prs. — K. zanṣrak <  
 \*zānuṣraka-.  
 zān K. "saddle". Prs.  
 zinda, zīnda "alive". B. zōnda biyā  
 "jōr bāṣi". Prs. — K. zwandai, Psht.  
 zi'nāk "chin". Cf. Prs. zanax, Skr. hanu-  
 etc. — K. zēnē, \*Psht. (Waz. 'zanyē  
 etc.). V. 38.  
 zār, K. zahr "poison". Prs.  
 zā'ri; K., Le., zarī "small". Cf. Prs. zār  
 "weak, mean" < Av. zar- "to grow  
 old, decrepit"? Connexion with Prs.  
 (Ar. ḍarrah "atom, particle" is not  
 prob.  
 zardā'lū "apricot". Prs. V. māṭat.  
 zar'kā, zār'kā, B. zar'kī, K. zarka  
 "woman; Le. zarigag "girl". G.  
 < Av. zar-, cf. za'ri. Similarly Pash.  
 L. āzazā, D. etc. zāip "woman" < Ar.  
 'ājiza, za'if "weak".  
 zēṣ, K. zēṣ "thorn". < Av. jaḍri- from  
 jan-.  
 zut, K. jut, zut, Le. zut "much, many,  
 very". māx zut in "we are many";

tū zut un "you are many (tu zūt-istī)";  
 afō zut "stūr a "he is very big".  
 Corrupted and semasiologically altered  
 from Prs. zūd "quick"? Cf. Par.  
 zut.  
 zayāṣk, (K.) "the kernel of the pine-  
 nut". G. comp. Prs. čil-yōza (with  
 metathesis, v. 76).  
 zar'mī "wounded". Prs.  
 zay-ṣk "to be born". zār'kā zayūk-ē  
 "zan zāida". Cf. Prs. zādan < Av.  
 zan-, zaya-.  
 zay-ēk (K.) "to chew, masticate". Acc.  
 to G. borr. from Prs. jāwīdan. Prob.  
 genuine. Cf. zay-.  
 zāy-: zāk, K. j-, jaw-: jōk (zōk) "to ar-  
 rive". dar-zūm "I come to you" =  
 az bu ku tū ki ar-zūm, dar-zūyem bū;  
 ar-zāi; B. ēr-zāi, rē-zēi; Le. 3 sg. ra-za;  
 pēc ar-zāk "pas āmad"; mēwa al-zōk-a  
 "the fruit is ripe" (ar-zāk = ar-zōk  
 "yaki mēāya"?); prān tū kyē nak  
 ar-zākōn? G. < Av. yā-; but scarcely  
 y- < j-. Possibly connected with caw-  
 "to go" (K. 1 sg. jawam: cawom, but  
 2 sg. jāi: cūo). In that case zāy-  
 must be a form shortened in com-  
 position. Regarding j- < c- cf. Afridi  
 Psht. rā-jam "I come": cam "I  
 go".  
 zyēr, B. zēr, K. ziyar, Le. zed "yellow".  
 Psht.  
 zay-ṣk, K. zay-ēk "to ask for". pēri b'  
 zayim "I ask for it now (ālī-s < sic! >  
 mitalbam)". V. zay-ēk.

## ABBREVIATIONS AND TRANSCRIPTION.

The abbreviations of language names are in the main the same as those used in Rep. (v. List p. 96).

For the abbreviations of the names of my Parachi informants (D., G., M., P., T.) v. pp. 5 and 6. Similarly for Ormuri (B., K., Le, Rav.) v. p. 386. L. or Log. denotes the Logar dialect. The abbreviations of the names of Pashai dialects are the same as those explained Rep. (p. 84, n. 2): D(arra-i Nūr), G(ulbahār), L(aupowān), Nīr(lām), S(āṭhā), Sh(utal), Ō(zbīn).

Walde-Pokorny denotes: "A. Walde, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen, hrsg. v. J. Pokorny"; Zar.: "Ив. Зарубин, К характеристике мунджанского языка, L'Iran, vol. I, 1926"; Andr.: "M. S. Andreev, On the Ethnology of Afghanistan" (cf. p. 7).

Rep. is my "Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan, Oslo 1926"; EVP. is my "An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto, Oslo 1927"; NSgh. is my "Notes on Shughni, Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, I, 1928".

In literary Ind. languages (also in Shina) *c*, *j* denote the palatal affricates, in Ir. and in most Dard and Kafir languages these signs denote dental affricates, the palatal affricates being written *č*, *ǰ*.

In words quoted from the vocabularies of Leech and Raverty the original orthography has been preserved.



# CORRIGENDUM.

Par. *kūš* "eyebrow" (pp. 41, 267) is borrowed from *Prs. qāš* "id."

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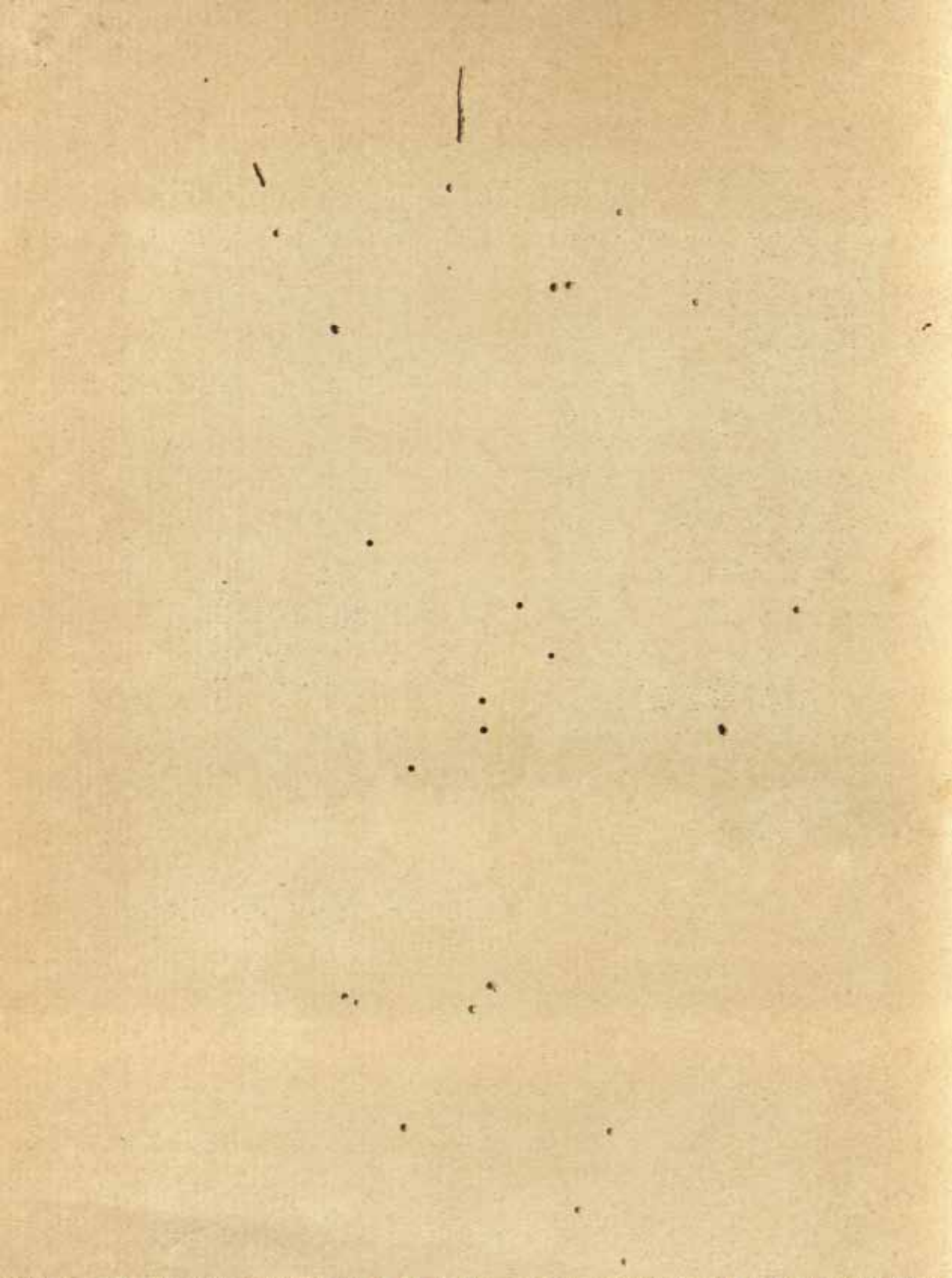
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Ghulām Maheuddīn.  
Parachi.



Dīn Muhammad.  
Ormuri.



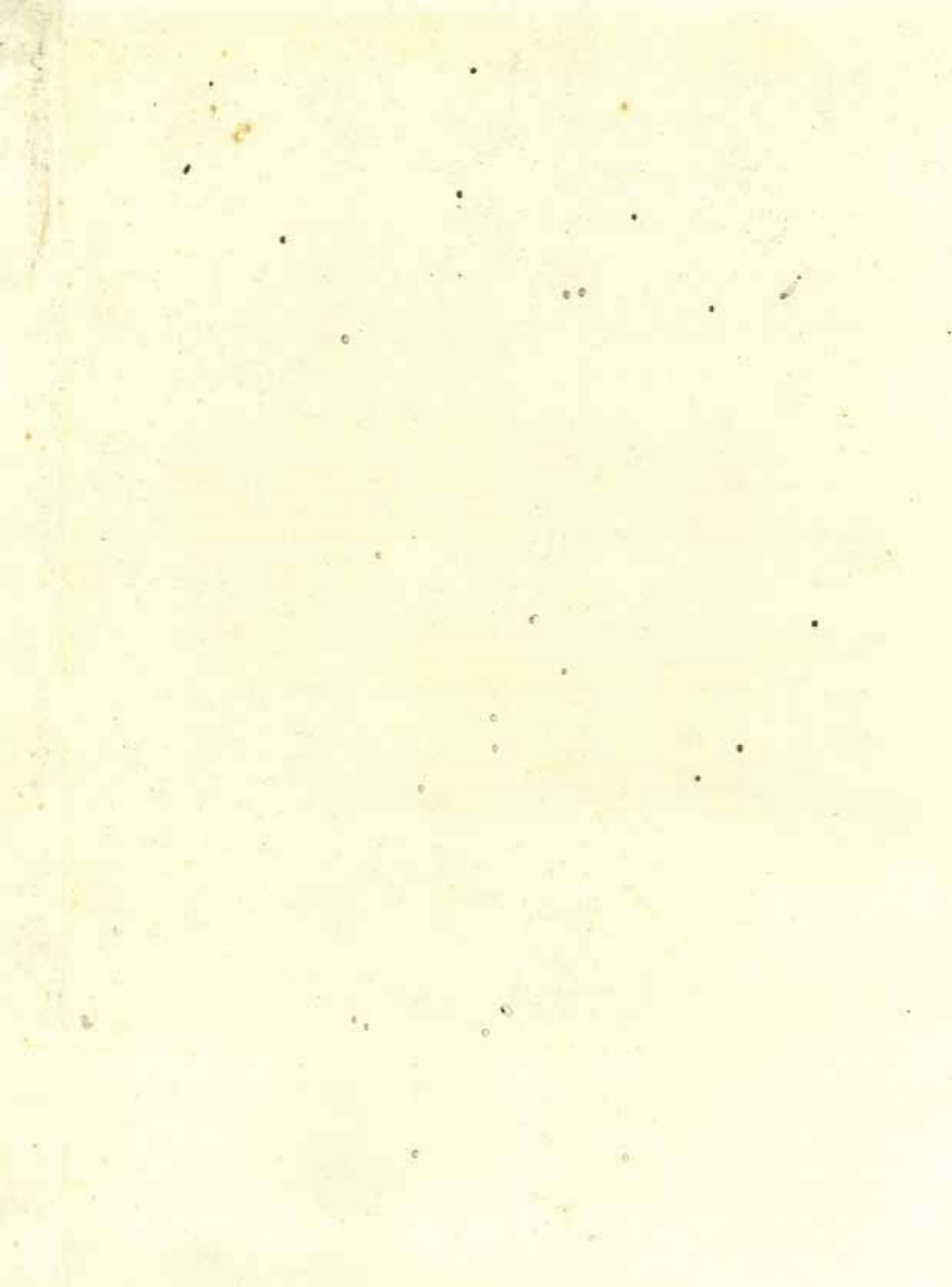


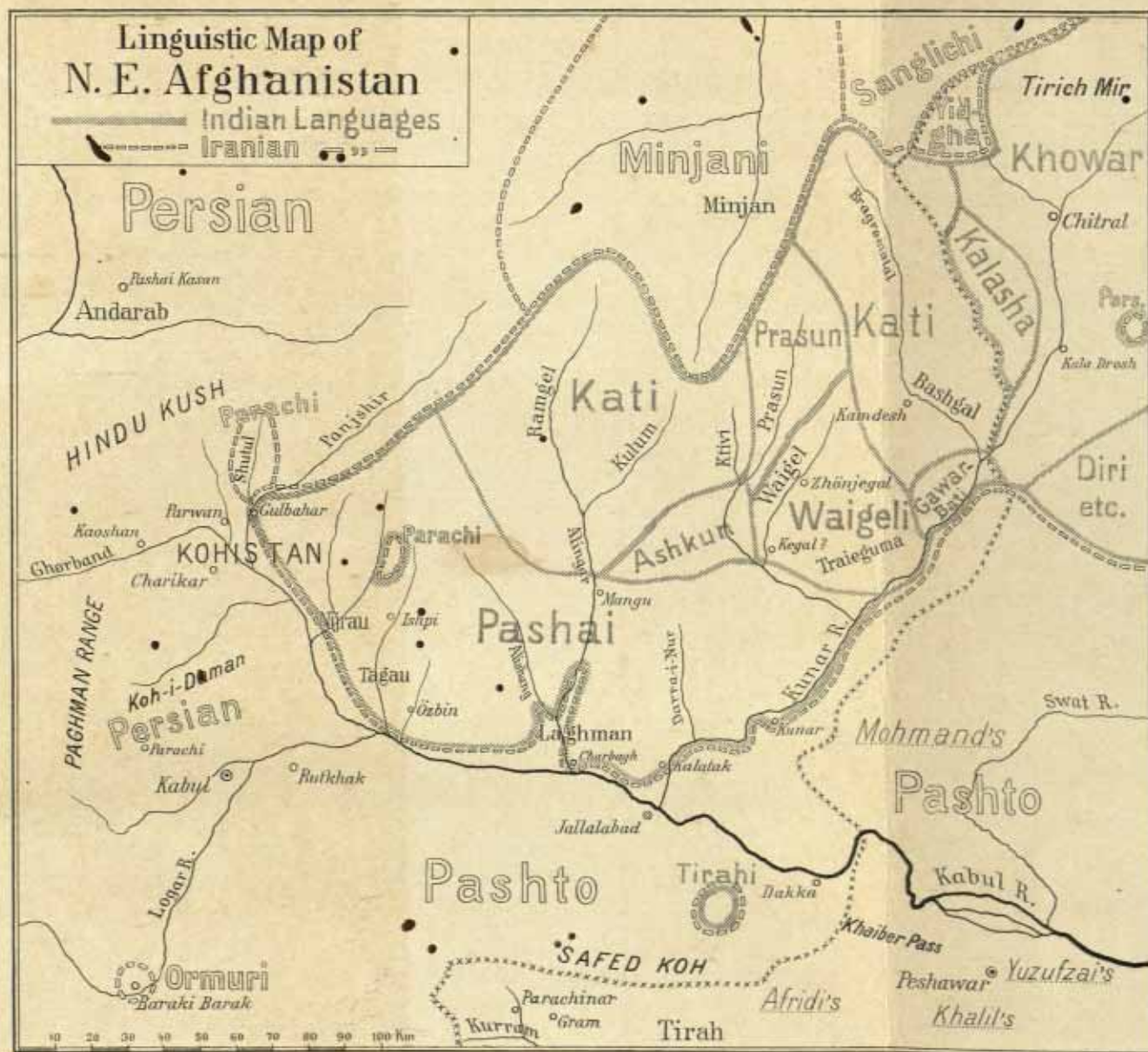
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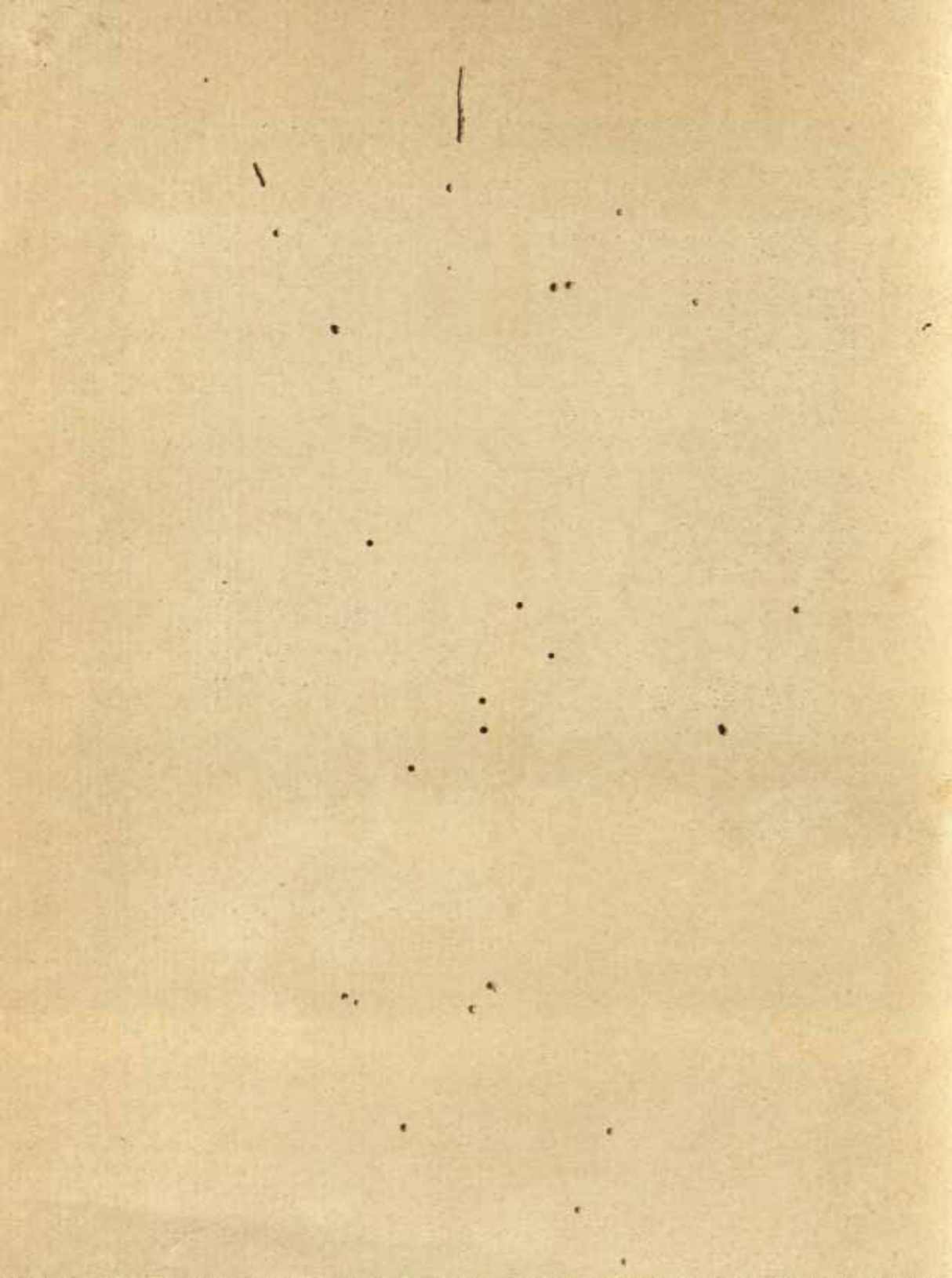






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